WORLD HISTORY

WEBSTER

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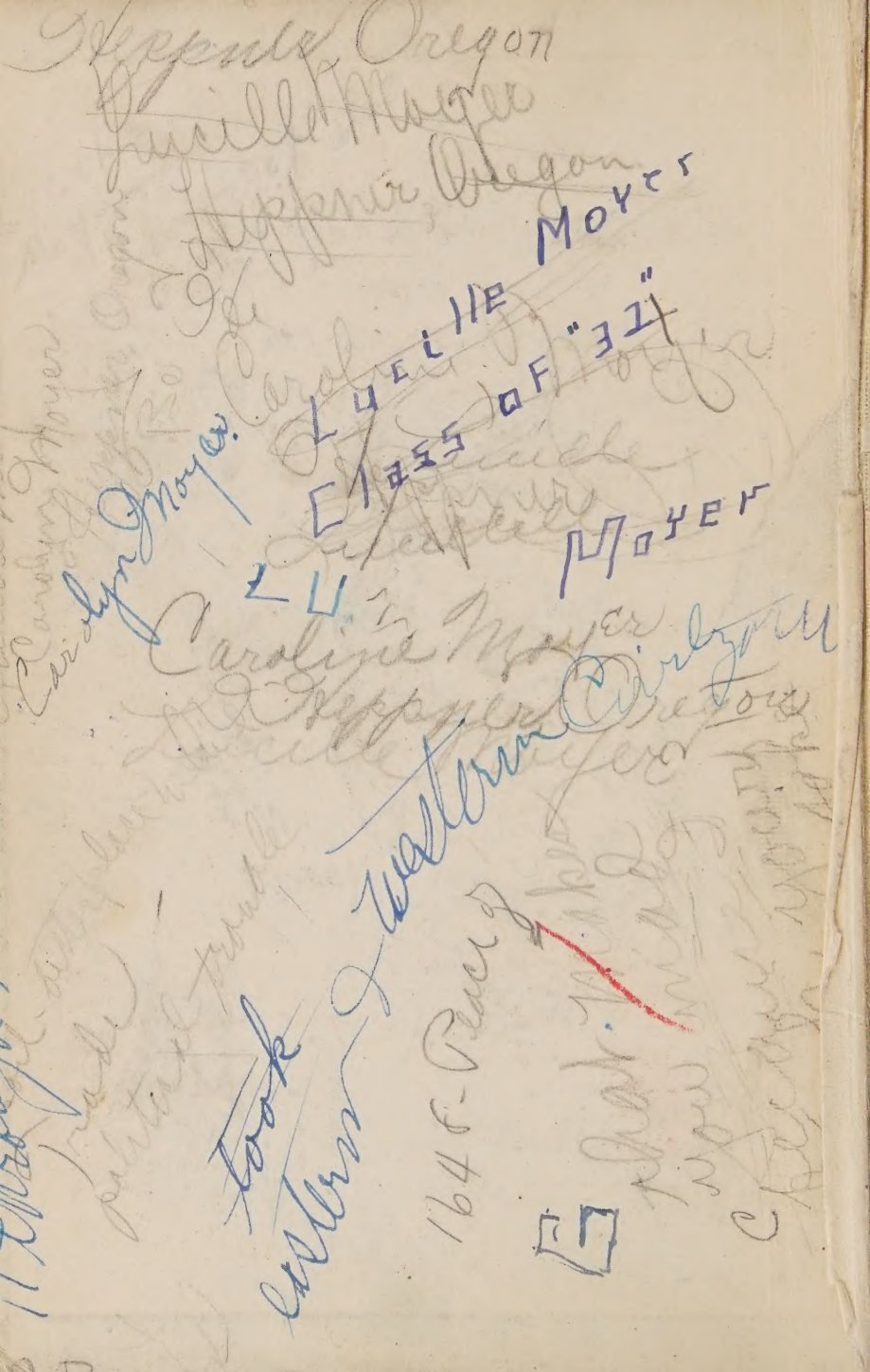

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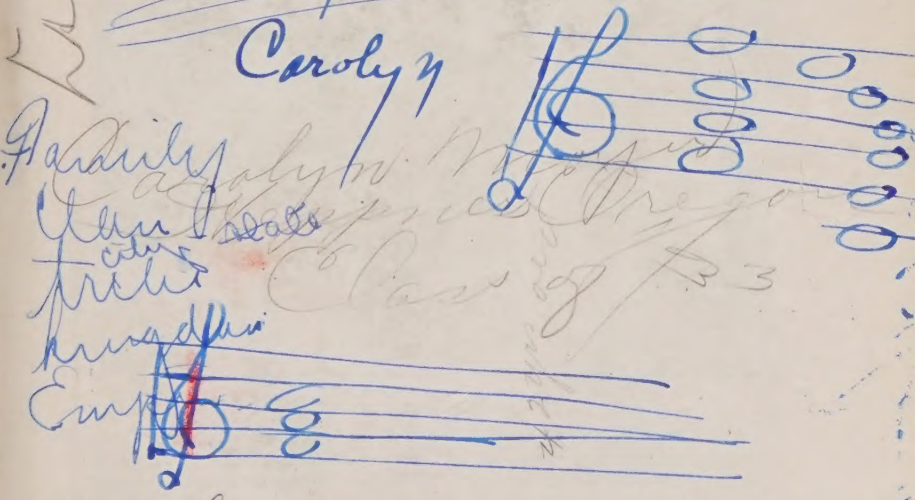

Mansell

QUEEN NEFERTITI

A bust found at Tell-el-Amarna, Egypt, and now in the Berlin Museum. Queen Nefertiti was the wife of Amenhotep IV (Ikhnaton) and mother-in-law of Tut-Ankh-Amen. She lived in the 14th century B.C. Egyptian art reached perhaps its highest level at this time, becoming more naturalistic and less formal. Certainly few if any portraits have come down to us from the ancient world more beautiful than this head of the Egyptian queen.

Carolyn Moyer
Carolyne Moyer

WORLD HISTORY

BY

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"The true object of history is to show us the life of the human race in its fullness, and to follow up the tale of its continuous and difficult evolution. The conception of the progress of civilization in intelligible sequence is the greatest achievement of modern thought." — FREDERIC HARRISON, *The Meaning of History*.

REVISED EDITION

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TO 1789

The history of the United States of America is one of great adventures, of wonderful discoveries, and of heroic deeds.

The first white men to reach our shores were trying to find India, a country about which they knew little, except that it was said to be a land of marvellous riches. They found, instead, a country stretching from ocean to ocean, a full three thousand miles, holding in its keeping riches even more vast than the fabled wealth of India and of the Far East. Such a new country was ours, a veritable heart of a continent.

A struggle to possess it naturally followed, marked all along the way by the spirit of conquest and the will to do and to dare. Spain, Holland, England, and France, all entered into this struggle. At last, England secured supremacy. Thereby the United States became an English-speaking land, instilled with the customs and the traditions of the Anglo-Saxon race.

Even before this struggle ended the conquest of nature itself had begun. The shores, the rivers, the hills and valleys, the mountains, plains, and forests, called to the civilizing forces of strong men and women. The story of their advance sets before us in fascinating detail the making of a great nation. At first there were only a few weak settlements along the shores of the Atlantic—

Jamestown, St. Mary's, Plymouth, Salem. The sturdy pioneers of these settlements suffered untold hardships while wrestling with hunger, disease, and hostile Indians in the unhewn forests of the New World, but the free life amid primitive conditions developed a noble spirit of self-reliance and independence.

The land was found to be kind. It could be easily secured in extensive areas. By degrees the struggling settlements grew in size and number, and, grouped in thirteen colonies, they spread inland from the Atlantic coast. Here began our country's westward expansion, which was checked only by the shores of the Pacific.

At first the various colonies, with little interest in each other, lived separate lives. Then, common dangers, threatening the welfare and even the existence of the colonies, drew the colonists together for defense against their foes. They subdued their enemies and by degrees learned to work for the common good. Then came a time when the offensive policies of taxation and trade control of the mother country, England, forced the colonies to revolt. In this revolt they succeeded.

Having won independence as a people, they joined in a confederation for general government, which carried them a long step toward the formation of a permanent Federal Union under a national constitution. Thus were a few rustic communities, planted here and there in a strange land, transformed into a new nation, destined to play a leading part in the future of the world.

PREFACE

THE scope, character, and purpose of this textbook perhaps require some clarification here. It covers the entire historic field, together with a chapter on prehistoric times; it presents a survey of human progress, rather than a chronological outline of events; it is intended for that large body of students who, for various reasons, do not take more than one year of history in the high school. They ought to gain from such a course, however brief, some conception of social development and some realization of man's upward march from the Stone Age until the present time. Nothing but general or universal history will give them that conception, — that realization. And only a history of the world will enable them to appreciate the contributions made by peoples widely separated in space and time to what is steadily becoming the common civilization of mankind.

About two thirds of the book are devoted to the last three centuries. This period furnishes the immediate historical background of the life of to-day: it is therefore the period ordinarily most interesting and profitable to the student. The chapters dealing with it are reproduced, with some abbreviation, from my *Modern European History*. The other chapters are based on my *Early European History*, but they contain much that is new, both in the text and also by way of maps and illustrations.

Teachers will find in the book, as in its predecessors, a variety of aids. The "Suggestions for Further Study" provide extended bibliographies. The "Studies" at the end of each chapter may be used either in the daily recitation or for review after the entire chapter has been read. The "Table of Events and Dates," forming the appendix, should be consulted frequently, and pupils should be required to explain and elaborate

the brief statements there given concerning the significance of each dated event. Care ought also to be taken that pupils acquire a correct pronunciation of all proper names mentioned in the text and incorporated in the index and pronouncing vocabulary.

Specific references in footnotes are made to the author's *Readings in Ancient History*, *Readings in Medieval and Modern History*, and *Historical Source Book*. The first two volumes contain sources of a narrative and biographical character; the third volume includes thirty-three documents ranging from Magna Carta to the Covenant of the League of Nations. These collections supply abundant material for outside reading, oral reports in class, and essays.

HUTTON WEBSTER

LINCOLN, NEBRASKA
March, 1925

CONTENTS

PAGE

List of Illustrations xii

List of Maps xvi

List of Plates xix

Suggestions for Further Study xxi

CHAPTER

I. Prehistoric Times

1. Introductory 1
2. Man's Place in Nature 2
3. The Old Stone Age 8
4. The New Stone Age 12
5. The Age of Metals 15
6. Races of Man 17
7. Languages of Man 21
8. Writing and the Alphabet 23

II. The Ancient Orient

9. The Lands of the Near East 29
10. The Peoples of the Near East 32
11. Social Conditions 40
12. Economic Conditions 44
13. Commerce and Commercial Routes 46
14. Law and Morality 49
15. Religion 52
16. Literature and Art 55
17. Science 58
18. Orient and Occident 62

III. Greece

19. The Lands of the West 65
20. The Mediterranean Basin 68
21. The Ægeans 71
22. The Greeks 73
23. The Greek City-States 79
24. Colonial Expansion of Greece 82
25. The Persian Wars, 499–479 B.C. 84
26. Athens, 479–431 B.C. 89

CHAPTER PAGE

27. Athenian Culture 93
28. Decline of the Greek City-States, 431–338 B.C. . 97
29. Alexander the Great, and the Conquest of Persia 101
30. The Hellenistic Age 105

IV. Rome

31. Italian Peoples 112
32. The Romans 115
33. The Roman City-State 119
34. Expansion of Rome over Italy, 509(?)–264 B.C. . 121
35. Expansion of Rome beyond Italy, 264–133 B.C. . . 123
36. Rome the Mistress of the Mediterranean Basin . . 129
37. Decline of the Roman City-State, 133–31 B.C. . . 132
38. The Early Empire, 31 B.C.–284 A.D. . . . 138
39. The World under Roman Rule 144
40. Christianity in the Roman World 149
41. The Later Empire, 284–476 A.D. 153

V. The Middle Ages

42. The Germans 157
43. The Holy Roman Empire 161
44. The Northmen and the Normans 166
45. Feudalism 169
46. The Byzantine Empire 176
47. The Arabs and Islam, 622–1058 180
48. The Crusades, 1095–1291 187
49. Mongolian Peoples in Europe to 1453 . . . 190
50. National States during the Later Middle Ages . . 194

VI. Medieval Civilization

51. The Church 203
52. The Clergy 207
53. The Papacy 211
54 Country Life 214
55. Serfdom 219
56. City Life 221
57. Civic Industry 225
58. Civic Trade 228
59. Cathedrals and Universities 231
60. National Languages during the Later Middle Ages . 236

VII. The Renaissance

61. Revival of Learning and Art in Italy . . . 240
62. Revival of Learning and Art beyond Italy . . 245

CHAPTER PAGE

63. Geographical Discovery 248
64. Colonial Empires 253
65. The Old World and the New 255
66. The Protestant Reformation 257
67. The Protestant Sects 263
68. The Catholic Counter Reformation . . . 266
69. The Religious Wars 269
70. The European State System 278

VIII. The Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries in Europe

71. Absolutism and the Divine Right of Kings . . 281
72. The Struggle against Stuart Absolutism in England 282
73. The Restoration and the "Glorious Revolution" . 291
74. Absolutism of Louis XIV in France, 1643-1715 . 295
75. Russia under Peter the Great, 1689–1725 . . 302
76. Russia under Catherine II, 1762–1796 . . . 307
77. Austria and Maria Theresa, 1740–1780 . . . 309
78. Prussia and Frederick the Great, 1740–1786 . . 310
79. The Partitions of Poland, 1772–1795 . . . 314

IX. Commerce and Colonies during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

80. Mercantilism and Trading Companies . . . 320
81. The Dutch Colonial Empire 322
82. Rivalry of France and England in India (to 1763) . 325
83. Rivalry of France and England in North America 328
84. The American Revolution, 1776–1783 . . . 334
85. Formation of the United States 341
86. Progress of Geographical Discovery . . . 342

X. The Old Régime

87. Reform 346
88. The Privileged Classes 347
89. The Unprivileged Classes 349
90. The Church 351
91. Liberal Ideas of Industry and Commerce; the Economists 354
92. The Scientists 355
93. Liberal Ideas of Religion and Politics; the English Philosophers 357
94. The French Philosophers 359
95. The Enlightened Despots 362

CHAPTER PAGE

XI. The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era, 1789–1815

96. Eve of the French Revolution 366
97. The Estates-General, 1789 370
98. Outbreak of the French Revolution 373
99. The National Assembly, 1789–1791 . . . 376
100. The First French Republic, 1792 379
101. The National Convention, 1792–1795 . . . 384
102. The Directory and Napoleon, 1795–1799 . . 387
103. The Consulate, 1799–1804 390
104. The First French Empire, 1804 393
105. Napoleon at War with Europe, 1805–1807 . . 394
106. Napoleon's Reorganization of Europe . . . 397
107. The Continental System 398
108. Revolt of the Nations, 1808–1814 400
109. Downfall of Napoleon, 1814–1815 404
110. "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" 407

XII. The Democratic Movement in Europe, 1815–1848

111. Modern Democracy 410
112. The Congress of Vienna 413
113. Restoration of the Dynasties 413
114. Territorial Readjustments 415
115. "Metternichismus" and the Concert of Europe . 419
116. France and the "July Revolution," 1830 . . 424
117. The "July Revolution" in Europe . . . 426
118. The "February Revolution" and the Second French Republic, 1848 432
119. The "February Revolution" in Europe . . 435

XIII. The National Movement in Europe, 1848–1871

120. Modern Nationalism 440
121. Napoleon III and the Second French Empire . . 442
122. Disunited Italy 447
123. Victor Emmanuel II and Cavour 450
124. United Italy, 1859–1870 452
125. Disunited Germany 456
126. William I and Bismarck 459
127. United Germany, 1864–1871 461

XIV. The United Kingdom and the British Empire

128. Parliamentary Reform, 1832 468
129. Political Democracy, 1832–1867 473

CHAPTER PAGE

130. Political Democracy, 1867–1918 477
131. Government of the United Kingdom . . . 479
132. The Irish Question 486
133. The British Empire 490

XV. The Continental Countries

134. The Third French Republic 498
135. Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Belgium . . . 505
136. Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden 510
137. The German Empire, 1871–1918 513
138. The Dual Monarchy, 1867–1918 519
139. The Russian Empire 521
140. The Ottoman Empire and the Balkan States . . 529

XVI. Colonial Expansion and World Politics

141. Greater Europe 540
142. The Opening-up of Africa 542
143. The Partition of Africa 546
144. The Opening-up and Partition of Asia . . . 550
145. India 553
146. China 555
147. Japan 560
148. The Opening-up and Partition of Oceania . . 563
149. Australia and New Zealand 565
150. Canada 566
151. Latin America 568
152. The United States 573
153. Close of Geographical Discovery 577

XVII. The Industrial Revolution

154. Modern Industrialism 581
155. The Great Inventions 583
156. Effects of the Great Inventions 588
157. Improvements in Transportation 592
158. Improved Communications 597
159. Commerce 600
160. Agriculture and Land Tenure 605
161. The Labor Movement 609
162. Government Regulation of Industry . . . 610
163. Public Ownership 614
164. Socialism 616
165. Poverty and Progress 620

CHAPTER PAGE

XVIII. Modern Civilization

166. Internationalism 625
167. Social Betterment 628
168. Emancipation of Women and Children . . . 632
169. Popular Education and the Higher Learning . . 634
170. Religious Development 636
171. Science 641
172. Literature 644
173. Music and the Fine Arts 646

XIX. International Relations, 1871–1914

174. The Triple Alliance 650
175. The Dual Alliance and the Triple Entente . . 652
176. Colonial Problems 656
177. The Eastern Question 658
178. Militarism 661
179. Pan-Germanism 665

XX. The World War, 1914–1918

180. Beginning of the War, 1914 669
181. The Western Front 676
182. The Eastern Front 682
183. The Balkan and Italian Fronts 684
184. The War outside of Europe and on the Sea, 1914–1917 688
185. Intervention of the United States 691
186. The Russian Revolution 697
187. War Aims of the Allies 700
188. End of the War, 1918 702

XXI. The World Settlement, 1919–1921

189. The Peace Conference 708
190. Peace with Germany 712
191. Peace with Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria . . 715
192. Peace with Turkey 717
193. The New Nations in Central and Eastern Europe . 720
194. Socialist Germany 724
195. Soviet Russia 726
196. Contemporary European Politics 730

XXII. The World To-day

197. The Cost of the World War 737
198. Lessons of the World War 742
199. The Peace Movement 744

PAGE

200. International Organization 747
201. The League of Nations 750
202. The World Court and the Geneva Protocol . . 756
203. Disarmament 758
204. Contemporary International Politics . . . 760

APPENDIX — TABLE OF EVENTS AND DATES 769
INDEX AND PRONOUNCING VOCABULARY 775

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
A Cave Dwelling	6
Prehistoric Art	7
Prehistoric Stone Implements	8
A Mammoth	10
Head of a Girl	11
Egyptian Neolithic Knives	12
Carved Menhir	13
A Dolmen	14
Prehistoric Iron Implements	16
Race Portraiture of the Egyptians	20
Symbolic Picture Writing	23
Chinese Picture Writing and Later Conventional Characters	24
Cretan Writing	26
Egyptian and Babylonian Writing	27
Head of Mummy of Rameses II	33
A Philistine	35
An Assyrian	37
An Assyrian Lion Hunt	38
Darius with His Attendants	39
Court of the Pharaoh	41
Tax Collecting in Ancient Egypt	42
Transport of an Assyrian Colossus	43
Plowing and Sowing in Ancient Egypt	44
A Phœnician War Galley	48
The Judgment of the Dead	49
Babylonian Seal	50
Hammurabi and the Sun God	51
An Egyptian Scarab	52
Amenhotep IV	53
The Deluge Tablet	56
Ancient Hebrew Manuscript	57
An Assyrian Palace (Restored)	58
Egyptian and Babylonian Numeration	58
A Babylonian Boundary Stone	59
Temple of Amon-Ra at Thebes (Restored)	61
Hittite Warrior	63
"Throne of Minos"	71
A Cretan Girl	72
The Swastika	75
The Discus Thrower	77
An Athenian Trireme	83
A Scythian	85
Persian Archers	87
An Athenian Inscription	91
Theater of Dionysus, Athens	94
An Athenian School	95
Pericles	96
Demosthenes	100
Alexander the Great	101
The Alexander Mosaic	103
A Greek Cameo	105
Lighthouse of Alexandria (Restored)	106
Suovetaurilia	117
An Italian Plowman	117
Early Roman Bar Money	118
Curule Chair and Fasces	119
Carthaginian or Roman Helmet	126
A Slave's Collar	130
Youth Reading a Papyrus Roll	131
A Roman Legionary	135
A Testudo	136
Roman Pontoon Bridge	140

	PAGE
Wall of Hadrian in Britain	141
The Amphitheater at Arles	142
A Roman Freight Ship	143
Gladiators	146
A Roman Aqueduct	147
Interior of the Catacombs	150
Charlemagne	162
Ring Seal of Otto the Great	164
A Viking Ship	167
A Scene from the Bayeux Tapestry	168
The Tower of London	173
Mounted Knight	175
Naval Battle Showing Use of "Greek Fire"	178
Mecca	181
The Alhambra	185
Combat between Crusaders and Moslems	188
Effigy of a Knight Templar	189
Hut-Wagon of the Mongols (Reconstruction)	191
A Mongol	192
Mohammed II	193
Coronation Chair, Westminster Abbey	196
Religious Music	205
A Bishop Ordaining a Priest	207
Abbey of Saint-Germain des Prés, Paris	209
Papal Arms	211
Sulgrave Manor	214
Farm Work in the Fourteenth Century	218
Serf Warming his Hands	220
House of Jacques Cœur, Bourges	223
Belfry of Bruges	224
A German Merchant in the Fourteenth Century	226
Jacob Fugger	229
Baptistery, Cathedral, and "Leaning Tower" of Pisa	232
Cross Section of Amiens Cathedral	233
A Hornbook	234
Tower of Magdalen College, Oxford	235
A University Lecture	236
Mask of Dante	241
An Early Printing Press	242
Desiderius Erasmus	245
William Shakespeare	246
The *Santa Maria*, Flagship of Columbus	252
Martin Luther	258
Worms Cathedral	260
St. Ignatius Loyola	266
The Spanish Armada in the English Channel	273
Henry IV	274
Henry VIII	276
Hugo Grotius	278
A Puritan Family	284
Specimen of Cromwell's Handwriting	287
Great Seal of England under the Commonwealth	289
Hôtel des Invalides, Paris	296
Marlborough	300
Gibraltar	301
Catherine II	307
Maria Theresa	310
The Partition of Poland	317
New Amsterdam in 1655	324
Quebec	333
A Stamp of 1765	335
George III	336
Opening Lines of the Declaration of Independence	337
Signatures of the Treaty of Paris, 1783	340
John Wesley	352
Boys' Sports	353
Adam Smith	355
Death Mask of Sir Isaac Newton	356

	PAGE
Voltaire	360
Rousseau	361
Joseph II	364
Louis XVI, Marie Antoinette, and the Dauphin	368
Turgot	369
Costumes of the Orders	371
Mirabeau	372
The Storming of the Bastile	374
The Destruction of Feudalism	376
An Assignat	377
Robespierre	382
The Lion of Lucerne	383
Napoleon's Birthplace, Ajaccio	388
Cross of the Legion of Honor	393
A Napoleonic Medal	394
The *Victory*	395
The Duke of Wellington	401
The Tomb of Napoleon	406
Seal of the French Republic	407
Arc de Triomphe, Paris	422
Louis Philippe	425
Facsimile of Article VII of the Treaty of 1839	428
La Madeleine, Paris	433
Caricature of Louis Philippe	434
Medal in Honor of Kôssuth	436
The Louvre and the Tuileries	443
"France is Tranquil"	445
Napoleon III and Eugénie	446
Mazzini	449
Victor Emmanuel II	450
"The Right Leg in the Boot at Last"	455
William I	459
"Væ Victis"	466
The Union Jack	469
Canvassing for Votes	470
Queen Victoria	474
Windsor Castle	475
Interior of the House of Commons	481
House of Commons Mace	483
No. 10, Downing Street	484
St. Paul's Cathedral, London	495
Notre Dame, Paris	500
The Panthéon, Paris	502
Chamber of Deputies, Paris	504
The Vatican, Rome	506
The Reichstagsgebäude, Berlin	515
The German National Monument	518
Francis Joseph I	520
The Kremlin, Moscow	523
Nicholas I	526
Church of the Resurrection of Christ, Petrograd	527
"What Nicholas Heard in the Shell"	533
Florence Nightingale	534
David Livingstone	544
Henry M. Stanley	546
Cecil Rhodes	548
Count Ferdinand de Lesseps	550
"The Lion's Vengeance on the Bengal Tiger"	554
The Great Wall of China	557
Empress-Dowager of China	559
Simón Bolívar	570
The Christ of the Andes	571
Robert E. Peary	578
A Spinning Wheel	584
Arkwright's Spinning Wheel	585
Cartwright's First Power Loom	586
Whitney's Cotton Gin	586
An Eighteenth-century Stage-coach	592
The *Clermont*, 1807	593
The *Rocket*, 1830	594
A Precursor of the Automobile	595
Morse's First Telegraph Instrument, 1837	597
The Original Atlantic Cable	598
First Adhesive Penny Postage Stamp	599

	PAGE
The First Copy of the New York *Sun*	599
The Stock Exchange, New York	601
McCormick Reaper, 1834	606
The Earl of Shaftesbury	612
Robert Owen	617
Karl Marx	619
Spinning and Weaving in the Middle Ages	624
"Ridiculous Taste, or the Ladies' Absurdity"	626
Elizabeth Fry	630
A Lunatic	630
William Booth	631
Susan B. Anthony	633
Sir Charles Lyell	642
Victor Hugo	646
Mozart's Spinet	647
Ludwig van Beethoven	647
"Dropping the Pilot"	652
"The Blessings of Peace"	662
Nicholas II	664
William II	673
Herbert H. Asquith	675
"The Advance on Paris and Berlin"	678
"Kultur Has Passed Here"	680
Guild Hall, Ypres	681
The Grand Duke Nicholas	682
Hindenburg	684
The Victoria Cross	685
The Iron Cross	685
Eleutherios Venizelos	686
The *Lusitania*	692
The German *Lusitania* Medal	693
The United States Declaration of War	694
"Von Pot und Von Kettle"	703
Eric von Ludendorff	704
Raymond Poincaré	708
Georges Clemenceau	709
Signatures of the Peace with Germany	711
Powder Gate, Prague	722
President Ebert	725
Lenin	729
The Peace Palace at the Hague	757

LIST OF MAPS

	PAGE
Europe in the Ice Age	4
Races of Man	19
Distribution of Semitic and Indo-European Peoples	22
Physical Asia (double page) *Between* 28 *and*	29
The Ancient Orient (double page) *Between* 34 *and*	35
Solomon's Kingdom	36
Colonization of the Mediterranean *Facing*	46
Physical Features of Europe (double page) *Between* 64 *and*	65
Racial Types in Western Europe	67
The Mediterranean Basin	70
Greek Conquests and Migrations	74
The Persian Invasions of Greece	86
The Athenian Empire at its Height *Facing*	90
Growth of Macedonia	99
(1) Empire of Alexander (2) Kingdoms of his Successors *Facing*	104
The World according to Ptolemy	108
The Ætolian and Achæan Leagues (about 229 B.C.)	109
Distribution of the Early Inhabitants of Italy	113
Rome in Italy *Facing*	122
Rome and Carthage at the Beginning of the Second Punic War	125
Roman Empire at its Greatest Extent (double page) *Between* 138 *and*	139
St. Paul's Travels	152
Prefectures of the Roman Empire about 395	155
Europe at Deposition of Romulus Augustulus, 476 *Facing*	156
Teutonic Migrations and Conquests *Facing*	160
Europe in the Age of Charlemagne, 800 *Facing*	162
Europe in the Age of Otto the Great, 962	165
The Byzantine Empire during the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries	177
Expansion of Islam *Facing*	184
Asia under the Mongols *Facing*	192
The British Isles during the Middle Ages	195
Unification of France during the Middle Ages	198
Unification of Spain during the Middle Ages	200
Growth of Christianity from the Fifth to the Fourteenth Century (double page) *Between* 204 *and*	205
Plan of Hitchin Manor, Hertfordshire	215
Trade Routes between Northern and Southern Europe	230

	PAGE
Behaim's Globe	250
Portuguese and Spanish Colonial Empires in the Sixteenth Century (double page)	*Between* 254 *and* 255
Extent of the Reformation, 1524–1572	264
The Netherlands at the Truce of 1609	271
Europe at the End of the Thirty Years' War, 1648	*Facing* 278
Acquisitions of Louis XIV and Louis XV	298
Europe after the Peace of Utrecht, 1713	*Facing* 300
Growth of Russia to the End of the Eighteenth Century	303
The Ottoman Empire to 1683	*Facing* 308
Growth of Prussia to the End of the Eighteenth Century	*Facing* 314
Partitions of Poland, 1772, 1793, 1795	316
English Trading Companies	*Facing* 322
India	326
North America after the Peace of Paris, 1783	339
Colonial Empires in the Eighteenth Century (double page)	*Between* 344 *and* 345
Europe at the Beginning of the French Revolution	*Facing* 366
Revolutionary France and Italy	*Facing* 388
First French Empire, 1812	*Facing* 398
Theater of the Waterloo Campaign	405
Europe after the Congress of Vienna, 1815	*Facing* 416
The Netherlands in the Nineteenth Century	427
Poland in the Nineteenth Century	429
Unification of Italy, 1815–1870	454
The Germanic Confederation, 1815–1866	*Facing* 458
Unification of Germany, 1815–1871	*Facing* 462
Alsace-Lorraine	465
Ireland	486
Growth of the British Empire	*Facing* 490
The British Empire	*Between* 494 *and* 495
The Hapsburg Dominions, 1273–1914	*Facing* 520
Russia in Europe during the Nineteenth Century	524
The Ottoman Empire, 1683–1914	*Facing* 530
Balkan States in 1878 and 1913	*Facing* 538
The World Powers, 1815	*Facing* 540
Peoples of Africa	543
Religions of Africa	545
Exploration and Partition of Africa (double page)	*Between* 548 *and* 549
The Peoples of Asia	*Facing* 552
The European Advance in Asia (double page)	*Between* 554 *and* 555
Expansion of Buddhism	556
The World Powers (double page)	*Between* 560 *and* 561

		PAGE
The Pacific Ocean	*Facing*	564
Exclusion of Spain and Portugal from South America	*Facing*	570
Relief Map of the Panama Canal		575
North America since 1783	*Facing*	576
Discoveries of the Polar Regions		579
Economic Europe (double page)	*Between* 582 *and*	583
Industrial England in the Twentieth Century		590
Occupations of Mankind	*Facing*	592
Commercial Development of the World (double page)	*Between* 604 *and*	605
Density of the World's Population	*Facing*	620
Languages of the World	*Facing*	626
Religions of the World		637
Europe in 1871	*Facing*	650
Berlin-to-Bagdad Railway		658
Europe in 1914	*Facing*	666
Plan of the Battle of the Marne		677
The Western Front		679
The Eastern Front		683
The Italian Front		687
German Barred Zone		691
North Sea Mine Fields		696
The World War in 1918		701
Dismemberment of the Austro-Hungarian Empire		716
Europe after the Peace Conference at Paris (double page)	*Between* 722 *and*	723
Dismemberment of the Russian Empire		727
The Peoples of Europe at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century (double page)	*Between* 730 *and*	731
Government of the World To-day	*Facing*	734
The League of Nations		751
The Partition of the Caribbean		762
The Moslem World		766

LIST OF PLATES

	PAGE
Queen Nefertiti	*Frontispiece*
Stonehenge	*Facing* 12
Great Pyramid of Gizeh	56
Hermes and Dionysus	80
Temple of Poseidon at Pæstum	81
The Acropolis of Athens (Restoration)	94
Acropolis of Athens from the Southwest	95
Julius Cæsar	136
Augustus Cæsar	136
The Palaces of the Cæsars	142
The Roman Forum at the Present Time	143
Oriental, Greek, and Roman Coins	148
Ancient and Medieval Gems	149
Rheinstein Castle	176
Sancta Sophia, Constantinople	177
St. Peter's, Rome	212
Campanile and Doge's Palace, Venice	230
Reims Cathedral	231
Italian Paintings of the Renaissance	244
Philip II	272
Elizabeth	273
Oliver Cromwell	286
Louis XIV	302
Peter the Great	303
Frederick the Great	310
Washington	340
Lincoln	341
Napoleon as First Consul	390
"1807"	391
The Congress of Vienna, 1814-1815	414
Prince Metternich	415
Cavour	452
Garibaldi	452
Bismarck	460
Moltke	460
Gladstone	476
Disraeli	476
Houses of Parliament, London	482

	PAGE
Gambetta	*Facing* 494
The Congress of Berlin, 1878	536
Constantinople and the Bosporus	537
Benjamin Watt	588
Robert Fulton	588
Early Passenger Trains	589
Madame Curie	644
Louis Pasteur	644
Immanuel Kant	645
Herbert Spencer	645
Marshal Joffre	704
Marshal Foch	704
Sir Douglas Haig	704
General Pershing	704
View of Paris from an Airplane	708
The Peace Conference, 1919	709
Woodrow Wilson	752
Lloyd George	752

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

Periodicals

Students of history should have access to the *American Historical Review* (N. Y., 1895 to date, quarterly, $4.00 a year). This journal, the organ of the American Historical Association, contains articles by scholars, critical reviews of all important works, and notes and news. The *Historical Outlook* is edited in coöperation with committees of the American Historical Association and the National Council for the Social Studies (Philadelphia, 1909 to date, monthly, $2.00 a year). Every well-equipped school library should contain the files of the *National Geographic Magazine* (Washington, 1890 to date, monthly, $3.00 a year) and of *Art and Archæology* (Washington, 1914 to date, monthly, $5.00 a year). These two periodicals make a special feature of illustrations. *Current History* (N. Y., 1914 to date, monthly, $3.00 a year) contains much matter of contemporary interest.

Works on the study and teaching of history

Useful books for the teacher's library include H. E. Bourne, *The Teaching of History and Civics in the Elementary and the Secondary School* (N. Y., 1902, Longmans, Green & Co., $1.90), Henry Johnson, *The Teaching of History* (N. Y., 1915, Macmillan, $1.40), R. M. Tryon, *The Teaching of History in Junior and Senior High Schools* (Boston, 1921, Ginn & Co., $1.48), H. B. George, *Historical Evidence* (N. Y., 1909, Oxford University Press, American Branch, $1.80), Frederic Harrison, *The Meaning of History and Other Historical Pieces* (new ed., N. Y., 1900, Macmillan, $2.00), J. H. Robinson, *The New History* (N. Y., 1912, Macmillan, $2.00), and H. B. George, *The Relations of History and Geography* (new ed., N. Y., 1910, Oxford University Press, American Branch, $2.25). The following reports are indispensable:

Historical Sources in Schools. Report to the New England History Teachers' Association by a Select Committee (N. Y., 1902, out of print).

A History Syllabus for Secondary Schools. Report by a Special Committee of the New England History Teachers' Association (N. Y., 1904, Heath, $1.60).

A Bibliography of History for Schools and Libraries. Published under the auspices of the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland (2d ed., N. Y., 1915, Longmans, Green & Co., 60 cents).

Dictionaries and encyclopedias

For chronology, genealogies, lists of sovereigns, and other data the most valuable works are Arthur Hassall, *European History, 476–1920* (new ed., N. Y., 1920, Macmillan, $4.00), G. P. Putnam, *Tabular Views of Universal History* (new ed., N. Y., 1915, Putnam, $3.00), and K. J. Ploetz, *A Handbook of Universal History*, translated by W. H. Tillinghast (new ed., Boston, 1915, Houghton Mifflin Co., $3.75).

Atlases

An admirable collection of maps for school use is W. R. Shepherd, *Historical Atlas* (new ed., N. Y., 1923, Holt, $3.90), with about two hundred and fifty maps covering the historical field. Other valuable works are E. W. Dow, *Atlas of European History* (N. Y., 1907, Holt, $2.50), and Ramsay Muir, *Hammond's New Historical Atlas for Students* (2d ed., N. Y., 1914, Hammond, $4.00). Much use can be made of the *Literary and Historical Atlas of Europe*, by J. G. Bartholomew, in "Everyman's Library" (N. Y., 1910, Dutton, $1.00). Other atlases in the same collection are devoted to Asia, Africa and Australasia, and America, respectively.

Wall maps and charts

The *Webster-Knowlton-Hazen European History Maps*, prepared by Hutton Webster, D. C. Knowlton, and C. D. Hazen, include eighteen maps for ancient history and twenty-six for medieval and modern history (Chicago, A. J. Nystrom & Co., complete set in chart form with tripod, $87.50). These maps may also be had separately. The maps in this series are on a very large scale, omit all irrelevant detail, present place names in the modern English form, and deal with cultural as well as with political subjects. They are accompanied by a Teacher's Manual for each of the two sections. A somewhat similar series of wall maps, forty-three in number, size 44 × 32 inches, has been prepared by J. H. Breasted, C. F. Huth, and S. B. Harding (Chicago, Denoyer-Geppert Co.).

Outline maps

The "Studies" following each chapter of this book include various exercises for which small outline maps are required. Such maps are sold by D. C. Heath and Company, Boston, New York, Chicago. Atlases of outline maps are also to be had of the McKinley Publishing Co., Philadelphia, Atkinson, Mentzer and Grover, Chicago, A. J. Nystrom & Co., Chicago, and of other publishers.

Illustrations

Photographs of ancient works of art may be obtained from the foreign publishers in Naples, Florence, Rome, Munich, Paris, Athens, and London, or from their American agents. In addition to photographs and lantern slides, a collection of stereoscopic views is very helpful in giving vividness and interest to historical instruction. The Keystone stereographs, pre-

pared by the Keystone View Company, Meadville, Penn., are cordially recommended. Notable collections include Lehmann's *Geographical Pictures*, *Historical Pictures*, and *Types of Nations*, and Cybulski's *Historical Pictures* (Chicago, A. J. Nystrom & Co., and Denoyer-Geppert Co.; each picture separately mounted on rollers).

Works of travel and description

To vitalize the study of geography and history there is nothing better than the reading of modern books of travel. In addition to the volumes mentioned below, the school library should contain Hammerton's, *Wonders of the Past* (Putnam, 4 vols.) and Johnston and Guest's *The World of To-day* (Putnam, 4 vols.). These two series are written in a popular style, are accurate, and are very well illustrated.

Allinson, F. G., and Allinson, Anne C. E. *Greek Lands and Letters.*
Barrows, S. J. *The Isles and Shrines of Greece.*
Clark, F. E. *The Holy Land of Asia Minor.*
Dwight, H. G. *Constantinople, Old and New.*
Edwards, Amelia B. *A Thousand Miles up the Nile.*
Forman, H. J. *The Ideal Italian Tour.*
Jackson, A. V. W. *Persia, Past and Present.*
Kinglake, A. W. *Eothen.*
Taylor, Bayard. *Views A-Foot.*
Warner, C. D. *In the Levant.*

Historical fiction

The following works of historical fiction comprise only a selection from a very large number of books suitable for supplementary reading. For extended bibliographies see E. A. Baker, *A Guide to Historical Fiction*, and Jonathan Nield, *A Guide to the Best Historical Novels and Tales*. An excellent list of historical stories, especially designed for children, will be found in the *Bibliography of History for Schools and Libraries*, parts viii–ix.

Blackmore, R. D. *Lorna Doone.* Monmouth's Rebellion, 1685.
Bulwer-Lytton, Edward. *The Last Days of Pompeii.*
Dickens, Charles. *The Tale of Two Cities.* London and Paris at the time of the French Revolution.
Eliot, George. *Romola.* Florence in the latter part of the fifteenth century.
Hugo, Victor. *Ninety-Three.* Insurrection in La Vendée, 1793.
—— *Notre Dame de Paris.* Paris, late fifteenth century.
Irving, Washington. *The Alhambra.* Sketches of the Moors and Spaniards.
Kingsley, Charles. *Hypatia.* Alexandria, 391 A.D.
—— *Westward Ho!* Voyages of Elizabethan seamen and the struggle with Spain.
Kipling, Rudyard. *Puck of Pook's Hill.* Roman occupation of Britain.

LEVER, CHARLES. *Charles O'Malley.* The Peninsula War.
—— *Tom Bourke of "Ours."* The French wars of the Consulate and Empire.
READE, CHARLES. *The Cloister and the Hearth.* Eve of the Reformation.
SCOTT, (SIR) WALTER. *The Talisman.* Reign of Richard I, 1193.
—— *Ivanhoe.* Richard I, 1194.
SHORTHOUSE, J. H. *John Inglesant.* Life in England and Italy during the seventeenth century.
SIENKIEWICZ, HENRYK. *With Fire and Sword.* Poland in the seventeenth century.
THACKERAY, W. M. *Henry Esmond.* England during the reigns of William III and Queen Anne.
TOLSTOY, (COUNT) L. N. *War and Peace.* Napoleon's campaigns in Russia.
—— *Sevastopol.* Crimean War.
WALLACE, LEW. *Ben Hur; a Tale of the Christ.*
WATERLOO, STANLEY. *The Story of Ab.* Prehistoric life.

Historical poetry

It is unnecessary to emphasize the value, as collateral reading, of historical poems and plays. To the brief list which follows should be added the material in M. E. Windsor and J. Turral, *Lyra Historical* (Oxford University Press) and Katharine Lee Bates and Katharine Coman, *English History told by English Poets* (Macmillan).

BROWNING, ELIZABETH B. *The Cry of the Children*, and *The Forced Recruit.*
BROWNING, ROBERT. *Pheidippides, Hervé Riel*, and *An Incident of the French Camp.*
BURNS, ROBERT. *The Battle of Bannockburn.*
BYRON (LORD). *Song of Saul before His Last Battle, The Destruction of Sennacherib, Belshazzar's Feast*, "The Isles of Greece" (*Don Juan*, canto iii, between stanzas 86–87), "The Eve of Waterloo" (*Childe Harold*, canto iii, stanzas 21–28), and *Ode to Napoleon Buonaparte.*
CAMPBELL, THOMAS. *Hohenlinden, The Battle of the Baltic, Rule Britannia*, and *Ye Mariners of England.*
COWPER, WILLIAM. *Loss of the "Royal George."*
DRYDEN, JOHN. *Alexander's Feast.*
HALLECK, FITZ-GREENE. *Marco Bozzaris.*
HEMANS, FELICIA. *The Landing of the Pilgrims.*
KIPLING, RUDYARD. *Recessional*, and *The White Man's Burden.*
LONGFELLOW, H. W. *The Skeleton in Armor, The Norman Baron, The Belfry of Bruges, Nuremberg*, and *The White Czar.*
LOWELL, J. R. *Kossuth* and *Villafranca.*
MACAULAY, T. B. *Lays of Ancient Rome, The Armada, The Battle of Ivry*, and *The Battle of Naseby.*
MCCRAE, JOHN. *In Flanders Fields.*
MILLER, JOAQUIN. *Columbus.*
MILTON, JOHN. *Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity*, and *To the Lord General Cromwell.*

ROSSETTI, D. G. *The White Ship.*
SCHILLER, FRIEDRICH. *The Maid of Orleans, William Tell, Maria Stuart,* and *Wallenstein.*
SCOTT, (SIR) WALTER. "Flodden Field" (*Marmion,* canto vi, stanzas 19–27, 33–35).
SHAKESPEARE, WILLIAM. *Coriolanus, Julius Cæsar, Antony and Cleopatra, King John, Richard the Second, Henry the Fourth,* parts i and ii, *Henry the Fifth, Henry the Sixth,* parts i, ii, and iii, *Richard the Third, Henry the Eighth,* and *The Merchant of Venice.*
TAYLOR, BAYARD. *The Song in Camp.*
TENNYSON, ALFRED. *Ulysses, Boadicea, St. Telemachus, St. Simeon Stylites, Sir Galahad, "The Revenge": A Ballad of the Fleet, Ode on Death of the Duke of Wellington, The Charge of the Light Brigade,* and *The Defense of Lucknow.*
THACKERAY, W. M. *King Canute.*
WOLFE, CHARLES. *The Burial of Sir John Moore.*

Sources

Full information regarding the best translations of the sources of history may be found in one of the Reports previously cited — *Historical Sources in Schools,* parts ii–iv. Hutton Webster's *Readings in Ancient History* (D. C. Heath and Company, $1.60) and *Readings in Medieval and Modern History* (Heath, $1.64) provide narrative and biographical selections from the sources, while the same editor's *Historical Source Book* (Heath, $1.60) furnishes the text of important documents with introductions and notes.

Use may also be made of the following collections:

BOTSFORD, G. W., and BOTSFORD, LILLIE S. *Source Book of Ancient History* (N. Y., 1912, Macmillan, $2.00).
DAVIS, W. S. *Readings in Ancient History* (Boston, 1912, Allyn & Bacon, 2 vols., $2.80).
OGG, F. A. *A Source Book of Medieval History* (N. Y., 1907, American Book Co., $1.72).
ROBINSON, J. H. *Readings in European History* (abridged ed., Boston, 1906, Ginn, $2.50).
Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History (N. Y., 1894–1899, Longmans, Green & Co., 6 vols., each $2.00).

Modern works

Most of the books in the following list are inexpensive, easily procured and well adapted in style and choice of topics to the needs of high-school pupils. A few more elaborate and costly volumes, especially suitable for teachers are indicated by an asterisk*. For detailed bibliographies, often accompanied by critical estimates, see C. K. Adams, *A Manual of Historical Literature,* and the *Bibliography of History for Schools and Libraries,* parts ii–v.

GENERAL

*Abbott, W. C. *The Expansion of Europe, 1415–1789* (N. Y., 1918, Holt, 2 vols., $8.00). Emphasizes cultural aspects of modern European history.

Cheyney, E. P. *Introduction to the Industrial and Social History of England* (new ed., N. Y., 1920, Macmillan, $2.60).

Cunningham, William. *An Essay on Western Civilization in its Economic Aspects (Ancient Times)* (N. Y., 1898, Putnam, $1.35). "Cambridge Historical Series."

—— *An Essay on Western Civilization in its Economic Aspects (Medieval and Modern Times)* (N. Y., 1901, Putnam, $1.35). "Cambridge Historical Series."

Day, Clive. *A History of Commerce* (new ed., N. Y., 1923, Longmans, Green & Co., $2.50). The most scholarly treatment in English.

Goodyear, W. H. *Roman and Medieval Art* (2d ed., N. Y., 1897, Macmillan, $2.00).

—— *Renaissance and Modern Art* (N. Y., 1894, $2.00).

Gras, S. N. B. *An Introduction to Economic History* (N. Y., 1922, Harper, $2.25).

*Hayes, C. J. H. *A Political and Social History of Modern Europe* (N. Y., 1916, Macmillan, 2 vols., $7.25). A college textbook, covering the period 1500–1915.

Herrick, C. A. *History of Commerce and Industry* (N. Y., 1917, Macmillan, $1.80).

Jacobs, Joseph. *The Story of Geographical Discovery* (N. Y., 1898, Appleton, $1.00).

Jenks, Edward. *The State and the Nation* (N. Y., 1919, Dutton, $2.00). A simply written work on the development of social institutions.

Libby, Walter. *An Introduction to the History of Science* (Boston, 1917, Houghton Mifflin Co., $2.35).

Marvin, F. S. *The Living Past* (new ed., N. Y., 1915, Oxford University Press, American Branch, $2.00). Suggestive survey of intellectual history.

Pattison, R. P. D. *Leading Figures in European History* (N. Y., 1912, Macmillan, $2.00). Biographical sketches of European statesmen from Charlemagne to Bismarck.

Reinach, Salomon. *Apollo; an Illustrated Manual of the History of Art throughout the Ages*, translated by Florence Simmonds (new ed., N Y., 1914, Scribner, $2.00). The best work on the subject.

Seignobos, Charles. *History of Ancient Civilization*, edited by A. H. Wilde (N. Y., 1906, Scribner, $1.48).

—— *History of Medieval and Modern Civilization*, edited by J. A. James (N. Y., 1907, Scribner, $1.48).

—— *History of Contemporary Civilization*, edited by J. A. James (N. Y., 1909, Scribner, $1.48).

Van Loon, H. *The Story of Mankind* (N. Y., 1920, Boni & Liveright, $5.00).

Webster, Hutton. *History of the Far East* (N. Y., 1923, Heath, $1.40).

—— *History of Latin America* (N. Y., 1924, Heath, $1.64).

*Wells, H. G. *A Short History of the World* (N. Y., 1922, Macmillan, $4.00).

PREHISTORIC TIMES

Myres, J. L. *The Dawn of History* (N. Y., 1912, Holt, 90 cents). "Home University Library."

*Osborn, H. F. *Men of the Old Stone Age* (N. Y., 1915, Scribner, $5.00). An authoritative, interesting, and amply illustrated work.

Tyler, J. M. *The New Stone Age in Northern Europe* (N. Y., 1921, Scribner, $3.00).

Wilder, H. H. *Man's Prehistoric Past* (new ed., N. Y., 1924, Macmillan, $5.00).

THE ANCIENT ORIENT

Baikie, James. *The Story of the Pharaohs* (N. Y., 1908, Macmillan, $4.25). A popular work; well illustrated.

*Breasted, J. H. *A History of Egypt from the Earliest Times to the Persian Conquest* (new ed., N. Y., 1909, Scribner, $7.00). The standard work on Egyptian history.

Clay, A. T. *Light on the Old Testament from Babel* (new ed., Philadelphia, 1915, Sunday School Times Co., $2.00).

*Hall, H. R. *Ancient History of the Near East* (new ed., N. Y., 1920, Macmillan, $7.00).

Hogarth, D. G. *The Ancient East* (N. Y., 1915, Holt, 90 cents), "Home University Library."

*Jastrow, Morris. *The Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria* (Philadelphia, 1915, Lippincott, $7.50). A finely illustrated work by a great scholar.

Maspero, (Sir) Gaston. *Life in Ancient Egypt and Assyria* (N. Y., 1892, Appleton, $2.50). Fascinating and authoritative.

*Olmstead, A. T. *History of Assyria* (N. Y., 1923, Scribner, $7.50).

GREECE AND ROME

Baikie, James. *The Sea-Kings of Crete* (new ed., N. Y., 1912, Macmillan, $4.25). A clear and vivid summary of Cretan archæology.

Bailey, Cyril (editor). *The Legacy of Rome* (N. Y., 1923, Oxford University Press, American Branch, $3.00). Essays on Roman civilization by distinguished scholars.

*Botsford, G. W. *Hellenic History* (N. Y., 1922, Macmillan, $4.00).

*Botsford, G. W., and Sihler, E. G. *Hellenic Civilization* (N. Y., 1915, Columbia University Press, $4.00). Lengthy extracts from the sources, with commentary and bibliographies.

Fowler, W. W. *Social Life at Rome in the Age of Cicero* (N. Y., 1909, Macmillan, $3.00).

*Frank, Tenney. *A History of Rome* (N. Y., 1923, Holt, $3.50). "American Historical Series."

Gayley, C. M. *The Classic Myths in English Literature and in Art* (new ed., Boston, 1911, Ginn, $1.92).

GULICK, C. B. *The Life of the Ancient Greeks* (N. Y., 1902, Appleton, $2.00). Well illustrated.

HOPKINSON, (MISS) L. W. *Greek Leaders* (Boston, 1918, Houghton Mifflin Co., $1.75). Simple biographies of eleven makers of Greek history.

LIVINGSTONE, R. W. (editor). *The Legacy of Greece* (N. Y., 1921, Oxford University Press, American Branch, $2.50). Essays on Greek civilization by distinguished scholars.

MAHAFFY, J. P. *What have the Greeks done for Modern Civilization?* (N. Y. 1909, Putnam, $2.50).

*MAU, AUGUST. *Pompeii: Its Life and Art*, translated by F. W. Kelsey (N. Y., 1899, out of print).

OMAN, CHARLES. *Seven Roman Statesmen of the Later Republic* (N. Y., 1902, Longmans, Green & Co., $2.25). A biographical presentation of Roman history.

ROBINSON, C. E. *The Days of Alkibiades* (N. Y., 1916, Longmans, Green & Co., $2.00). A picture of Greek life and culture in the Age of Pericles.

*STOBART, J. C. *The Glory that was Greece: A Survey of Hellenic Culture and Civilization* (new ed., Philadelphia, 1915, Lippincott, $7.50).

*—— *The Grandeur that was Rome. A Survey of Roman Culture and Civilization* (new ed., Philadelphia, 1920, Lippincott, $7.50).

TARBELL, F. G. *A History of Greek Art* (new ed., N. Y., 1905, Macmillan, $2.00).

TUCKER, T. G. *Life in Ancient Athens* (N. Y., 1906, Macmillan, $2.40). The most attractive treatment of the subject.

—— *Life in the Roman World of Nero and St. Paul* (N. Y., 1910, Macmillan, $3.50).

ZIMMERN, A. E. *The Greek Commonwealth* (new ed., N. Y., 1922, Oxford University Press, American Branch, $3.80).

MIDDLE AGES

ADAMS, G. B. *Civilization during the Middle Ages* (new ed., N. Y., 1914, Scribner, $2.75).

BATESON, MARY. *Medieval England* (N. Y., 1903, Putnam, $2.50). Deals with economic and social life; "Story of the Nations."

*BRYCE, JAMES (VISCOUNT). *The Holy Roman Empire* (new ed., N. Y., 1904, Macmillan, $3.75). A famous work, originally published in 1864.

CUTTS, E. L. *Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages* (London, 1872, De La More Press, 7*s*. 6*d*.).

DAVIS, H. W. C. *Medieval Europe* (N. Y., 1911, Holt, 90 cents). "Home University Library."

EMERTON, EPHRAIM. *An Introduction to the Study of the Middle Ages* (Boston, 1888, Ginn, $1.92).

FOORD, EDWARD. *The Byzantine Empire* (N. Y., 1911, out of print). The most convenient short treatment; lavishly illustrated.

GUERBER, H. A. *Legends of the Middle Ages* (N. Y., 1896, American Book Co., $2.00).

*Hearnshaw, F. J. C. (editor). *Medieval Contributions to Modern Civilization* (London, 1921, Harrap, 10*s.* 6*d.*).

*Luchaire, Achille. *Social France at the Time of Philip Augustus*, translated by E. B. Krehbiel (London, 1912, Murray, 10*s.* 6*d.*). A historical masterpiece.

*Munro, D. C. *The Middle Ages* (N. Y., 1921, Century Co., $3.50). "Century Historical Series."

*Munro, D. C., and Sellery, G. C. *Medieval Civilization* (new ed., N. Y., 1907, Century Co., $2.50). Translated selections from standard works by French and German scholars.

Tappan, Eva M. *When Knights were Bold* (Boston, 1912, Houghton Mifflin Co., $3.00). An economic and social study of the Feudal Age; charmingly written for young people.

*Thorndike, Lynn. *The History of Medieval Europe* (Boston, 1917, Houghton Mifflin Co., $3.50). An admirable college textbook.

TRANSITION TO MODERN TIMES

Bourne, E. G. *Spain in America, 1450–1580* (N. Y., 1904, Harper, $2.25). "American Nation Series."

Cheyney, E. P. *European Background of American History, 1300–1600* (N. Y., 1904, Harper, $2.25). "American Nation Series."

Hudson, W. H. *The Story of the Renaissance* (N. Y., 1912, Holt, $2.50). A well-written volume.

*Hulme, E. M. *The Renaissance, the Protestant Revolution, and the Catholic Reformation in Continental Europe* (new ed., N. Y., 1915, Century Co. $3.50). The best work on the subject by an American scholar.

Seebohm, Frederic. *The Era of the Protestant Revolution* (N. Y., 1875, Scribner, $1.75). "Epochs of Modern History."

*Smith, Preserved. *The Age of the Reformation* (N. Y., 1920, Holt, $5.00). "American Historical Series."

THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

Firth, C. H. *Oliver Cromwell and the Rule of the Puritans in England* (N. Y., 1900, Putnam, $2.50). "Heroes of the Nations."

Hassall, Arthur. *Louis XIV and the Zenith of the French Monarchy* (N. Y., 1895, Putnam, $2.50). "Heroes of the Nations."

Lowell, E. J. *The Eve of the French Revolution* (new ed., Boston, 1893, Houghton Mifflin Co., $3.00). A satisfactory account of the Old Régime in France.

Reddaway, W. F. *Frederick the Great and the Rise of Prussia* (N. Y., 1904, Putnam, $2.50). "Heroes of the Nations."

Thwaites, R. G. *France in America* (N. Y., 1905, Harper, $2.25). "American Nation Series."

Tyler, L. G. *England in America* (N. Y., 1904, Harper, $2.25). "American Nation Series."

THE REVOLUTIONARY AND NAPOLEONIC ERA

*Bourne, H. E. *The Revolutionary Period in Europe, 1763–1815* (N. Y., 1914, Century Co., $3.50). "Century Historical Series."

Fisher, Herbert. *Napoleon* (N. Y., 1913, Holt, 90 cents). "Home University Library."

Johnston, R. M. *The French Revolution* (N. Y., 1909, Holt, $2.00).

—— *Napoleon* (N. Y., 1909, Holt, $2.00).

Mathews, Shailer. *The French Revolution* (new ed., N. Y., 1923, Longmans, Green & Co., $2.00). Extends to 1815; probably the best short survey of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic eras.

THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES

*Andrews, C. M. *The Historical Development of Modern Europe* (N. Y., 1896–1898, Putnam, two volumes in one, $4.50). Covers the period 1815–1897.

Bassett, J. S. *Our War with Germany* (N. Y., 1920, Knopf, $4.00). A scholarly history.

*Bowman, Isaiah. *The New World Problems in Political Geography* (N. Y., 1922, World Book Co., $6.00).

Davis, W. S., Anderson, William, and Tyler, M. W. *The Roots of the War* (N. Y., 1918, Century Co., $2.50). A non-technical, yet scholarly, history of Europe, 1870–1914.

Gibbins, H. de B. *Economic and Industrial Progress of the Century* (Edinburgh, 1903, Chambers, 5*s*.).

Gibbons, H. A. *The New Map of Europe, 1911–1914* (new ed., N. Y., 1915, Century Co., $3.00).

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WORLD HISTORY

CHAPTER I

PREHISTORIC TIMES

1. Introductory

History is a narrative of what *civilized* men have thought or done in past times — whether a day, a year, a century, or a millennium ago. Since men do not live in isolation, but everywhere in association, history is necessarily concerned with social groups and especially with states and nations. Just as biography describes the life of individuals, so history relates the rise, progress, and decline of human societies. **Definition of history**

History does not limit its attention to a fraction of the community to the exclusion of the rest. It does not deal solely with rulers and warriors, with forms of government, public affairs, and domestic or foreign wars. More and more, history becomes an account of the entire culture of a people. The historian wants to learn about their houses, furniture, costumes, and food; what occupations they followed; what schools they supported; what beliefs and superstitions they held; what amusements and festivals they enjoyed. Human progress in invention, science, art, music, literature, morals, religion, and other aspects of civilization is what chiefly interests the historical student of to-day. **Scope of history**

Civilization is a recent thing, almost a thing of yesterday. It began not more than five or six thousand years ago in the river valleys of Egypt and western Asia. The Egyptians and Babylonians by this time were cultivating the soil, laying out roads and canals, working mines, building cities, organizing stable governments, and keeping written records. All the rest of the world was then **Civilization**

inhabited by savage and barbarous peoples, such as are still found in every continent.

Savagery and barbarism

The savage is a mere child of nature. He secures food from wild plants and animals; he knows nothing of metals, but makes his tools and weapons of wood, bone, and stone; he wears little or no clothing: and his home is merely a cave, a rock shelter, or a rude bark hut. Such miserable folk occupy the interior of South America, Africa, Australia, New Guinea, the Philippines, and other regions. Barbarism forms a transitional stage between savagery and civilization. The barbarian has gained some *control* of nature. He has learned to sow and reap the fruits of the earth, instead of depending entirely upon hunting and fishing for a food supply, to domesticate animals, and ordinarily to use implements of metal. Barbarous tribes at the present time include certain North American Indians, the Pacific Islanders, and most of the African negroes.

Human progress

The facts collected by modern science make it certain that early man was first a savage and then a barbarian before he reached anywhere the stage of civilization. We know this, not on the evidence of written records — early man made neither inscriptions nor books — but from the things which he left behind him in many parts of the world, particularly in Europe and the Mediterranean region. These include a few of his own bones, many bones of animals killed by him, and a great variety of tools, weapons, and other objects. Systematic study of such remains began during the nineteenth century. The study is still in its infancy, but it has gone far enough to afford some idea of human progress before the rise of civilization.

2. Man's Place in Nature

Origin of the earth

Astronomy and geology present a wonderful picture of the earth in past ages. The astronomer tells us that space is for the most part mere emptiness, that at vast intervals in this emptiness are the so-called "fixed stars," — flaming, incandescent masses of matter, — that the sun is such a star,

and that it threw off, one by one, the planets of the solar system. Our earth thus separated from the parent sun probably much more than a hundred million years ago.

The geologist tells us that in process of time the cooling earth gradually raised over its molten interior a thin crust of fire-fused rocks. Then the steam in the atmosphere began to condense and, falling upon this crust, formed the first rivers, lakes, and seas. The dust and rock particles in the water accumulated in layers, or strata, which hardened into the stratified rocks. They reach to a depth of perhaps twenty-five miles below the surface and contain what geologists call fossils. These are the remains of plants and animals which, through natural agencies, have been buried in the earth and so preserved for long periods of time.

Life on the earth

Most of geological time since the origin of the earth is divided into three great epochs. The first or Primary epoch saw the appearance of plants, such as seaweeds, mosses, ferns, and finally of huge-stemmed trees, whose abundant vegetation formed our coal measures. It saw also the appearance of animals, beginning with simple invertebrate creatures which lived in the water and passing to fishes and amphibians. The Secondary epoch was especially the age of enormous reptiles, whose skeletons are shown in museums. During this time bird-like animals developed and became true birds as they grew wings and modified their reptilian scales into feathers. In the third or Tertiary epoch there appeared for the first time a variety and abundance of mammals. Such is the record of the rocks for untold millions of years before the first traces of man.

Geological time

The Tertiary epoch was characterized by a semi-tropical climate, even in the Arctic region. Toward the close of the Tertiary profound climatic changes began to occur in northern latitudes, producing what is called the Ice Age. An immense ice cap formed in the lands encircling the North Pole and gradually moved southward. North America to the valleys of the Ohio and the Missouri and Europe to the Rhine and the Thames were covered by an

The Ice Age

icy mass, estimated to have exceeded a mile in thickness. Great glaciers also arose in the Alps, Pyrenees, and Caucasus and descended from these mountains far into the plains. The Ice Age, despite its name, was not one of uninterrupted cold. There seem to have been four advances and retreats of the ice, resulting in as many more or less warm intervals. The accompanying map represents Europe in the second glacial stage,

EUROPE IN THE ICE AGE

Discovery sites of Palæolithic man: 1, Piltdown; 2, Heidelberg; 3, Neanderthal; 4, Crô-Magnon; 5, Brünn; 6, Furfooz; 7, Ofnet.

the period of the greatest extension of ice fields and glaciers. Guesses about the duration of the Ice Age vary considerably; one estimate makes it begin about 500,000 years ago. Our own postglacial stage may have begun about 25,000 years ago.

Europe in the Ice Age

The geography of Europe in the Ice Age was unlike what it is to-day. Considerable areas now submerged beneath the Atlantic Ocean were then dry land. Great Britain and Ireland formed part of the Continent, and no North Sea separated them from Scandinavia. The

Mediterranean basin contained two inland seas. Europe was united to both Africa and Asia, where are now the strait of Gibraltar, the island of Sicily, and the Dardanelles. The land bridges thus formed afforded an easy entrance into Europe for the great African and Asiatic mammals, and perhaps for earliest man.

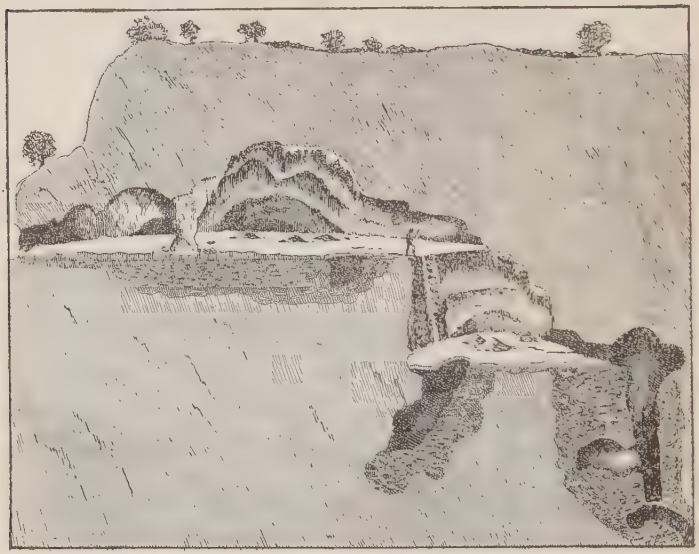
ANTIQUITY OF MAN

Geological Periods	Climatic Stages	Animal Life	Human Types	Cultural Epochs	Time Estimates
Recent		Modern Animals	Modern Races	Later Iron Age	Europe, 500 B.C.
				Early Iron Age	Europe, 1000–500 B.C. Orient, 1800–1000 B.C.
				Copper-Bronze Age	Europe, 3000–1000 B.C. Orient, 4000–1500 B.C.
				Neolithic or New Stone Age	Europe, 7000 B.C.
	Postglacial	Reindeer Musk Sheep Elk	Crô-Magnon	Later Palæolithic or Old Stone Age	25,000 B.C.
Ice Age	IV. Glacial	Steppe Horse Wild Ox (Aurochs) European Bison Cave Bear	Neanderthal	Early Palæolithic or Old Stone Age	50,000 B.C.
	3. Interglacial	Woolly Rhinoceros	Piltdown		150,000 B.C.
	III. Glacial	Woolly Mammoth		Eolithic Age	175,000 B.C.
	2. Interglacial	Hippopotamus Elephant Rhinoceros	Heidelberg		375,000 B.C.
	II. Glacial	Saber-tooth Tiger			400,000 B.C.
	1. Interglacial	Wild Boar Lynx			475,000 B.C.
	I. Glacial	Lion Hyæna			500,000 B.C.

The most ancient traces of man are associated with the Ice Age. During the past seventy-five years a number of human fossils, including both skulls and skeletons, have been found in caves and rock shelters, especially those of England, France, Belgium, and western Germany.

Neanderthal man

Archæologists, studying such fossils, believe that they indicate the former existence in this part of the world of two different human types. One is called Neanderthal man, the name being derived from the German valley where remains were found as far back as 1856. Neanderthal man lived during the fourth glacial stage, along with the cave bear, cave lion, cave hyæna, and other animals now extinct.



A Cave Dwelling of the Old Stone Age

Thousands of years passed before there appeared in Europe another human type, called Crô-Magnon, from the name of a French cave where five skeletons were unearthed in 1868. Crô-Magnon man, as we know from these and other examples, was tall, with a broad face, a prominent nose, slightly developed eyebrow ridges, well-developed chin, and a large brain. His physical and mental development places him close to modern man, though he lived during early postglacial times, when the woolly mammoth, woolly rhinoceros, bison, reindeer, and wild steppe horse still ranged throughout western Europe.

Crô-Magnon man

Bison painted on the Wall of a Cave

Cave Bear drawn on a Pebble

Wild Horse on the Wall of a Cave in Spain

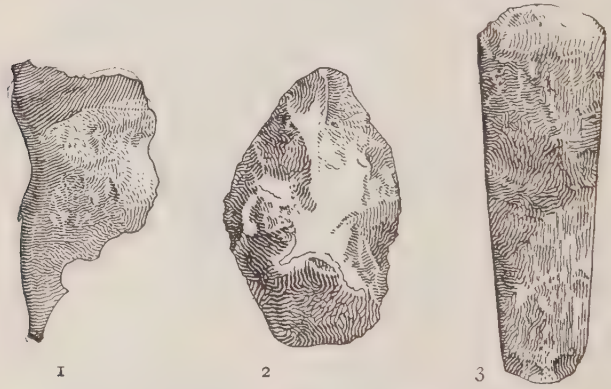
PREHISTORIC ART

Later he pictured an aurochs — later he pictured a bear —
Pictured the sabre-toothed tiger dragging a man to his lair —
Pictured the mountainous mammoth, hairy, abhorrent, alone —
Out of the love that he bore them, scribing them clearly on bone. — Kipling.

3. The Old Stone Age

It takes an effort to visualize the condition of the earliest men. They were naked, fireless, houseless, without tools and weapons, without even articulate speech, and with nothing but their human hands and brains to secure food and protect themselves from the wild animals on every side. There are no living savages so low as this, for all use tools, make fire, construct shelters against rain and wind, speak elaborate languages, and possess other elements of culture.

Cultural development



PREHISTORIC STONE IMPLEMENTS

1, Eolith; 2, Palæolithic fist hatchet; 3, Neolithic ax head.

The earliest men started without any culture. They had to acquire it by their own unaided efforts.

Man's first tools and weapons were those that lay ready to his hand. A branch from a tree served as a spear; a thick stick in his strong arms became a club; while stones picked up at haphazard were thrown as missiles or used as pounders to crack nuts and crush big marrow bones. Eventually, man discovered that a shaped implement was far more serviceable than an unshaped one, and so he began chipping flints into rude hatchets, knives, spearheads, borers, and the like. Such objects are called palæoliths (old-stones), and the period when they were produced is therefore

Implements

known as the Palæolithic, or Old Stone Age.[1] It seems to have begun in the third interglacial stage and probably lasted more than a hundred thousand years.

No slight skill is required to chip a flint along one face or both faces, until it takes a symmetrical form. But practice makes perfect, and the Palæolithic Age for the most part shows steady progress in manufacturing, not only stone implements, but also those of bone, mammoth ivory, and reindeer horn. Many different kinds of implements, adapted to special uses, were gradually produced. In addition to those just mentioned, we find awls, wedges, saws, drills, chisels, barbed harpoons, and even so neat a device as a spear-thrower. Bone and wooden handles were also devised, thus adding immensely to the effectiveness of tools and weapons.

Improvement of implements

Palæolithic man learned fire-making. Just how, we cannot say. Probably he struck a piece of iron pyrites with a flint and then allowed the sparks to fall into a bed of dry leaves or moss. Some savages still do this, though more often they produce fire by rubbing two pieces of wood together. The discovery of fire made it possible for man to cook food, instead of eating it raw, to smoke meats and thus preserve them indefinitely, to protect himself at night against animal enemies, and to make his cave home comfortable. Later, the use of fire enabled him to bake clay into pottery and to smelt the metals, but these great steps in progress were not taken in Palæolithic times.

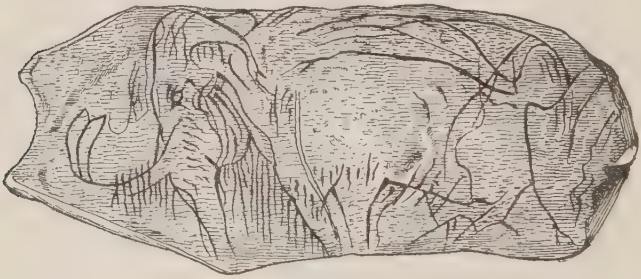
Fire-making

The men of the Old Stone Age doubtless passed much of their time in the open, following the game from place to place, and, when night came on, camping out under the stars. They built huts, also. Some of their pictures represent rude structures with a central pole and occa-

Habitations

[1] Some authorities hold that an Eolithic (Dawn Stone) Age preceded the Palæolithic. Eoliths are small, rough stones, one part shaped as if to be held in the hand and the other part edged or pointed as for cutting. Some may be natural productions, but others seem to be of human workmanship. Eoliths have been found as far back as the beginning of the Ice Age and even earlier in the Tertiary epoch. If man really did make them, they must be regarded as the earliest evidences of his life on the earth.

sionally with props on either side. More commonly they took shelter under rock ledges and in caves, as some savages do to-day. Limestone caverns, often very deep and roomy, are especially numerous in western Europe, where they seem to have been occupied by successive generations for many centuries. Huge accumulations of ashes and charcoal, stone implements, bones of animals, and sometimes those of man himself cover the floor of a Palæolithic cave to a depth of many feet. These objects are often found sealed up tight in stalagmite deposits formed by lime-burdened water dropping from



A Mammoth

An engraving on a piece of ivory tusk. Found in the rock shelter of La Madeleine, France. Represents a woolly mammoth charging. Comparison with the remains of mammoths completely preserved in the ice of Siberia shows that the Palæolithic artist accurately delineated the animal's protuberant forehead, hairy covering, and huge, curved tusks.

the roof. What was man's home has thus become a museum, only awaiting investigation by a trained student to reveal its story of the past.

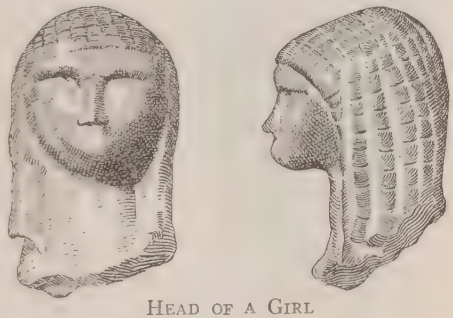
Food supply

Palæolithic man at the outset must have lived on what nature supplied in the way of wild berries, nuts, roots, herbs, honey, the eggs of wild fowl, shellfish, and grubs, and on the small animals which he could kill by throwing stones and sticks. As his implements improved and his skill increased, he became a fisher, trapper, and hunter of big game. He killed and ate the woolly mammoth, hippopotamus, European bison, reindeer, and especially the steppe horse, which at one time roamed in great herds over western Europe. There is a Palæolithic station in France estimated

to contain the bones of one hundred thousand horses. The pelts of the slain animals were made into covers and clothing, as we know from the discovery of flint skin scrapers and bone needles.

Some of these cave dwellers were talented artists. They decorated stone and bone implements with engravings, modeled figures in clay, made stone and ivory statuettes, and covered the walls of their cavern homes with a variety of paintings in red, yellow, brown, and other vivid colors. The subjects are generally animals, though a few representations of the human form have also been found. The best Palæolithic pictures are remarkably life-like, far surpassing the efforts of modern savages. The men who made them were evidently close observers of animal life.

Art



HEAD OF A GIRL

Musée St.-Germain, Paris

A small head of a young girl carved from mammoth ivory. Found at Brassempouy, France, in cave deposits belonging to the Old Stone Age. The hair is arranged somewhat after the early Egyptian fashion. Of the features the mouth alone is wanting.

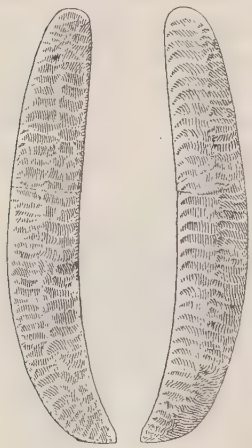
The cave dwellers apparently had a rude form of religion. Bodies buried in caves were sometimes surrounded by offerings of food, implements, and ornaments, which must have been intended for the use of the deceased. Such funeral rites point to a belief in the soul and in its survival after death.

Religion

There are other aspects of Palæolithic culture about which little or nothing can be learned with certainty. We can only surmise, from what is known of present-day savages, that even at this remote period people had begun to coöperate in hunting and for defense against animal and human foes. Each group must have been small — a few hundred individuals at the most — for population was scanty.

Social life

Government doubtless existed, but whether by chiefs or by the elders of the little community we cannot say. Probably the family had also appeared, and men and women were beginning to live together more or less permanently under some form of marriage. The social life of man is very ancient, as well as his religion, art, and material culture.



EGYPTIAN NEOLITHIC KNIVES

Brussels Museum

Discovered in prehistoric tombs in the Nile Valley. Made of flint, ripple-flaked on one side and ground on the other. The flakes were struck off with such precision that the ripples or ribs left on the edge and back are symmetrically arranged. No finer work was ever produced by Stone Age craftsmen.

4. The New Stone Age

Europe in Neolithic times

The Neolithic or New Stone Age, when men began to grind and polish some of their stone implements after chipping them, dawned in Europe probably less than ten thousand years ago. The map of Europe in this period presented nearly the same outlines as to-day. Great Britain and Ireland were now separated from the Continent by the shallow waters of the North Sea, English Channel, and Irish Sea. Owing to the sinking of the Mediterranean area, Spain and Italy were no longer joined to North Africa by land bridges. The plants which flourished in colder Palæolithic times gave place to those characteristic of a temperate climate, and vast forests began to cover what had formerly been treeless steppes. The woolly rhinoceros, woolly mammoth, and cave bear became extinct; the musk sheep and reindeer retreated to Arctic latitudes, while the hippopotamus, elephant, and other big mammals found their way to tropical zones. The animals associated with Neolithic men represented species familiar to us, except for some survivals, such as the elk, wild boar, and European bison.

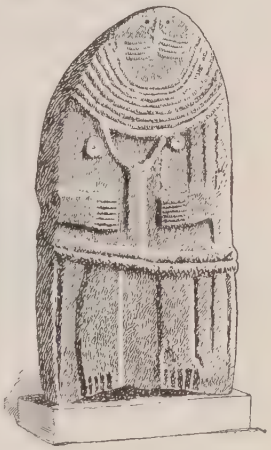
We do not yet know what became of Palæolithic men. They may have become extinct; they may have followed the retreat-

ing ice sheet and the retreating reindeer toward the northeast into Siberia and Arctic America; or they may have remained in their old locations and intermingled with the invading Neolithic peoples. These newcomers apparently came from western Asia and northern Africa, and gradually spread over all Europe. The Neolithic peoples belonged to the White Race. Their blood flows in the veins of modern Europeans, who are chiefly their descendants.

Neolithic peoples

Our knowledge of the Neolithic Age comes, not from deep-lying or sealed-up deposits, such as those in Palæolithic caves, but from remains found on or near the surface of the soil or in rubbish heaps and burial places. Along the Baltic coast stretch huge mounds of bones and shells, marking the sites of former camping places. These "kitchen middens," to give them their Danish name, are sometimes a thousand feet long, two to three hundred feet wide, and ten feet high. Implements of stone, bone, and wood, together with pieces of pottery and other things of human workmanship, are found in the "kitchen middens." Switzerland affords numerous remains of lake dwellers, who, for protection against their enemies, lived over the water in huts resting on sharpened piles driven into the bottom of the lake. The huts have disappeared, but the mud about the piles contains thousands of objects, including animal bones, seeds of various plants and fruits, implements, shreds of coarse cloth, fragments of pottery, household utensils, and bits of furniture. Neolithic men also erected many stone monuments, either single pillars (menhirs) or groups of pillars (dolmens). The former often marked a grave; the latter usually served as sepulchers for the dead. They are rude memorials of far-off times and vanished peoples.

Neolithic remains



CARVED MENHIR

From Saint Sernin in Aveyron, a department of southern France.

The Neolithic Age covered only a brief space of time, as compared with its predecessor, but it was an age of rapid progress. Neolithic implements, though still of stone, bone, and wood, were often of exceeding beauty and finish, particularly arrowheads (testifying to the invention of the bow), and stone axes with a sharp cutting edge. The men of the "kitchen middens" began to make pottery, chiefly for cooking vessels, and they domesticated the dog. The lake dwellers possessed goats, sheep, and swine, as well as dogs,

Neolithic culture

A Dolmen

A Neolithic monument in Ireland. The covering stone measures about 75 feet in length and 15 feet in breadth. Its thickness varies from 3 to 5 feet.

plaited baskets, spun and wove textiles, prepared leather, built boats, used wheeled carts, and, most important of all, cultivated some of the cereals, including wheat, barley, and millet. The new sources of food thus opened up enabled Neolithic peoples to abandon the migratory life of hunters and to settle in permanent villages. Their community life must have been well organized, for the erection of lake dwellings and stone monuments required the coöperation of many individuals. In short, Neolithic peoples were not savages; they had passed from savagery to barbarism.

Neolithic culture was not confined to Europe. It also existed in western Asia, in Egypt, in North Africa, and on the islands of Cyprus and Crete. The entire basin of the Mediterranean formed a Neolithic center. Here the transition to the use of metals first occurred.

Transition to the use of metals

5. The Age of Metals

Civilization rests on the metals. Stone is not pliable; it is very apt to split in use; it cannot be ground to a sharp edge. No wonder that in time men began to seek substitutes in the softer and more easily worked metals — gold, silver, tin, and copper. These are often found in a pure state and not as ores, so that they can be readily extracted and worked cold. The American Indians in this way got pure copper from mines near Lake Superior and made metal spearheads, knives, and hatchets, which were modeled on stone implements. Other barbarous peoples have done the same thing. In fact, hammering the metals generally preceded smelting them.

The metals

Credit for the invention of metallurgy belongs to the Egyptians. Some of the most ancient graves in Egypt, dating from about 4000 B.C., contain needles and chisels made by smelting the crude copper ore found in the Nile Valley. At a very early period the Egyptians began to work the copper mines on the peninsula of Sinai. The Babylonians probably obtained copper from the same region. Another source of copper was the island of Cyprus, which is rich in that metal. The very name of the island means "copper" (Greek *Kúpros*). Copper implements gradually spread into Europe, and with their use the Neolithic Age gave way to the Age of Metals.

Copper

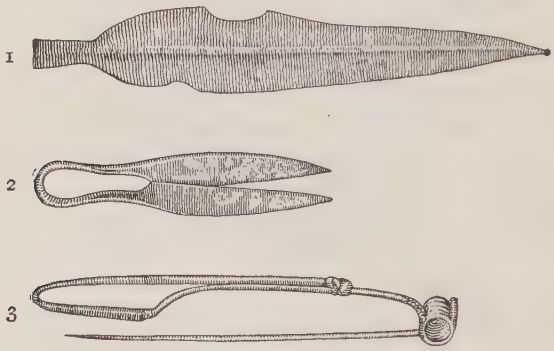
But copper implements were soft and would not keep an edge. Some ancient smith, more ingenious than his fellows, discovered that the addition of a small quantity of tin to the copper produced the much harder and tougher alloy called bronze. Where this simple but most important discovery took place, we cannot say. Bronze made its appearance in Egypt at least as early as 3000 B.C. and somewhat later in Cyprus, Crete, Asia Minor, and the coasts of Greece. Traders subsequently carried the new metal throughout the length and breadth of Europe.

Bronze

The great durability and hardness of iron must have been

soon noticed by metallurgists, but, as compared with copper and tin, it was difficult both to mine and to smelt. Hence the introduction of iron occurred at quite a late period, and in some countries after the dawn of history. The Egyptians seem to have made little use of iron before 1500 B.C. They called it the "metal of heaven," as if they obtained it from meteorites. In the first five books of the Bible iron is mentioned only thirteen times, though copper and bronze are referred to forty-four times. In the Homeric poems of the ancient Greeks we find iron considered so valuable that a

Iron



PREHISTORIC IRON IMPLEMENTS
From La Tène, Switzerland
1, Spearpoint; 2, shears; 3, safety pin.

lump of it is one of the chief prizes at athletic games. Western and northern Europe became acquainted with iron only in the last thousand years before Christ.

The superior qualities of iron have secured for it preëminence among the metals. Nevertheless, peoples without any knowledge of iron are still met with in remote parts of the world. The Australian tribes, for instance, continue to make stone implements as rude as those of Palæolithic man in Europe. The South Sea Islands, owing to their peculiar formation, produce no metals. Their inhabitants, when discovered a few centuries ago, were still in the Stone Age, and so ignorant of metal that they planted the first iron nails obtained

Diffusion of iron

from Europeans, in the hope of raising a new crop. Among the Malays and the African negroes the knowledge and use of iron also followed immediately upon the Stone Age. The American Indians, before the discovery of the New World, knew nothing of iron. Most of them used stone implements like those of Neolithic Europe, together with unsmelted copper, gold, and silver. In Mexico and Peru, however, smelted copper and bronze were also known. India, Indo-China, and China afford evidence of the regular succession in those regions of copper, bronze, and iron.

6. Races of Man

The different races arose in prehistoric times as man gradually spread throughout the habitable earth. Racial distinctions are based on *physical* characteristics, especially skin color, head form, and texture of the hair. Thus, the black-skinned peoples have long, narrow heads and crisp, woolly hair. The yellow-skinned peoples, on the contrary, have short, broad heads and straight, lank hair. Less important racial distinctions are found in the shape of the nose as thin and prominent or large and flat, in the orbit of the eyes as horizontal or oblique (compare the "almond" eyes of Orientals), and in the extent to which the upper and lower jaws project beyond the line of the face. All these physical characteristics reflect the influence of climate and natural surroundings on early man in various parts of the world. They seem to have changed little or not at all during historic times. Five or six thousand years ago they were as marked as now, judging from pictures on old Egyptian monuments and from the examination of ancient skulls.

Racial distinctions

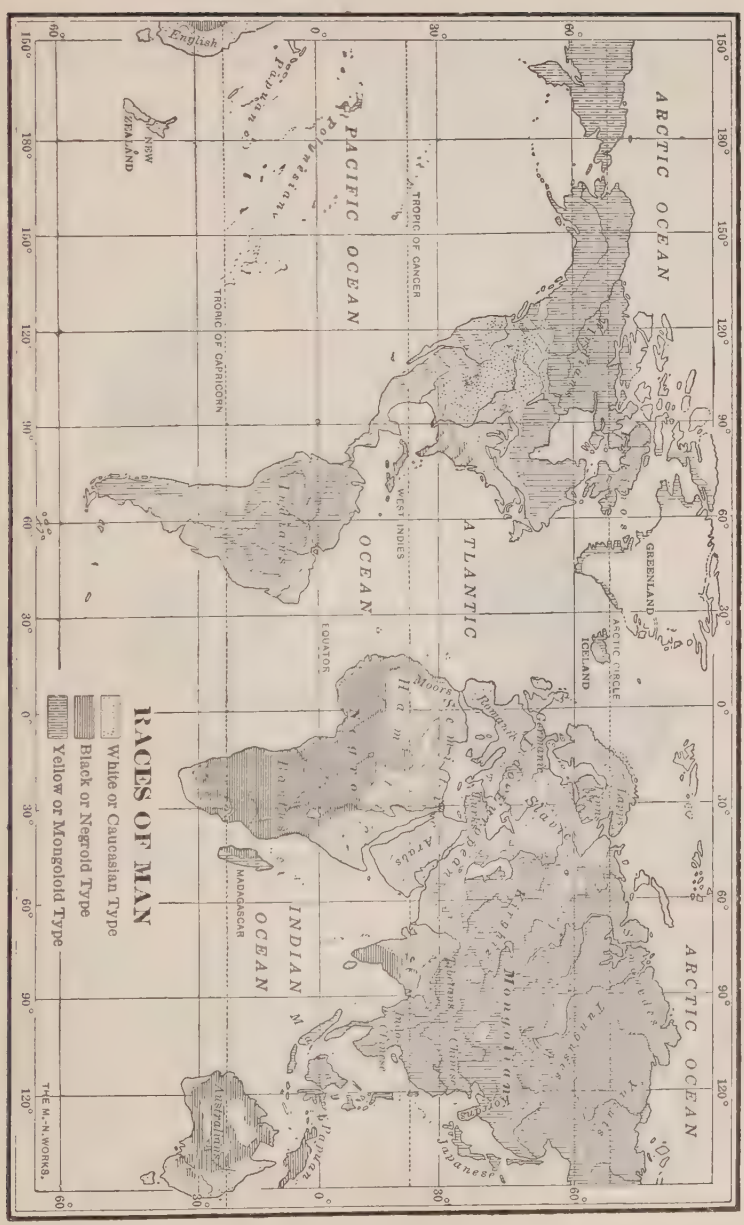
Three primary varieties of man are distinguished: The Black (Negroid) Race, the Yellow (Mongoloid) Race, and the White (Caucasian) Race. This classification is not altogether satisfactory. The Australians, among whom Negroid traits preponderate, nevertheless resemble Caucasians in some respects, and the Mongoloid Polynesians possess both Caucasian and Negroid resemblances; while important physical

Classification of races

CLASSIFICATION OF MANKIND

Races	Peoples	Languages
Black or Negroid	1. Negroes proper 2. Bantu Negroes 3. Dwarf Negroes or Pygmies 4. Hottentots and Bushmen 5. Dravidians (India) and Veddas (Ceylon) 6. Papuans (in New Guinea and the Melanesian Islands) 7. Australians	
Yellow or Mongoloid	1. Mongolians proper (Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Burmans, Siamese, Manchus, Mongols, Tatars, Tibetans, Siberian tribes, Turks, Bulgarians, Magyars or Hungarians, Esthonians, Finns, Lapps) 2. Malays (in Formosa, the Philippines, Malay Archipelago, Nicobar Islands, Madagascar) 3. Polynesians (Maori of New Zealand, Tongans, Samoans, Hawaiians, etc.) 4. American Indians	
White or Caucasian		1. Hamitic (Libyans, Egyptians, Eastern Hamites) 2. Semitic (Babylonians, Assyrians, Phœnicians, Hebrews, Aramæans, Arabs, Abyssinians) 3. Indo-European *a.* Asiatic (Hindus, Medes, Persians, Hittites, Armenians, Scythians) *b.* Græco-Latin (Albanians, Greeks, Italians, Spaniards, Portuguese, French, Walloons, Rumanians) *c.* Celtic (Bretons, Welsh, Irish, Highland Scots) *d.* Teutonic (Germans, Frisians, Dutch, Flemings, Danes, Norwegians, Swedes, English, Lowland Scots) *e.* Lettic (Letts, Lithuanians) *f.* Slavic South Slavs (Serbians, Montenegrins, Croatians, Slovenians) West Slavs (Czechs, Slovaks, Poles) East Slavs (Great Russians, Little Russians or Ruthenians, White Russians)

differences separate both Malays and American Indians from other members of the Yellow Race. Again, various peoples of Asiatic origin — Ottoman Turks, Bulgarians, Magyars or Hungarians, Esthonians, Finns, and Lapps — have so blended with Caucasian peoples in Europe as to lose almost entirely


RACES OF MAN
White or Caucasian Type
Black or Negroid Type
Yellow or Mongoloid Type
ARCTIC OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
INDIAN OCEAN
TROPIC OF CANCER
TROPIC OF CAPRICORN
WEST INDIES
EQUATOR
GREENLAND
ICELAND
ARCTIC CIRCLE
MADAGASCAR
NEW ZEALAND
English
Papuan
Polynesian
Indians
Moors
Romanic
Germanic
Slavic
Arabs
Mongolian
Japanese
Australians
Papuan
THE M.-N. WORKS.

their Mongoloid characteristics. No race, indeed, is pure. Repeated migrations, raids, and conquests brought about racial intermixture almost everywhere.

Distribution of races

At the dawn of history each of the three races occupied quite distinct geographical areas. The Black Race held most of Africa south of the Sahara, southern India, New Guinea and the adjacent islands, and Australia. The Yellow Race held the north, east, and center of

RACE PORTRAITURE OF THE EGYPTIANS

Paintings on the walls of royal tombs at Thebes. The Egyptians were painted red; the Semites from Palestine, yellow; the flat-nosed, thick-lipped, African negroes, black; and the fair-skinned Libyans, white, with blue eyes and blonde beards. Each racial type is also distinguished by a peculiar dress.

Asia, whence it spread over the Malay Archipelago, the islands of the Pacific, and the New World. The White Race was limited to Europe, northern Africa, and southwestern Asia. The last four centuries have seen a wonderful expansion of the White Race, which now forms the bulk of the population of North America, South America, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand.

Excepting the American negroes, the Black Race is still

in the savage or in the barbarian stage of culture. The same holds true of the Yellow Race, with the important exceptions of the Chinese, Indo-Chinese, and Japanese. Civilization has been developed and history has been made chiefly by the White Race.

The White Race

7. Languages of Man

The different types of language also took shape during the prehistoric period. The first languages must have been simple enough. Man doubtless eked out his imperfect speech with expressive gestures and cries of alarm or passion, such as the lower animals make. But all this was very remote. The languages of even the lowest savages to-day are complex in structure and copious in vocabulary, thus indicating how far they have developed in the course of ages.

Linguistic distinctions

The thousands of languages and dialects now spoken throughout the world belong to one or another of three groups. (1) Agglutinating languages show grammatical relations by adding (*glueing*) sounds and syllables to the main word. Thus the suffix *lar* in Turkish makes the plural (*arkan*, rope, *arkanlar*, ropes); the suffix *lyk* indicates quality (*arkanlyk*, the best kind of rope); and the suffix *ly* signifies possession (*arkanly*, with a rope, attached). English uses agglutination to a slight extent; compare such words as *just-ly*, *un-just-ly*, *care-less*, *care-less-ness*. (2) Isolating languages show grammatical relations chiefly by the order of the words. Thus in Chinese the word *ta* means "great," "greatness," "greatly," or "to enlarge," according to its position in the phrase. (3) Inflectional languages regularly employ conjugations and declensions to set forth the relations of words to one another.

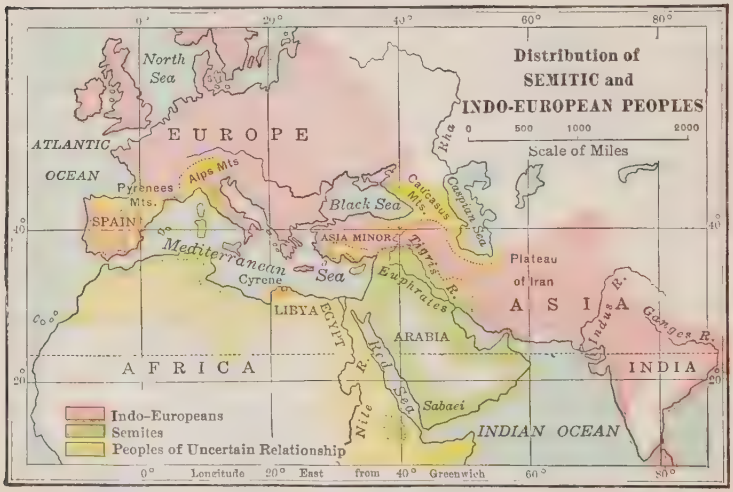
Classification of languages

These three linguistic groups have a fairly definite association with the races of man. Agglutinating languages are most widely diffused, being spoken by the Black Race and by part of the Yellow Race. Isolating languages are found only in Asia, among Chinese, Indo-Chinese, Tibetans, and Malays. Inflectional languages are confined to the White Race.

Distribution of languages

The languages of the White Race belong, with some exceptions, to one or another of three families. Least important, historically, is the Hamitic family, named after Ham, a son of Noah (*Genesis* x, 1, 6). Hamitic languages are still spoken in northern and eastern Africa, some of them by peoples who have more or less mixed with negroes. Ancient Egyptian was a Hamitic language.

Hamitic languages



The second family is that of the Semitic languages, so called from Shem, another son of Noah (*Genesis*, x, 1, 22). Semitic-speaking peoples in antiquity included Babylonians, Assyrians, Hebrews, Phœnicians, and Arabs. To these must be added the Abyssinians of eastern Africa. The Semites, as the map shows, originally formed a compact group, but Arabs are now found everywhere in northern Africa, while Hebrews (Jews) have spread all over the world.

Semitic languages

The third family is that of the Indo-European[1] languages. This name indicates that they are found in both India and Europe. The peoples using Indo-European languages in an-

[1] The alternative name "Aryan" is accurately applied only to the languages of the Hindus and the ancient Medes and Persians (Iranians).

tiquity formed a widely extended group, which reached from India across Asia and Europe to the British Isles and Scandinavia. Hindus in India, Medes and Persians on the plateau of Iran, Greeks and Italians, and the inhabitants of eastern and western Europe spoke related tongues. Their likeness is illustrated by the common words for relationship. Terms such as "father," "mother," "brother," and "daughter" occur with slight changes in form in nearly all the Indo-European languages. Thus, "father" in Sanskrit (the old Hindu language) is *pitar*, in ancient Persian, *pidar*, in Greek, *patêr*, in Latin, *pater*, and in German, *Vater*. There must have been at one time a single speech from which all the Indo-European languages have descended. But where it was spoken, whether in Asia or in Europe, we cannot determine.

Indo-European languages

8. Writing and the Alphabet

The first steps toward writing are prehistoric. We start with the drawings and paintings made in the Palæolithic Age. Man, however, could not rest satisfied with simple representations of objects. He wanted to record thoughts and actions, and so his pictures tended to become

Picture writing

Various Signs of Symbolic Picture Writing

1, "war" (Dakota Indian); 2, "morning" (Ojibwa Indian); 3, "nothing" (Ojibwa Indian); 4 and 5, "to eat" (Indian, Mexican, Egyptian, etc.).

symbols of ideas. The figure of an arrow might be used to indicate the idea of an "enemy," and two arrows directed against each other, the idea of a "fight." Many savage and barbarous peoples still have this symbolic picture writing. The American Indians employed it in most elaborate fashion. On rolls of birch bark or the skins of animals they wrote messages, stories, and songs and even preserved tribal annals extending over a century.

A new stage in the development of writing was reached when the picture represented not an actual object or an idea, but a *sound* of the human voice. This difficult but all-important step appears to have been taken by means of the rebus. It is a way of expressing words by pictures of objects whose names resemble those words or the syllables in them. What makes the rebus possible is the fact that every language contains words having the same sound but different meanings. The old Mexicans, before the Spanish conquest, had gone so far as to write names of persons and places, rebus fashion. They represented the proper name, Itzcoatl, by the picture of a snake (*coatl*), with a number of

Sound writing; the rebus

Chinese Picture Writing and Later Conventional Characters

It is possible in some cases to recognize the original pictures out of which Chinese writing developed. Thus the sun, originally a large circle with a dot in the center, became a crossed oblong, which the painter found easier to make with his brush. Chinese is the only living language in which such pictures have survived and still denote what they denoted in the beginning.

knives (*itz*) projecting from its back. The Egyptian words for "sun" and "goose" were so nearly alike that the royal title, "Son of the Sun," could be suggested by grouping the pictures of the sun and a goose. Rebus making is still a common amusement among children, but to early man it was a serious occupation.

In the simplest form of sound writing each separate picture or symbol stands for the sound of an entire word; hence there must be as many signs as there are words in the language. This is the case with Chinese writing. A dictionary of Chinese contains approximately twenty-five thousand words in good usage, every one represented by a separate written sign. No student ever learns them all, of

Words

course. It is enough for ordinary reading and writing to be familiar with four or five thousand signs. The Chinese seem to have entered upon the phonetic stage of writing in the second millennium B.C., and since then they have never improved upon it.

A more developed form of sound writing arises when signs are employed for the sounds of separate syllables. All the words of a language may then be written with comparatively few signs. The Babylonians and Assyrians possessed in their cuneiform[1] writing signs for between four and five hundred syllables. Recent discoveries in Crete indicate that the ancient inhabitants of that island had a somewhat similar system. The Japanese found it possible to express all the sounds in their language by forty-seven syllables, one standing for *ro*, another for *fa*, and so forth. The signs for these syllables were taken from Chinese writing.

Syllables

The final stage in the development of writing is reached when the separate sounds of the human voice are analyzed so far that each can be represented by a single letter. The Egyptians early made an alphabet. Unfortunately, they never abandoned their older methods of writing and learned to rely upon alphabetic signs alone. Egyptian hieroglyphs,[2] in consequence, are a curious jumble of object-pictures, symbols of ideas, and signs for entire words, separate syllables, and letters. The writing is a museum of all the steps in the progress of writing from the picture to the letter.

Letters

As early, perhaps, as the tenth century B.C., the Phœnicians of western Asia were in possession of an alphabet. It consisted of twenty-two letters, each representing a consonant. The Phœnicians appear to have borrowed their alphabetic signs, but whether from the Egyptians or the Cretans, or even in part from the Babylonians, remains uncertain. The Greeks, according to their own traditions, imported the alphabet from Phœnicia and added signs

Phœnician alphabet

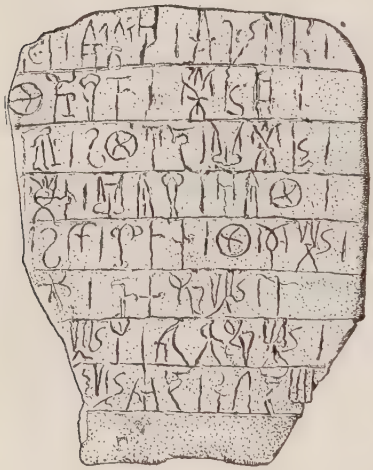
[1] Latin *cuneus*, "wedge."

[2] From the Greek words *hieros*, "holy," and *glyphein*, "to carve." The Egyptians regarded their signs as sacred.

for vowels. The Greek form of the Phœnician alphabet subsequently spread to Italy, where the Romans received it, modified some of the letters, and then passed it on to the peoples of western Europe. From them it has reached us.[1]

Methods of writing

Two methods of writing developed in the ancient Orient. The Egyptians traced their hieroglyphic characters with a pen and a dark pigment upon papyrus. This river reed grows plentifully in the Nile marshes. It was cut into strips, which were then glued together at the edges to form a roll.[2] From *papyros*, the Greek name of the plant, has come our word "paper." Similarly, the Greek *biblion*, a (papyrus) book, reappears in our word "Bible," as well as in various words for "library" in European languages, such as the French *bibliothèque* and the German *Bibliothek*. The Babylonians impressed their cuneiform signs with a metal instrument on tablets of soft clay. The tablets were then baked hard in an oven.[3] The Babylonian method of writing survived for a time in the clay tablets of the Cretans and various Oriental peoples and in the waxen tablets of the Romans. It subsequently disappeared. The Egyptian method of writing still survives in the pen, ink, and paper of modern usage.



CRETAN WRITING

A large tablet with linear script found in the palace at Gnossus, Crete. There are eight lines of writing, with a total of about twenty words. Notice the upright lines, which appear to mark the termination of each group of signs.

Before the invention of writing, and particularly of sound writing, men were unable to keep a full and accurate record of

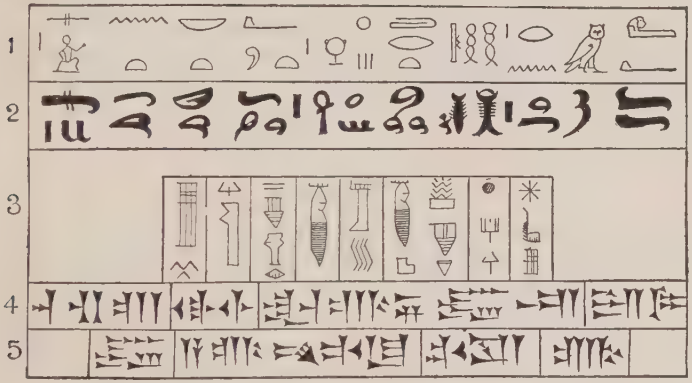
[1] Our word "alphabet" comes from the names of the first two letters of the Greek alphabet — *alpha* (*a*) and *beta* (*b*).

[2] See the illustration on page 57.

[3] See the illustration on page 56.

the past. Such information as they possessed had to be handed down by word of mouth from one generation to the next. Oral tradition, however, soon grows untrustworthy and often absolutely false, like a piece of village gossip that has been many times retold. Writing alone enabled men widely separated in space and time to share a common knowledge and transmit it to future ages. Men now had a

The record of the past



EGYPTIAN AND BABYLONIAN WRITING

Below the pictured hieroglyphs in the first line is the same text in a simpler writing known as hieratic. The two systems, however, were not distinct; they were as identical as our own printed and written characters. The third line illustrates old Babylonian cuneiform, in which the characters, like the hieroglyphs, are rude and broken-down pictures of objects. Derived from them is the later cuneiform shown in lines four and five.

record of the past which was exact, comprehensive, and ever growing with the growth of civilization. They now had a *history*.

History, based on written records, begins in different countries at varying dates. Some inscriptions found in Egypt reach back as far as the fourth millennium B.C. The annals of Babylonia are probably less ancient. Trustworthy records in China and India do not extend beyond 1000 B.C., while those of the Greeks and Romans are still later by several centuries. It was only after the opening of the Christian era that most European peoples began to emerge into the light of history.

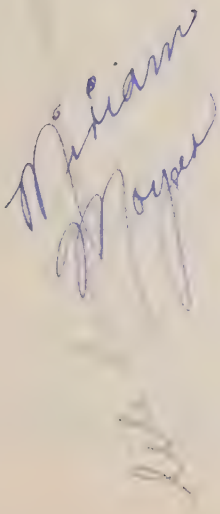
Beginnings of history

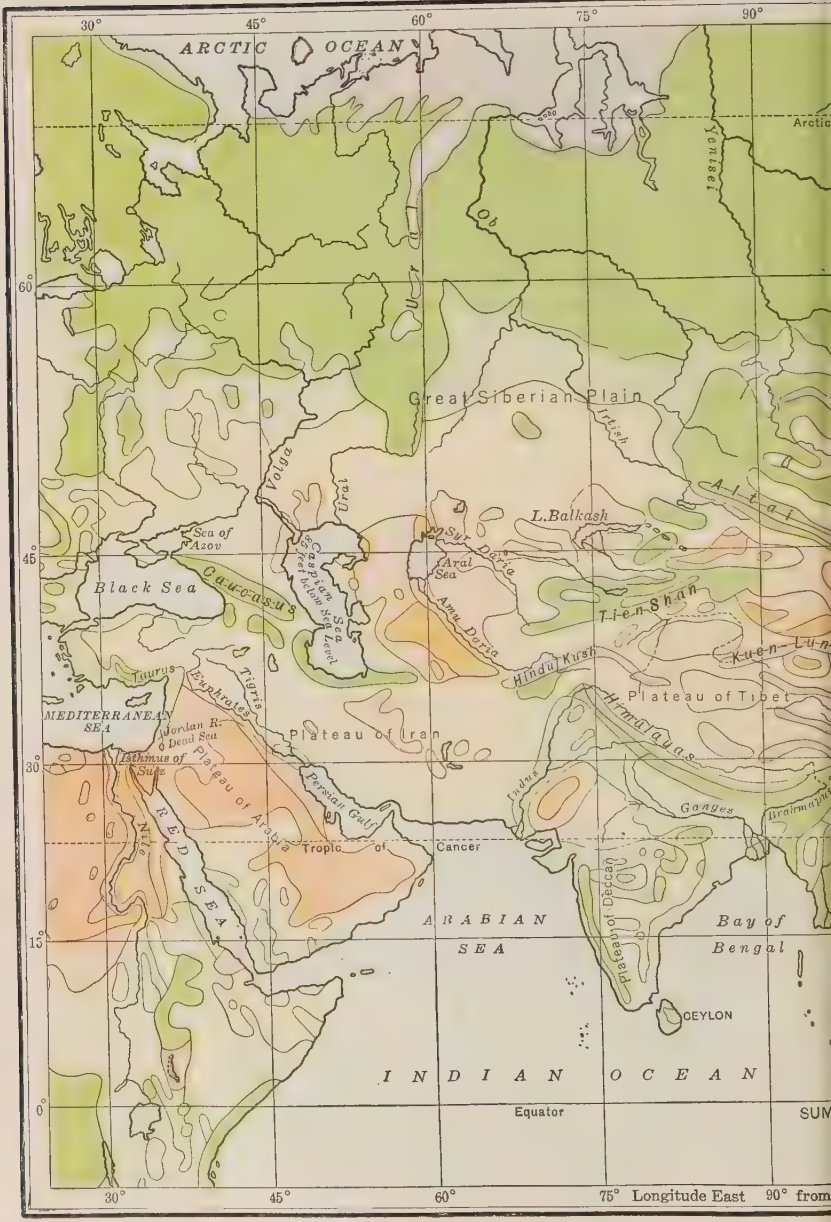
The whole historic age may be conveniently divided into three periods. Ancient history begins with Oriental peoples, who were the first to develop the arts of civilization, deals next with the Greeks, and ends with the Romans, who built up an empire embracing most of the civilized world. Medieval history is concerned with the peoples of eastern and western Europe. It includes a period of about a thousand years from the break-up of the Roman Empire at the end of the fifth century to the close of the fifteenth century. Modern history covers the last four hundred years and now embraces almost all mankind. It is no longer a history of Asia or of Europe, but of the world.

Subdivisions of history

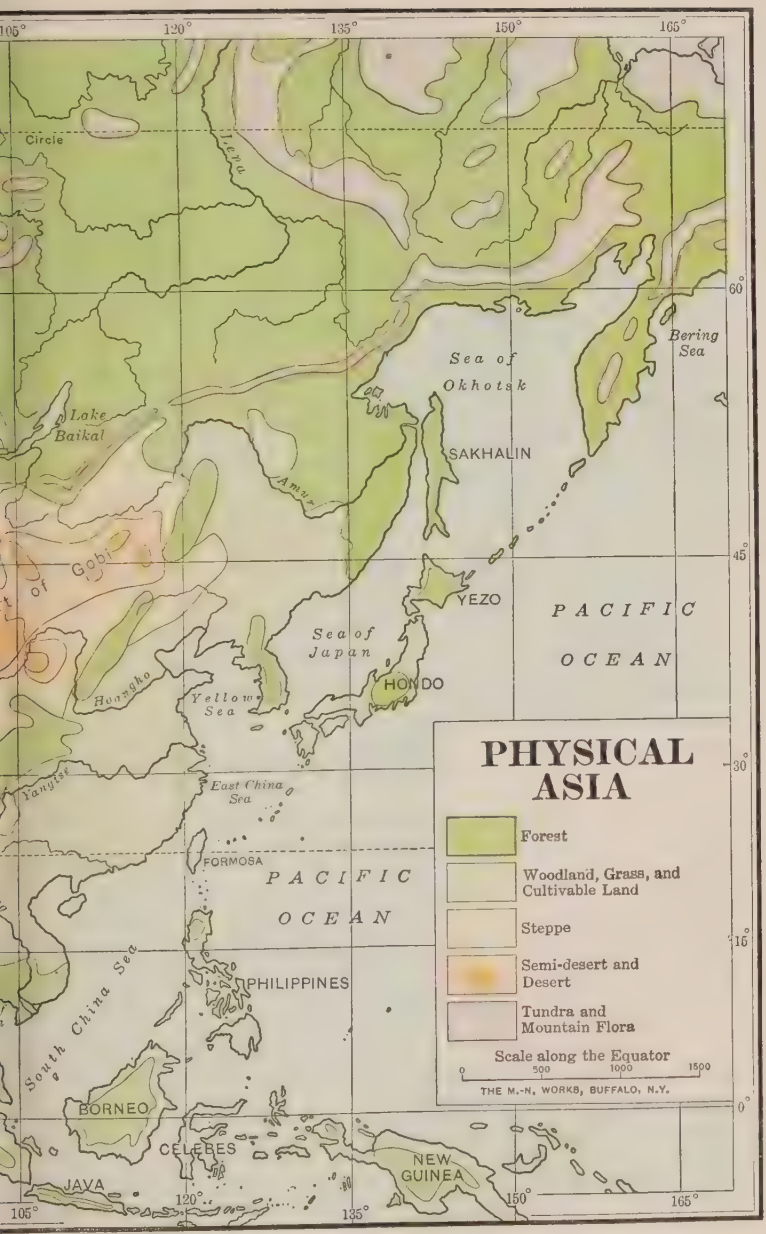
Studies

1. Why has history been called the "biography of a society"? 2. What do you understand by these terms: tribe, nation, race, state, government? 3. Distinguish between the three stages of savagery, barbarism, and civilization, and give instances of existing peoples in each stage. 4. Explain the abbreviations B.C. and A.D. In what century was the year 1921 B.C.? the year 1921 A.D.? 5. On the map, page 4, trace the farthest descent of ice in Europe during the Ice Age. 6. What is meant by calling man the "tool-making animal"? 7. What stone implements have you ever seen? Who made them? Where were they? 8. Explain the terms Eolithic, Palæolithic, and Neolithic. 9. Why should the discovery of fire be regarded as more significant than the discovery of steam? 10. Why has the invention of the bow-and-arrow been of greater importance than the invention of gunpowder? 11. How does the presence of few tameable animals in the New World help to account for its tardier development as compared with the Old World? 12. "The history of metals in the hand of man is equivalent to the history of his higher culture." Comment on this statement. 13. Give examples of peoples widely different in blood who nevertheless speak the same language. 14. What is meant by oral tradition? Why does it grow more and more unreliable in the course of time? 15. On an outline map indicate the areas occupied at the dawn of history by Semitic and Indo-European peoples. 16. Enumerate the most important contributions to civilization made in prehistoric times.





ARCTIC OCEAN
Arctic
Yenisei
Ob
Ural
Great Siberian Plain
Irtish
Volga
Ural
Altai
L.Balkash
Sea of Azov
Syr Daria
Aral Sea
Black Sea
Caucasus
Caspian Sea
Sea Level
Amu Daria
Tien Shan
Kuen Lun
Hindu Kush
Taurus
Euphrates
Tigris
Plateau of Tibet
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Jordan R.
Dead Sea
Plateau of Iran
Himalayas
Isthmus of Suez
Plateau of Arabia
Persian Gulf
Indus
Ganges
Brahmaputra
Nile
RED SEA
Tropic of Cancer
ARABIAN SEA
Plateau of Deccan
Bay of Bengal
CEYLON
INDIAN OCEAN
Equator
SUM
30°
45°
60°
75°
90°
60°
45°
30°
15°
0°
75° Longitude East 90° from


105°
120°
135°
150°
165°
Circle
Lena
60°
Bering Sea
Sea of Okhotsk
Lake Baikal
SAKHALIN
Amur
Gobi
45°
YEZO
PACIFIC OCEAN
Sea of Japan
HONDO
Hoangho
Yellow Sea
30°
Yangtse
East China Sea
FORMOSA
PACIFIC OCEAN
15°
PHILIPPINES
South China Sea
BORNEO
CELEBES
NEW GUINEA
JAVA
0°
105°
120°
135°
150°
165°
PHYSICAL ASIA
Forest
Woodland, Grass, and Cultivable Land
Steppe
Semi-desert and Desert
Tundra and Mountain Flora
Scale along the Equator
0 500 1000 1500
THE M.-N. WORKS, BUFFALO, N.Y.

CHAPTER II

THE ANCIENT ORIENT[1]

9. The Lands of the Near East

The ancient Orient included Asia and that part of Africa, called Egypt, which was formerly considered as belonging to Asia. Our study of Oriental history may, however, omit consideration of the Far East. Wide seas, extensive mountain ranges, and trackless deserts separated India, China, Indo-China, and Japan from the rest of Asia. India, indeed, did not remain entirely isolated in antiquity, for the northwestern part of the country was conquered first by the Persians and then by the Greeks. Even after the end of foreign rule, India continued to be of importance through its commerce in precious stones, ivory, fine woods, and cotton stuffs. China during ancient times also had some foreign trade and came to be known as the Silk Land (Serica), from the silken goods which found their way into the markets of western Asia and Europe. But it was not until the nineteenth century of our era that the Far East emerged from age-long seclusion and began to take a really active part in world affairs.

The Far East

The boundaries of the Near East are the Black and Caspian seas on the north, the Red Sea, Persian Gulf, and Indian Ocean on the south, the Indus River on the east, and the Mediterranean and the Nile on the west. This part of Asia consists substantially of three vegetation belts, which are continued on a wider scale across the entire continent. First come the forests in the mountainous districts of Asia Minor, Armenia, and Iran (Persia). Next succeed the steppe

The Near East

[1] Webster, *Readings in Ancient History*, chapter i, "Three Oriental Peoples as Described by Herodotus"; chapter ii, "The Founders of the Persian Empire: Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius."

or grass lands, including a large part of the plateaus of Asia Minor, Iran, and Arabia. Finally, as the rainfall diminishes, the steppes become more and more arid and pass into semi-deserts and deserts, such as those of Syria and inner Arabia. The forest belt nourished a migratory, hunting folk. The steppe belt formed the home of nomadic, pastoral tribes. As for the desert belt, that was habitable only in oases. Nowhere could men settle down and adopt an agricultural life except where they were assured of a constant water supply and enduring sunlight. They found this assurance in the valleys of the Tigris-Euphrates and the Nile.

The Tigris and the Euphrates

Two famous rivers rise in the mountains of Armenia — the Tigris and the Euphrates. Flowing southward, they approach each other to form a common valley, proceed in parallel channels for the greater part of their course, and only unite shortly before reaching the Persian Gulf. In antiquity each river had a separate mouth. The soil which the Tigris and Euphrates bring down every year fills up the Persian Gulf at the rate of about three miles a century. Hence their delta was much less extensive five or six thousand years ago than it is to-day.

Babylonia

This delta forms a plain anciently about one hundred and seventy miles long and rarely more than forty miles wide. In the Old Testament it is called the "land of Shinar" (*Genesis*, xi, 2). We know it better as Babylonia, after Babylon, which became its leading city and capital.

Babylonia a seat of early civilization

The plain of Babylonia was once wonderfully fertile. The alluvial soil, when properly irrigated, yielded abundant harvests of wheat, barley, and millet. The fruit of the date palm provided a nutritious food. Although there was no stone, clay was everywhere. Molded into brick and afterwards dried in the sun, the clay became *adobe*, the cheapest building material imaginable. Nature, indeed, has done much for Babylonia. We can understand, therefore, why from prehistoric times people have been attracted to this region, and why it is here that we find a seat of early civilization.

The Nile is the longest of the great African rivers. The White Nile rises in the Nyanza lakes, flows due north, and receives the waters of the Blue Nile near the modern town of Khartum. From this point the course of the river is broken by a series of five rocky rapids, misnamed cataracts, which can be shot by boats. The cataracts cease near the island of Philæ, and Upper Egypt begins. It is a valley about five hundred miles long and about thirty miles wide. The strip of cultivable soil on each side of the river averages, however, only eight miles in width. Not far from modern Cairo the hills inclosing the valley fall away, the Nile divides into numerous branches, and the delta of Lower Egypt begins. The sluggish stream passes through a region of mingled swamp and plain, and at length by three principal mouths empties into the Mediterranean.

The Nile

Egypt owes her existence to the Nile. All Lower Egypt is a creation of the river by the gradual accumulation of sediment at its mouths. Upper Egypt has been dug out of the desert sand and underlying rock by a process of erosion centuries long. The Nile once filled all the space between the hills that line its sides. Now it flows through a thick layer of mud which has been deposited by the yearly inundation.

Egypt

In Egypt, as in Babylonia, every condition made it easy for people to live and thrive. The soil of Egypt, perhaps the most fertile in the world, produced after irrigation three crops of grain, flax, and vegetables a year. The wonderful date palm was a native tree. The clay of the valley and easily worked stone from the near-by mountains provided building materials. The hot, dry climate enabled the inhabitants to get along with little shelter and clothing. The Nile provided them with a natural highway for domestic trade. Such favoring circumstances allowed the Egyptians to increase in numbers and to gather in populous communities. At a time when their neighbors, even the Babylonians, were still in the darkness of the prehistoric age, the Egyptians had entered the light of history.

Egypt a seat of early civilization

10. The Peoples of the Near East

Prehistoric era in Egypt

The Nile Valley appears to have been inhabited at a remote period by Neolithic men in the barbarian stage of culture. They made beautiful implements of polished flint, fashioned pottery, built in brick and stone, sailed boats on the Nile, introduced such useful animals as the buffalo, ass, and goat, and tilled the soil. In time, they began to smelt copper [1] and to write by means of phonetic signs.[2] Both metallurgy and sound-writing arose in Egypt earlier than anywhere else in the world. Like other barbarous peoples, the Neolithic Egyptians must have lived at first in separate tribes, under the rule of chiefs. As civilization advanced, the tribal organization gave way to city-states, that is, to small, independent communities, each one centering about a town or a city. The city-states by 4000 B.C. had coalesced into two kingdoms, one in the Delta, the other in Upper Egypt. All this progress took place before the dawn of history.

Dawn of history in Egypt

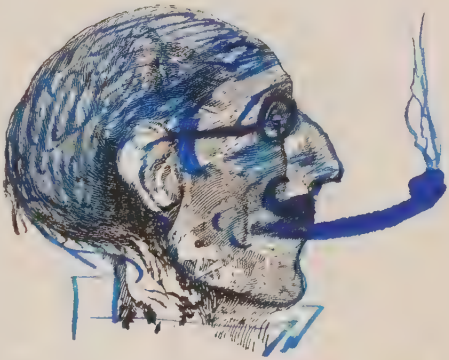
The Egyptians commenced keeping written records about 3400 B.C. The date coincides pretty closely with that of the union of Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt into a national state, under a ruler named Menes. He was thus the founder of that long line of kings, or "Pharaohs" (as they are called in the Bible), who for nearly three thousand years held sway over Egypt. The Pharaohs ruled at first from Memphis, near the head of the Delta, but later Thebes in Upper Egypt became the Egyptian capital.

The Egyptian Kingdom

A study of the map shows that Egypt occupies an isolated situation, being protected by deserts on each side, by the Mediterranean on the north, and by the cataracts of the Nile (impeding navigation) on the south. Thus sheltered from the inroads of foreign peoples, the Egyptians enjoyed many centuries of quiet and peaceful progress. About 1800 B.C., however, they came for a time under the sway of barbarous Semitic tribes, called Hyksos, who entered Egypt through the isthmus of Suez. After the expulsion

[1] See page 15. [2] See page 25.

of the intruders, the Egyptians themselves began a career of conquest. The Pharaohs raised powerful armies, invaded Palestine, Phœnicia, and Syria, and extended their rule as far as the middle Euphrates. Even the islands of Cyprus and Crete seem to have become dependencies of Egypt. The conquered territories paid a heavy tribute of the precious metals and merchandise, while the forced labor of thousands of war captives enabled Rameses II (about 1292–1225 B.C.) and other Pharaohs to erect great monuments in every part of their realm. Gradually, however, Egypt declined in warlike energy; her Asiatic possessions fell away; and the country itself in the sixth century B.C. became a part of the Persian Empire. The Egyptians remained under foreign masters from this time until our own day.



HEAD OF MUMMY OF RAMESES II

Museum of Gizeh

The mummy was discovered in 1881 in an underground chamber near the site of Thebes. With it were the coffins and bodies of more than a score of royal personages. Rameses II was over ninety years of age at the time of his death. In spite of the somewhat grotesque disguise of mummification, the face of this famous Pharaoh still wears an aspect of majesty and pride.

The Babylonian Kingdom

The valley of the Tigris-Euphrates, unlike that of the Nile, was not isolated. It opened on extensive mountain and steppe regions, the home of hunting or of pastoral peoples. Their inroads and migrations into the fertile plain of the two rivers formed a constant feature of Babylonian history. The earliest inhabitants of the "land of Shinar," about whom we know anything, were the Sumerians. They entered the country through the passes of the eastern or northern mountains, about four thousand years before Christ, gradually settled down to an agricultural life, and formed a number of independent city-states, each with its king and its patron god. After the Sumerians came Semitic-speaking peoples

from northern Arabia. Under a leader named Sargon (about 2800 B.C) the Semites subdued the Sumerians and began to adopt their civilization. Sargon united all the Sumerian city-states. He also carried his victorious arms as far west as Syria and ruled over "the countries of the sea of the setting sun" (the Mediterranean). Sargon was, in fact, the first of the world conquerors. Many centuries later another great Semitic ruler, Hammurabi (about 2100 B.C), made his native city of Babylon, at first an obscure and unimportant place, the capital of what may henceforth be called the Babylonian Kingdom.

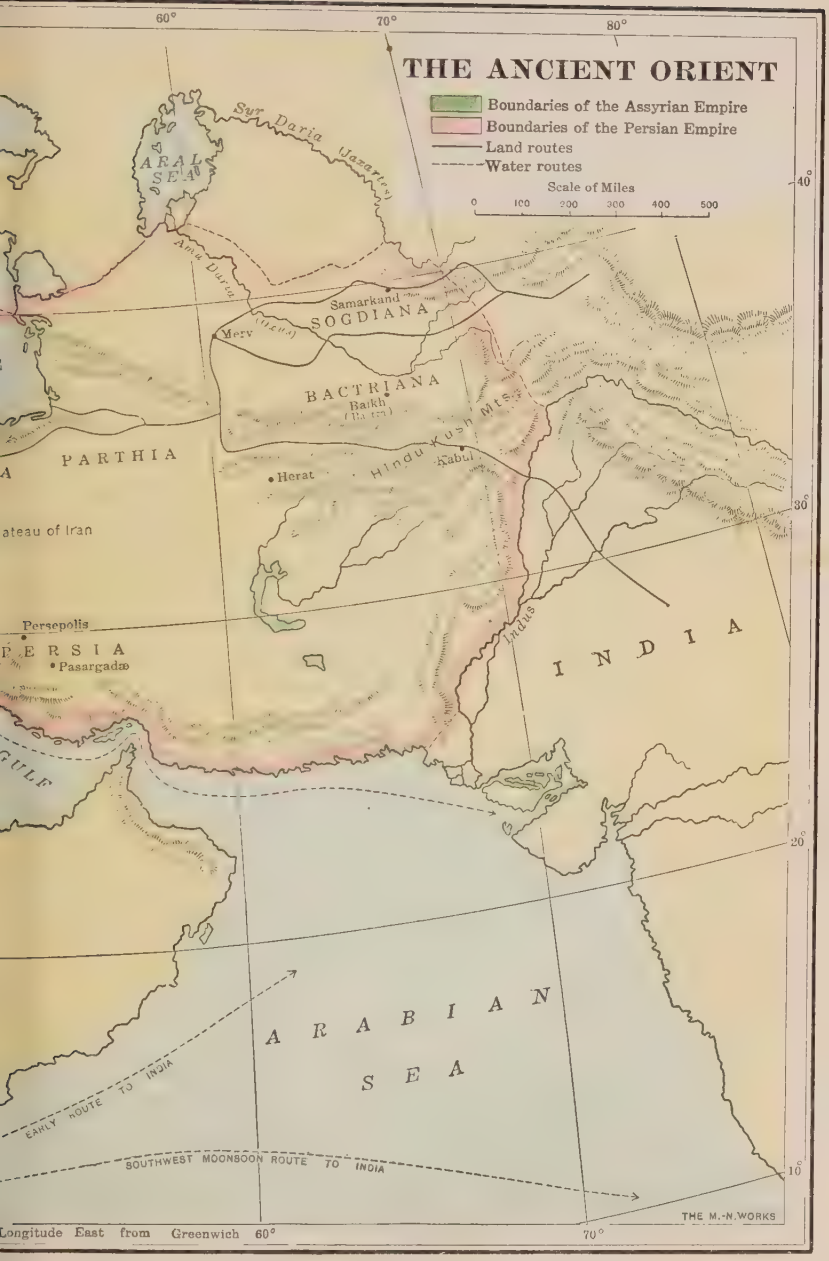
The region between the Mediterranean and the Arabian Desert contained in antiquity three small countries: Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine. Their situation made them the great highway of the Near East, and through them ran the caravan routes connecting the Nile with the Euphrates. The inhabitants spoke Semitic languages and probably came from northern Arabia. They are known as Aramæans or Syrians, Phœnicians, and Hebrews. None of these peoples ever played a leading part in Oriental history, but each made important contributions to Oriental civilization. The Aramæans were keen business men, who bought and sold throughout western Asia. The language of the Aramæans in this way became widely diffused and eventually displaced Hebrew as the ordinary speech in Palestine. Some parts of the Old Testament are written in Aramaic. The chief center of the Aramæans was Damascus, one of the oldest cities in the world and still a thriving place.

Aramæans

The Phœnicians occupied a narrow stretch of coast, about one hundred and twenty miles in length and seldom more than twelve miles in width, between the Lebanon Mountains and the sea. This tiny land could not support a large population by farming, so the Phœnicians became a nation of sailors. They found in the cedars of Lebanon a soft, white wood for shipbuilding, and in the Egyptian vessels which had been entering their harbors for centuries a model for their own craft. The great Phœnician cities of Sidon and Tyre long

Phœnicians

Seythians
Danube
(Ister)
Balkan Mts.
MACEDONIA
THRACE
BLACK SEA
(EUXINE)
Caucasus Mountains
COLCHIS
Constantinople
(Byzantium)
Bosporus
Sea of Marmora
(Propontis)
Kizil Irmak
(Halys)
PERSIAN
Trebizond
(Trapezus)
Caucasian Gates
Kura R.
EPIRUS
GREECE
Dardanelles
(Hellespont)
Troy
(Ilium)
Mycenae
Tiryns
Athens
Sparta
Sardis
LYDIA
Ephesus
Miletus
PHRYGIA
Boghar-Keui
(Khattu)
ARMENIA
Arus
Lake Van
Lake Urmia
Hittites
CAPPADOCIA
CILICIA
Taurus Mts.
Cilician Gates
Tarsus
Hittites
Carchemish
Haran
Antioch
MESOPOTAMIA
Euphrates
Dur-Sharrukin
Nineveh
ASSYRIA
Assur
Zagros Mts.
CRETE
Gnossus
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
CYPRUS
Cyrene
CYRENAICA
Byblus
Sidon
Tyre
PALESTINE
Jaffa
(Joppa)
Philistines
Gaza
Samaria
Jerusalem
Dead Sea
Palmyra
(Tadmor)
Damascus
BABYLONIA
Agade
Babylon
Nippur
Ur
Eridu
Behistu
Sus
Rosetta Mouth
Delta of Nile
Alexandria
LIBYA
Naucratis
Sais
Pelusium
Oasis of Siwa
(Amon)
Memphis
Fayum
(Lake Meris)
Pen. of Sinai
Mt. Sinai
Arabian Desert
Tell-el-Amarna
Coptus
Thebes
First Cataract
Syene
PHILAE
Berenice
Second Cataract
Nile
Third Cataract
ETHIOPIA
Fourth Cataract
Atbara
White Nile
Blue Nile
RED SEA
Arabs
20°
30°
40°
10°


THE ANCIENT ORIENT
Boundaries of the Assyrian Empire
Boundaries of the Persian Empire
Land routes
Water routes
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500
60°
70°
80°
40°
30°
20°
10°
ARAL SEA
Syr Daria (Jaxartes)
Amu Daria (Oxus)
Samarkand
SOGDIANA
Merv
BACTRIANA
Balkh
(Ba ctra)
PARTHIA
Herat
Hindu Kush Mts.
Kabul
ateau of Iran
Persepolis
PERSIA
Pasargadæ
GULF
INDIA
Indus
ARABIAN SEA
EARLY ROUTE TO INDIA
SOUTHWEST MOONSOON ROUTE TO INDIA
THE M.-N. WORKS
Longitude East from Greenwich
60°
70°

maintained an extensive commerce throughout the Mediterranean.[1]

The Hebrews lived south of the Aramæans and the Phœnicians. Hebrew history begins with the immigration of twelve tribes (called Israelites) into Palestine. Here they gave up the life of wandering shepherds and became farmers and townsmen. Their twelve tribes at first formed only a loose and weak confederacy. The sole authority was that held by valiant chieftains and law-givers, such as Samson, Gideon, and Samuel, who served as judges between the people and often led them against their foes.

The Hebrews

A Philistine
An Egyptian painting.

Toward the close of the eleventh century B.C. the Hebrew tribes united into one kingdom, under a ruler named Saul. His reign was filled with constant struggles against the warlike Philistines, who occupied the southwestern coast of Palestine. David, Saul's successor, overthrew the Philistine power. For a capital city David selected the ancient fortress of Jerusalem, which henceforth became for the Hebrews the center of their national life. The reign of David's son, Solomon (about 955–925 B.C.), formed the most splendid period in Hebrew history. Solomon's authority reached from the peninsula of Sinai northward to the Lebanon Mountains and the Euphrates. He married an Egyptian princess, a daughter of the reigning Pharaoh. He joined with Hiram, king of Tyre, in trading expeditions on the Red Sea and Indian Ocean. The same monarch supplied him with skilled Phœnician workmen, who built at Jerusalem a splendid temple for the worship of Jehovah.

The Hebrew Kingdom

After Solomon's death the ten northern tribes set up an independent kingdom of Israel, with its capital at Samaria. The two southern tribes, Judah and Benjamin, formed the kingdom of Judea and remained faithful

Division of the Hebrew Kingdom

[1] See page 47.

to the successors of Solomon. These small states led a troubled existence for several centuries. The Assyrians finally conquered Israel, and the Babylonians, Judea. Both states in the end were added to the Persian Empire.

SOLOMON'S KINGDOM

The supposed route of the Hebrew Exodus from Egypt through the peninsula of Sinai to the border of Palestine is traced on the map.

Rise of Assyria

North of Babylonia and on each side of the Tigris River lay Assyria. The inhabitants spoke a Semitic language akin to Babylonian. Their chief city was at first Assur (whence the name Assyria), and afterward the larger and more splendid Nineveh. They were a rough, hardy people, devoted to hunting and warlike exercises. Having adopted

the horse and military chariot, and later *iron* weapons, the Assyrians began a series of sweeping conquests. Their power culminated during the eighth and seventh centuries before Christ. The kings who then reigned at Nineveh created a dominion reaching from the neighborhood of the Black and Caspian seas to the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea, and the Nile. One of the greatest of these Assyrian monarchs was Sennacherib (705–681 B.C.), whose name is familiar from the references to him in the Old Testament.

AN ASSYRIAN

A bas-relief found at Nineveh. The original is colored.

Force built up the Assyrian state and only force could hold it together. When, therefore, it declined in strength, the subject countries made ready to strike a blow for freedom. The storm broke in 606 B.C. In that year the king of Babylon and the king of the Medes and Persians moved upon Nineveh, captured the city, and utterly destroyed it. **Collapse of Assyria**

The victors now divided the spoils. Media secured most of Assyria proper, together with the long stretch of mountain country extending from the Persian Gulf to Asia Minor. Babylonia obtained the western part of the Assyrian domains, all the way to the Mediterranean. Under Nebuchadnezzar (604–561 B.C.), Babylonia again became a great power in the Orient. It was Nebuchadnezzar who brought the kingdom of Judea to an end, captured Jerusalem, burned Solomon's Temple, and carried away many Hebrews into captivity. All this story is related in the Old Testament. **Partition of Assyria**

Not much earlier than the break-up of Assyria, we find a new and vigorous people pressing into western Asia. They were the Persians, near kinsmen of the Medes, and like them of

Indo-European speech. The able ruler whom history knows as Cyrus the Great (553–529 B.C.) united the Persians and the Medes under his sway and then conquered the kingdom of Lydia in Asia Minor. He also subdued Babylonia. The Hebrew exiles there were now allowed to return to their native land. His son, Cambyses, annexed Egypt. The successor of Cambyses, Darius the Great (521–485 B.C.), added northwestern India to the Persian dominions, together with some territory in Europe. Not without reason could Darius describe himself in an inscription as "the great king, king of kings, king of countries, king of all men."

Formation of the Persian Empire

An Assyrian Lion Hunt

British Museum, London
A bas-relief found in the palace of Assurbanipal at Nineveh.

The Persian Empire extended over an enormous area. Its eastern and western frontiers were nearly three thousand miles apart, or considerably more than the distance between New York and San Francisco. Its northern and southern boundaries were almost as remote. With the exception of Arabia, which the Persians never attempted to conquer, the Near East from the Indus to the Danube and the Nile yielded allegiance to the Great King.

Extent of the Persian Empire

It was the work of Darius to establish a stable government, which should preserve what the sword had won. The problem was difficult, for the Persians had conquered many peoples

unlike in race, language, customs, and religion. Darius did not try to weld them into unity. As long as his subjects paid tribute and furnished soldiers, they were allowed to manage their affairs with little interference. The entire empire, excluding Persia proper, was divided into about twenty provinces, each with governors to collect taxes and command the provincial armies. Darius also provided special agents whose business it was to travel throughout the empire and investigate the conduct of the royal officials. As a further means of holding his dominions together, Darius laid out military roads for the dispatch of troops and supplies. The Royal Road[1] from Susa, the Persian capital, to Sardis in Lydia was about sixteen hundred miles long; but government couriers, using relays of fresh horses, could cover the distance within a week. It is interesting to note that the present railroad from Constantinople to Bagdad in large part parallels this ancient highway.

Organization of the Persian Empire

DARIUS WITH HIS ATTENDANTS

Bas-relief at Persepolis. The monarch's right hand grasps a staff or scepter; his left hand, a bunch of flowers. His head is surmounted by a crown; his body is enveloped in the long Median mantle. Above the king is a representation of the divinity which guarded and guided him. In the rear are two Persian nobles, one carrying the royal fan, the other the royal parasol.

Oriental history has now been traced from its beginnings to about 500 B.C. We have seen how the earliest civilized societies appeared in the valleys of the Nile and the Tigris-Euphrates; how empire building started; and how at length nearly all the Near East came together in the widespread Persian Empire. This work of unification was accomplished only at a fearful cost. The records of

Political development of the ancient Orient

[1] See the map between pages 34–35.

Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, and Persia, not to speak of minor countries, are a terrible story of towns and cities given to the flames, of the devastation of fertile regions, of the slaughter of men, women, and children, of the enslavement of entire populations. Mankind by this time had passed from the petty robbery, murder, and border feuds characteristic of savagery and barbarism to *organized* warfare, in which state was ranged against state and nation against nation. Peace, indeed, formed the rare exception in the ancient Orient. Consequently, there could be no such thing as international law regulating the relations of one community to another and no conception of international coöperation for human welfare. Each community looked out for itself; each one, if it could, subdued its neighbors and imposed its rule upon them. Nevertheless, Oriental peoples made much progress in social and economic conditions, in law and morality, in religion, literature, art, science, and other fields of activity during the first thirty centuries of recorded history.

11. Social Conditions

Nothing like democracy existed in the ancient Orient. The common people never shared in the government as voters and lawmakers; they knew only monarchical rule. The king, especially in Egypt, was considered to be the earthly representative of the gods. Even in a Pharaoh's lifetime temples were erected to him and offerings were made to his sacred majesty. The belief in the king's divinity led naturally to the conclusion that he deserved the unquestioning obedience of his subjects. The king was therefore an autocrat, exercising absolute, irresponsible authority. He had many duties. He was judge, commander, and high priest, all in one. In time of war, he led his troops and faced the perils of the battlefield. During intervals of peace, he was occupied with a constant round of sacrifices, prayers, and processions, which could not be omitted without exciting the anger of the gods. To his courtiers he gave frequent audience, hearing complaints, settling disputes, and issuing commands. A conscientious

Monarch

monarch, such as Hammurabi, who describes himself as "a real father to his people," must have been a very busy man.

Oriental monarchs always maintained luxurious courts. The splendor of Rameses II, of Solomon, of Sennacherib, of Nebuchadnezzar, dazzled their contemporaries. Royal magnificence reached its height with the Great King of Persia. He lived far removed from the common eye in the recesses of a lordly palace. When he gave audience to his nobles, he sat on a gold and ivory throne. When he traveled, even on military expeditions, he carried with him costly furniture, gold and silver dishes, and gorgeous robes. About him

The royal court

COURT OF THE PHARAOH

Wall painting, from a tomb at Thebes. Shows a Pharaoh receiving Asiatic envoys bearing tribute. They are introduced by white-robed Egyptian officials. The Asiatics may be distinguished by their gay clothes and black, sharp-pointed beards.

were hundreds of servants, bodyguards, and officials. All who approached his person prostrated themselves in the dust. "Whatsoever he commandeth them, they do. If he bid them make war, the one against the other, they do it; if he send them out against his enemies they go, and break down mountains, walls, and towers. They slay and are slain, and transgress not the king's commandment." [1]

The aristocratic or noble class included large landowners, rich merchants and bankers, and especially high government officials. These persons were often very powerful. If the king failed to keep on good terms with them,

Nobles

[1] 1 *Esdras*, iv, 3–5.

they might at any time rise in revolt and perhaps dethrone him. Oriental history relates many insurrections against the reigning monarch.

Priests

The priestly class also exerted much influence. Priests conducted the temple worship and acted as intermediaries between men and the gods. They were likewise scholars, who collected the old traditions and legends and set them down in writing; scientists, who investigated Nature's secrets; and teachers in the schools connected with the temples. The priesthoods accumulated much

Tax Collecting in Ancient Egypt

On the left three villagers, who have failed to pay their taxes, are being brought in by officers. The latter carry staves. On the right sit the scribes, holding in one hand a sheet of papyrus and in the other hand a pen. The scribes kept records of the amount owed by each taxpayer and issued receipts when the taxes were paid.

property, particularly in Egypt, where about a third of all the tillable land came under their control.

Middle class

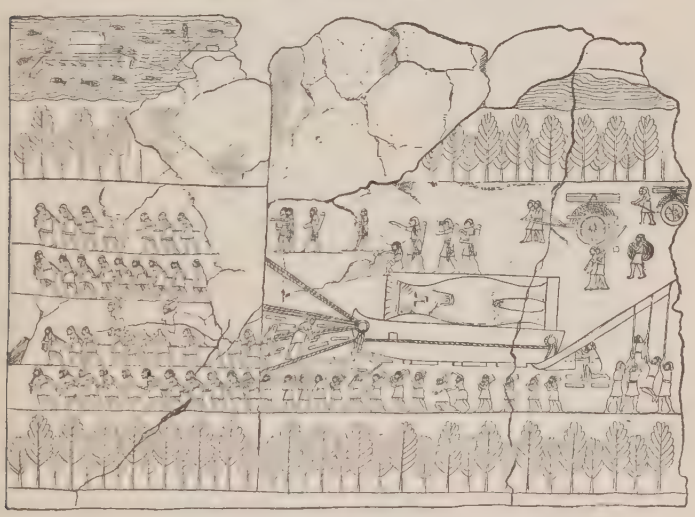
The middle class included chiefly shopkeepers and professional men such as physicians, notaries, and scribes. Though regarded as inferiors, still there was a chance for them to rise in the world. If they became rich, they might hope to enter the priesthood or even the exalted ranks of the nobility.

Artisans and peasants

No such hope encouraged the day laborer. His lot was poverty and unending toil. The artisan received a wage scarcely sufficient to keep him and his family from starvation, while the peasant, after paying excessive rents and taxes on his farm, had left only a bare subsistence.

The slaves occupied the base of the social pyramid. Every Oriental people possessed them. At first, they were prisoners of war, who, instead of being slaughtered, were forced to labor for their masters. Oriental rulers undertook military expeditions for the express purpose of gathering slaves — "like the sand," says an ancient writer. Persons unable to pay their debts often lost their freedom.

Slaves



TRANSPORT OF AN ASSYRIAN COLOSSUS

British Museum, London

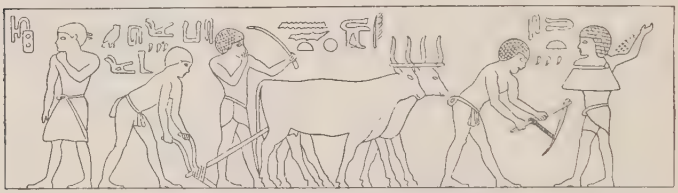
A slab from a gallery of Sennacherib's palace at Nineveh. The immense block (an image of a human-headed bull or lion) is being dragged by slaves, who work under the lash.

Criminals, also, were sometimes compelled to enter into servitude. The treatment of slaves depended on the character of their master. A cruel and overbearing master might make life a burden for them. Slaves had plenty to do. They repaired dikes, dug irrigation ditches, erected temples and palaces, labored in the mines, served as oarsmen in ships, and engaged in many household activities. In Babylonia and Assyria, where the servile class was more numerous than in Egypt, the whole structure of society rested on the backs of slaves.

12. Economic Conditions

Agriculture

Such fruitful, well-watered valleys as those of the Nile and the Euphrates encouraged agricultural life. Wheat, barley, and millet were first domesticated either in Egypt or in Babylonia. There is good reason, indeed, for believing that these most important cereals, together with domesticated cattle, were introduced into Neolithic Europe from the Near East.[1] All the methods of farming are pictured for us on Egyptian monuments. We mark the peasant as he breaks up the earth with a hoe or plows a shallow furrow with a sharp-pointed stick. We see the sheep being driven across



Plowing and Sowing in Ancient Egypt

The picture shows from left to right a scribe, two plowmen, one holding the plow and one driving the oxen, a man with a hoe, who breaks up the clods left by the plow, and a sower scattering seed from a bag.

sown fields to trample the seed into the moist soil. We watch the patient laborers as with sickles they gather in the harvest and then with heavy flails separate the chaff from the grain. Although their methods were clumsy, ancient farmers raised immense crops. The soil of Egypt and Babylonia not only supported a dense population, but also supplied food for neighboring countries. These two regions were the granaries of the Near East.

Industry

Blacksmiths, carpenters, stonecutters, weavers, potters, glass-blowers, and workers in ivory, silver, and gold were found in every Oriental city. The creations of these ancient craftsmen often exhibit remarkable skill. Egyptian linens were so wonderfully fine and transparent as

[1] See page 14.

to merit the name of "woven air." Egyptian glass, with its lines of different hues, was much prized. Babylonian tapestries, carpets, and rugs enjoyed a high reputation for beauty of design and coloring. Some of the industrial arts thus practiced thousands of years ago have been revived only in modern times.

Trade

The development of arts and crafts made it necessary for merchants to collect manufactured products where they could be readily bought and sold. The cities of Babylonia, in particular, became thriving markets. Partnerships between tradesmen were not uncommon. We even learn of commercial companies not so very unlike our present corporations. Business life in Babylonia wore, indeed, quite a modern look.

Money

Metallic money first circulated in the form of rings and bars. The Egyptians had small pieces of gold — "cow gold" — each of which was simply the value of a full-grown cow. It was necessary to weigh the metal whenever a purchase took place. A common picture on the Egyptian monuments is that of the weigher with his balance and scales. Then the practice arose of stamping each piece of money with its true value and weight. The next step was coinage proper, where the government guarantees, not only the weight, but also the genuineness of the metal. The honor of inventing coinage belongs to the Lydians of Asia Minor, whose country was well supplied with the precious metals. The kings of Lydia began to coin money as early as the eighth century B.C. The Greek neighbors of Lydia quickly adopted the art of coinage and so introduced it into Europe.[1]

Banking

The use of money as a medium of exchange led naturally to a system of banking. One great banking house, established at Babylon before the time of Sennacherib, carried on operations for several centuries. Hundreds of legal documents belonging to this firm have been discovered in the huge earthenware jars which served as safes. The temples in Babylonia also received money on deposit and loaned it

[1] For illustrations of Oriental, Greek, and Roman coins, see the plate facing page 148.

out again, as do our modern banks. Babylonian business usages and credit devices spread through Asia Minor to Greece and thence into other European countries.

13. Commerce and Commercial Routes

Commerce, which has always been a means of enabling different peoples to know and influence one another, was in early times exposed to many dangers. Wild tribes and bands of robbers infested the roads and obliged the traveler to be ever on guard against their attacks. Travel by water had also its drawbacks. Boats were small and easily swamped in rough weather. With a single sail and few oarsmen, progress was very slow. Without compass or chart, the navigator seldom ventured into the open sea. He hugged the coast as closely as possible, keeping always a sharp eye for pirates who might seize his vessel and take him into slavery. In spite of all these risks, the profits of foreign trade were so great that much intercourse existed between Oriental lands.

Beginnings of commerce

The Egyptians, pioneers in so many fields of human activity, are believed to have made the first seagoing ships. As early as the thirtieth century B.C., they began to venture out into the eastern Mediterranean and to carry on a thriving trade with both Cyprus and Crete, which lay almost opposite the mouths of the Nile. The ships of the Pharaohs also sailed up and down the entire length of the Red Sea.

Egyptian commerce

The cities of the Tigris-Euphrates Valley were admirably situated for commerce, both by sea and land. The shortest way by water from India skirted the southern coast of Iran and, passing up the Persian Gulf, gained the valley of the two rivers. Even more important were the overland roads for caravan trade from India and China. They converged at Babylon and Nineveh and then radiated westward to Asia Minor, Syria, Phœnicia, Palestine, and Egypt. All these routes have been arteries of commerce from prehistoric times. Many of them are in use even to-day.

Asiatic commerce

COLONIZATION of the MEDITERRANEAN
Phœnicia
Phœnician Colonies 1000-850 B. C.
Carthaginian Possessions, 850-146 B. C.
Greece
Greek Colonies, 750-146 B. C.
Phœnician Water Routes
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500
THE M.-N. WORKS BUFFALO, N. Y.
5° Longitude West 0° Longitude 5° East from 10 Greenwich 15° 20° 25° 30° 35°
ATLANTIC OCEAN
BRITAIN
TIN ISLANDS (CASSITERIDES)
GAUL
SPAIN
ITALY
ILLYRIA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BLACK SEA (EUXINE)
ASIA MINOR
Balkans
Adriatic Sea
Ionian Sea
Tyrrhenian Sea
Atlas Mts.
Pyrenees Mts.
Strait of Gibraltar (Pillars of Hercules)
Tarshish (Tartessus)
Cadiz (Gades)
Tangier (Tingis)
Cartagena (New Carthage)
Icosium
Saguntum
Marseilles (Massilia)
Alalia
CORSICA
BALEARIC IS.
SARDINIA
Carales
Utica
Carthage
Hippo
Agrigentum
Ruspæ
MALTA (MELITA)
Leptis
Syracuse
SICILY
Palermo (Panormus)
Segesta
Messina
Cumæ
Naples (Neapolis)
Pæstus
Syharis
Thurii
MAGNA GRÆCIA
Taranto (Tarentum)
Ancona
Corcyra
Croton
Locri
Regium
Epidaurus
Durazzo (Dyrrhachium)
MACEDONIA
Amphipolis
Olynthus
Potidæa
Lesbos
Mytilene
Sea
Corinth
Athens
Sparta
Cyzicus
Abydus
Troy (Ilium)
Phocæa
Smyrna
Ephesus
Miletus
Halicarnassus
Rhodes
RHODES
CRETE
CYPRUS
Tarsus
Antioch
Phaselis
Byblus
Sidon
Tyre
PHŒNICIA
Jaffa (Joppa)
Alexandria
Naucratis
Memphis
EGYPT
Nile
RED SEA
Cyrene
Barca
CYRENAICA
Olbia
Tomi
Apollonia
Byzantium
Chalcedon
Heraclea Pontica
Heraclea Chersonesus
Sinope
Trebizond (Trapezus)
Azov (Tanais)
Don
Dnieper
Dniester
Danube
Halys
COLCHIS
THRACE
Rhone
Loire
Seine
Rhine
Douro
Tagus
Po
Tiber
Arno
Tarshish
Cyrene

A Semitic people, the Phœnicians,[1] were the common carriers of the Mediterranean after about 1000 B.C. Phœnician water routes soon extended to Cyprus, only a short distance away, then to Crete, then to the islands of the Ægean, and, at least occasionally, to the coasts of the Black Sea. When the Phœnicians were finally driven from these regions by the rising power of the Greek states, they sailed farther westward and established trading posts in Sicily, Sardinia, North Africa, and Spain. At length they passed through the strait of Gibraltar into the stormy Atlantic and visited the shores of western Europe and Africa.

Phœnician water routes

The Phœnicians obtained a great variety of products as a result of their commercial voyages. The mines of Spain yielded iron, tin, lead, and silver. Tin, which was especially valuable because of its use in making bronze, seems also to have been brought from southwestern Britain (Cornwall), where mines of this metal are still productive. From Africa came ivory, ostrich feathers, and gold; from Arabia, which the Phœnicians also visited, came incense, perfumes, and costly spices. These commodities found a ready sale throughout the Near East. Still other products were imported directly into Phœnicia to provide raw materials for her flourishing manufactures. The fine carpets and glassware, the artistic works in silver and bronze, and the beautiful purple cloths produced in Phœnician factories were exported to every part of the known world.

Phœnician imports and exports

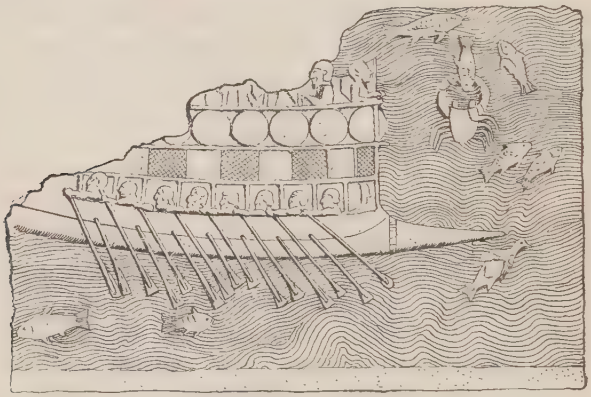
The Phœnicians were the boldest sailors of antiquity. Some of their long voyages are still on record. We learn from the Old Testament that they made cruises on the Red Sea and Indian Ocean and brought the gold of Ophir, "four hundred and twenty talents," to Solomon.[2] There is even a story of certain Phœnicians who, by direction of an Egyptian king, explored the eastern coast of Africa, rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and after three years' absence returned to Egypt through the strait of Gibraltar. A much more probable narrative is that of the voyage of Hanno, a Carthaginian

Phœnician voyages of exploration

[1] See page 34.

[2] See 1 *Kings*, ix, 26–28.

admiral. We still possess a Greek translation of his interesting log book. It describes an expedition made about 500 B.C. along the western coast of Africa. The explorers seem to have sailed as far as the Gulf of Guinea.[1] Nearly two thousand years elapsed before Portuguese navigators undertook a similar voyage to the Dark Continent.



A Phœnician War Galley

From a slab found at Nineveh in the palace of the Assyrian king, Sennacherib. The vessel shown is a bireme with two decks. On the upper deck are soldiers with their shields hanging over the side. The oarsmen sit on the lower deck, eight at each side. The crab catching the fish is a humorous touch.

Phœnician settlements

Wherever the Phœnicians went, they established settlements. Most of these were merely trading posts which contained warehouses for the storage of goods. Here the shy natives came to barter their raw materials for the finished products — cloths, tools, weapons, wine, and oil — which the strangers from the east had brought with them. Phœnician settlements sometimes grew into large and flourishing cities. Gades in southern Spain, which was the most distant of their colonies, survives to this day as Cadiz, one of the very oldest cities in Europe. Carthage, founded in North Africa by colonists from Tyre, became the commercial mistress of the western Mediterranean. Carthaginian history, as we shall learn, has many points of contact with that of the Greeks and Romans.

[1] See the map, page 108.

14. Law and Morality

Human activities in the Near East seem to have gone on in orderly fashion much of the time. As far as we can tell, life was fairly safe, property was reasonably secure, and people were protected in their occupations. Egypt, we know, had courts of justice, law books (unfortunately lost), and definite rules relating to contracts, loans, leases, mortgages, partnerships, marriage, and the family. The position of woman

Egyptian law

THE JUDGMENT OF THE DEAD

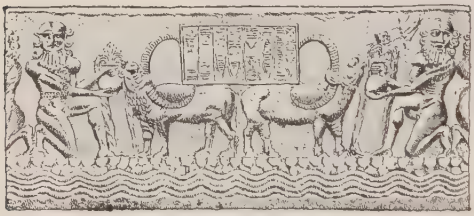
From a papyrus containing the *Book of the Dead*. The illustration shows a man and his wife (at the left) entering the hall in the spirit world, where sits the god of the dead with forty-two jurors (seen above) as his assistants. The heart of the man, symbolized by a jar, is being weighed in balances by a jackal headed god against a feather, the symbol of truth. An ibis-headed god records with his pen the verdict of the balances. The monster in the right-hand corner is ready to devour the soul, if the heart proves to be lighter than the feather. This picture is by far the oldest known representation of a judgment scene.

was remarkably high: she had full rights of ownership and inheritance and she could engage in business on her own account. Though polygamy existed, chiefly among the upper classes, the wife was her husband's companion and not merely his domestic servant. The reverence due from children to father and mother was constantly insisted upon, and filial piety for the Egyptians ranked among the highest virtues.

The most enlightening notice of Egyptian moral standards is found in a very ancient work known as the *Book of the Dead*. One of the chapters describes the judgment of the soul in the other world. If the soul was to enjoy a blissful immortality,

it must be able to recite truthfully before its judges a so-called Negative Confession. These are some of the declarations: "I did not steal"; "I did not murder"; "I did not lie"; "I did not kill any sacred animals"; "I did not damage any cultivated land"; "I did not do any witchcraft"; "I did not blaspheme a god"; "I did not make false accusations"; "I did not revile my father"; "I did not cause a slave to be ill-treated by his master"; "I did not make any one weep." After pleading innocence of all the forty-two sins condemned by Egyptian ethics, the soul added, "Grant that he may come unto you . . . he that hath given bread to the hungry and drink to the thirsty, and that hath clothed the naked with garments." Some of the clauses of the Negative Confession correspond with some of the Ten Commandments, while the affirmative statement at the end makes a close approach to Christian morality.

The Negative Confession



BABYLONIAN SEAL

Seal of Sargon I, who reigned about 2800 B.C.

The Babylonians were a very legal-minded people. When a man sold his wheat, bought a slave, married a wife, or made a will, the transaction was duly noted on a contract tablet, which was then filed away in the public archives. Instead of inscribing his name, a Babylonian stamped his seal on the soft clay of the tablet. Every one who owned property had to have a seal. A contract tablet was protected from defacement by being placed in a hollow clay case, or envelope.

Babylonian law

A recent discovery has provided us with almost the complete text of the laws which Hammurabi, the Babylonian king, ordered engraved on stone monuments and set up in the chief cities of his realm. Hammurabi's code shows, in general, a keen sense of justice. A man

Code of Hammurabi

who tries to bribe a witness or a judge is to be severely punished. A farmer who is careless with his dikes and allows the water to run through and flood his neighbor's land must restore the value of the grain he has damaged. The owner of a vicious ox which has gored a man must pay a heavy fine, provided he knew the disposition of the animal and had not blunted its horns. On the other hand, the code contains some rude features, especially its reliance upon retaliation — "eye for eye, tooth for tooth" — as the punishment of injuries. For instance, a son who struck his father was to have his hands cut off. The nature of the punishment depended, moreover, on the rank of the aggrieved party. A person who had caused the loss of a "gentleman's" eye was to have his own plucked out; but if the injury was done to a poor man, the culprit had only to pay a fine. Hammurabi's code thus presents a vivid picture of Babylonian society twenty-one centuries before Christ.

HAMMURABI AND THE SUN GOD

British Museum, London

A shaft of stone, nearly 8 feet high, contains the code of Hammurabi. The monument was found on the site of Susa in 1901–1902. It is engraved in 44 columns and over 3600 lines. A relief at the top shows the Babylonian king receiving the laws from the sun god, who is seated at the right. Flames rising from the god's shoulders indicate his solar character.

The laws which we find in the earlier part of the Old Testament were ascribed by the Hebrews to Moses. The Bible states that he had received them from Jehovah on Mount Sinai. These laws covered a wide range of subjects. They fixed all religious ceremonies, required the observance every seventh day of the Sabbath, gave numerous and complicated rules for sacrifices, and even indicated what foods must be avoided as "unclean." No other ancient people possessed so elaborate a legal system.

The Mosaic code

The Jews, throughout the world, still follow its precepts. And modern Christendom still recites the Ten Commandments, the noblest summary of the rules of right living that has come down to us from Oriental antiquity.

15. Religion

Oriental ideas of religion, even more than of law and morality, were the gradual outgrowth of beliefs which arose in prehistoric times. Everywhere nature worship prevailed. The vault of heaven, earth and ocean, and sun, moon, and stars were all regarded as themselves divine or as the abode of divinities. The sun formed an object of particular adoration. We find a sun god, under different names, throughout the Orient.

Nature worship

An Egyptian Scarab

The beetle, as a symbol of birth and resurrection, and hence of immortality, enjoyed much reverence in ancient Egypt. A scarab, or image of the beetle, was often worn as a charm and was placed in the mummy as an artificial heart.

The Egyptians, very conservative in religious matters, always retained the animal worship of their barbarous ancestors. Some gods were represented on monuments in partly animal form, one having a baboon's head, another the head of a lioness, another that of a cat. Such animals as the jackal, bull, ram, hawk, and crocodile also received the utmost reverence, less for themselves, however, than as symbols of different gods.

Animal worship

In Babylonia and Assyria a belief in the existence of evil spirits formed a prominent feature of the religion. People supposed themselves to be constantly surrounded by a host of demons, who caused insanity, sickness, accidents, and death — all human ills.

Evil spirits

To cope with these spiritual enemies the Babylonian used magic. He put up an image of a protecting god at the entrance of his home and wore charms upon

Magic

his person. If he fell ill, he summoned a magician to recite an incantation which would drive out the demon inside him.

The Babylonians had many ways of predicting the future. Soothsayers divined from dreams and from the casting of lots. Omens of prosperity or misfortune were also drawn from the appearance of the entrails of animals slain in sacrifice. For this purpose a sheep's liver was commonly used. Divination by the liver was studied for centuries in the temple schools of Babylonia. The practice afterwards spread to the Greeks and Romans.

Divination

Astrology received much attention in Babylonia. The five planets then recognized, as well as comets and eclipses, were thought to exercise an influence for good or evil on the life of man. Babylonian astrology passed to western lands and became popular in much of Europe. When we name the days Saturday, Sunday, and Monday, we are unconscious astrologers, for in old belief the first day belonged to the planet Saturn, the second to the sun, and the third to the moon.[1] People who try to read their fate in the stars are really practicing an art of Babylonian origin.

Astrology

AMENHOTEP IV

A portrait head carved in limestone and undoubtedly a striking likeness of the Egyptian king.

In the midst of so many nature deities, sacred animals, and evil spirits, it was indeed remarkable that the belief in one god should ever have arisen. Nevertheless, some Egyptian thinkers reached the idea of a single supreme divinity. One of the Pharaohs, Amenhotep IV (about 1375–1358 B.C.), who saw in the sun the source of all life on the earth, ordered his subjects to worship that luminary alone. The names of other gods were erased

Monotheism in Egypt

[1] The names of the other weekdays come from the names of old Teutonic deities. Tuesday is the day of Tiu (the Teutonic Mars), Wednesday of Woden (Mercury), Thursday of Thor (Jupiter), and Friday of the goddess Frigg (Venus).

from the monuments, their images destroyed, their temples closed, their priests expelled. No such lofty faith had ever appeared before, but it was too abstract and impersonal to win popular favor. After the king's death, the old deities were restored to honor.

Monotheism in Persia

The Medes and Persians accepted the religious teachings of Zoroaster, a great prophet whose date is variously placed between 1000 and 700 B.C. According to Zoroaster, Ahuramazda, the heaven-deity, is the maker and upholder of the universe. He is a god of light and order, of truth and purity. Against him stands Ahriman, the personification of darkness and evil. These rival powers are engaged in a ceaseless struggle. Man, by doing right and avoiding wrong, by loving truth and hating falsehood, can help make Good triumph over Evil. In the end Ahuramazda will overcome Ahriman and will reign supreme over a righteous world. Zoroastrianism was the only monotheistic religion developed by an Indo-European people. It still survives in some parts of Persia, though that country is now chiefly Mohammedan, and also among the Parsees (Persians) of Bombay, India.

Hebrew monotheism

The Hebrews, a Semitic people, also developed a monotheistic religion. The Old Testament shows how it came about. Jehovah was at first regarded by the Hebrews as simply their own *national* deity; they did not deny the existence of the deities of other nations, though they refused to worship them. The prophets, from the eighth century onwards, began to transform this narrow, limited conception. For them, Jehovah was the God of the whole earth, the Father of all mankind. After the Hebrews returned to Palestine from captivity in Babylon,[1] the sublime faith of the prophets gradually spread through the entire nation, culminating in the doctrine of Jesus that God is a Spirit and that they who worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth. The Christian doctrine of God is thus directly an outgrowth of Hebrew monotheism.

The Egyptians, as well as all other ancient peoples, believed that man has a soul which survives the death of the body.

[1] See page 38.

They thought it essential, however, to preserve the body from destruction, so that it might remain to the end of time a home for the soul. Hence arose the practice of embalming. The embalmed body (mummy) was then placed in the grave, which the Egyptians called an "eternal dwelling." Later Egyptian thought represented the future as a place of rewards and punishments, where, as we have just learned, the soul underwent the ordeal of a last judgment. As a man lived in this life, so would be his lot in the next. The Babylonians supposed that after death the souls of all men, good and bad alike, passed a cheerless existence in a gloomy underworld. The early Hebrew idea of Sheol, "the land of darkness and the shadow of death,"[1] was very similar. Such thoughts of the future life left nothing for either fear or hope. The Hebrews later came to believe in the resurrection of the dead and the last judgment, conceptions afterward taken over by Christianity.

The future life

16. Literature and Art

Religion inspired the largest part of Oriental literature. The Egyptian *Book of the Dead* was already venerable in 2000 B.C. It was a collection of hymns, prayers, and magical phrases to be recited by the soul on its journey beyond the grave and in the spirit land. A chapter from this work usually covered the inner side of the mummy case, or coffin.

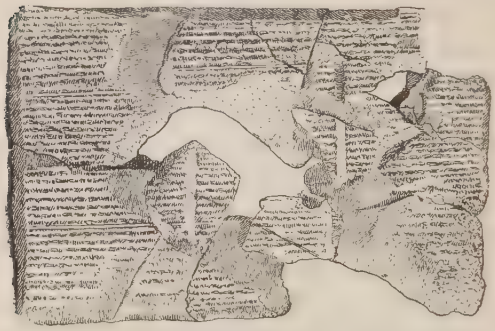
The *Book of the Dead*

Much more interesting are the two Babylonian epics, portions of which have been found on clay tablets in a royal library at Nineveh. The epic of the Creation tells how the god Marduk overcame a terrible dragon, the symbol of primeval chaos, and thus established order in the universe. With half of the body of the dead dragon he made a covering for the heavens and set therein the stars. Next, he caused the new moon to shine and made it the ruler of the night. His last work was the creation of man, in order that the service and worship of the gods might be established forever. The second epic contains an account of a Deluge, sent by the gods

The Babylonian epics

[1] *Job*, x, 21.

to punish sinful man. The rain fell for six days and nights and covered the entire earth. All people were drowned, except the Babylonian Noah, his family, and his relatives, who safely rode the waters in an ark. This ancient narrative so closely resembles the Biblical story in *Genesis* that both must be traced to a common source.



THE DELUGE TABLET

British Museum, London

Contains the Babylonian Deluge narrative as pieced together and published by George Smith in 1872. There are sixteen fragments in the restoration.

The sacred books of the Hebrews, which we call the Old Testament, include nearly every kind of literature. Sober histories, beautiful stories, exquisite poems, wise proverbs, and noble prophecies are found in this collection. The influence of the Old Testament upon the Hebrews, and through them upon the Christian world for nineteen centuries, has been profound. We shall not be wrong in regarding this work as the most important single contribution made by any ancient people to modern civilization.

The Old Testament

The wealth and skill of the Egyptians were not lavished in the erection of fine private mansions or splendid public buildings. The characteristic works of Egyptian architecture are the tombs of the kings and the temples of the gods. Even the ruins of these structures leave upon the observer an impression of peculiar massiveness, solidity, and grandeur. Like the pyramids, they seem built for eternity.

Egyptian architecture

The architecture of the Tigris-Euphrates peoples differed entirely from that of the Egyptians, because brick, and not stone, formed the chief building material. In Babylonia the

THE GREAT PYRAMID OF GIZEH

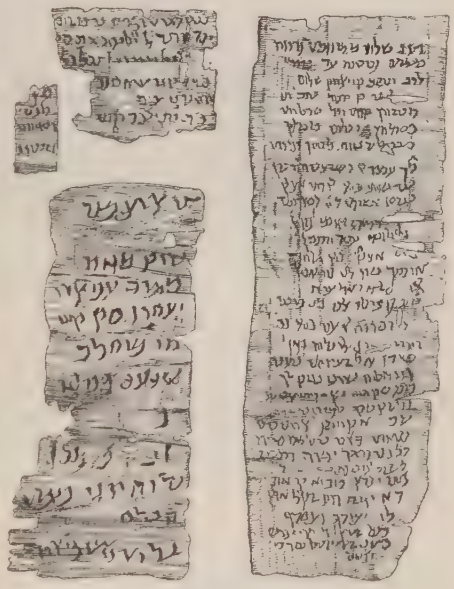
Built in the 29th century B.C. by the Pharaoh Cheops (Khufu) who is said to have employed 100,000 men for twenty years on its construction. When completed the pyramid had a height of 481 feet. It is now 451 feet high. Its base covers about thirteen acres. Some of the blocks of white limestone used in construction weigh fifty tons. The facing of polished stone was gradually removed for building purposes by the Arabs. On the northern side of the pyramid a narrow entrance, once carefully concealed, opens into tortuous passages which lead to the central vault. Here the sarcophagus of the king was placed. This chamber was long since entered and its contents rifled.

most characteristic structure was the temple. It was a solid, square tower, rising in stages (usually seven) to the top, where the shrine of the deity stood. The different stages were connected by a winding ascent. These tower-temples must have been very conspicuous objects on the plain of Shinar. Their presence there gave rise to the Hebrew story of the "Tower of Babel" (or Babylon). In Assyria the most characteristic structure was the palace. The sun-dried bricks, of which both temples and palaces were composed, lacked the durability of stone and have long since dissolved into shapeless mounds.

Babylonian and Assyrian architecture

The surviving examples of Egyptian sculpture consist of bas-reliefs and figures in the round, carved from limestone and granite or cast in bronze. Though many of the statues appear to our eyes very stiff and ungraceful, others are wonderfully lifelike.[1] Some Assyrian bas-reliefs also show a considerable development of the artistic sense, especially in the representation of animals.[2]

Oriental sculpture



ANCIENT HEBREW MANUSCRIPT

Cambridge University Library, England

A papyrus of the first century A.D., containing the Ten Commandments. It was discovered in Egypt.

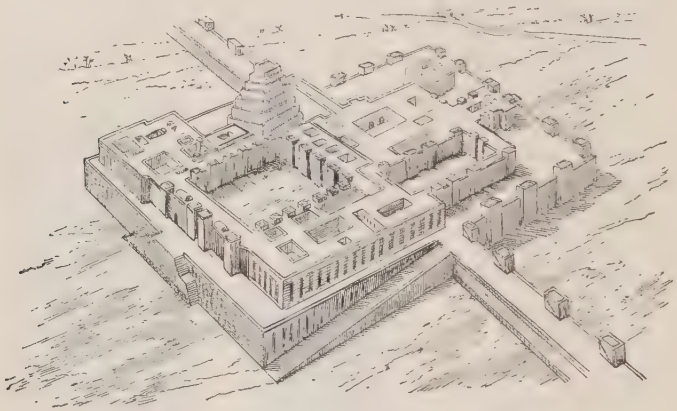
Painting did not reach the dignity of an independent art. It was employed solely for decorative purposes. Bas-reliefs and wall surfaces were often brightly colored. The artist had

[1] See the illustration on page 53.

[2] See the illustration on page 38.

no knowledge of perspective and drew all his figures in profile, without any distinction of light and shade. Indeed, Oriental painting, as well as Oriental sculpture, made small pretense to the beautiful. Beauty was born into the world with the art of the Greeks.

Oriental painting



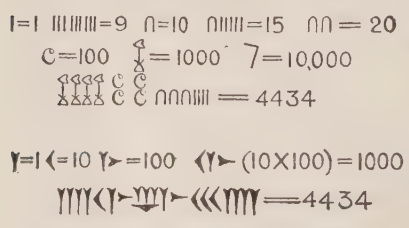
An Assyrian Palace (Restored)

The royal residence of Sargon II near Nineveh was placed upon a high platform of brick masonry, the top of which was gained by stairs and an inclined roadway. The palace consisted of a series of one-storied rectangular halls and long corridors surrounding inner courts. They were provided with imposing entrances, flanked by colossal human-headed bulls, representing guardian spirits. The entire building covered more than twenty-three acres and contained two hundred apartments. In the rear is seen a tower-temple.

17. Science

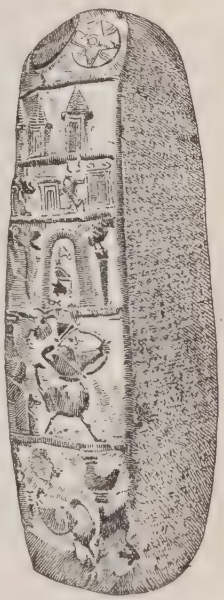
Conspicuous advance took place in the exact sciences. A very old Egyptian manuscript contains arithmetical problems with fractions as well as whole numbers, and geometrical theorems for computing the capacity of storehouses and the area of fields. A Babylonian table gives squares and cubes correctly calculated from 1 to 60. The number 12

Mathematics



Egyptian and Babylonian Numeration

was the basis of all reckonings. The division of the circle into degrees, minutes, and seconds (360°, 60′, 60″) is a device which illustrates this duodecimal system. Weights and measures were also highly developed among the Babylonians.



A Babylonian Boundary Stone

Stones recording the gift or sale of landed property were set up at the boundary of the land as a memorial of the transaction. One side of such a monument bore divine emblems, among which are the archer, the scorpion, and other signs later appearing in the zodiac.

Astronomy

The cloudless skies and still, warm nights of the great river valleys early led to astronomical research. Before 4000 B.C. the Egyptians had given up reckoning time by lunar months (the interval between two new moons) and had formed a solar calendar consisting of twelve thirty-day months, with five extra days at the end of the year. This calendar was taken over by the Romans, who added leap years, and from the Romans it has come down to us. The Babylonians made noteworthy progress in some branches of astronomy. They were able to trace the course of the sun through the twelve constellations of the zodiac,[1] to distinguish five of the planets, and to predict eclipses of the sun and of the moon. We do not know what instruments were used by the Babylonians for their remarkable observations.

Engineering

The art of stone masonry arose in Egypt at the close of the fourth millennium B.C. — earlier than anywhere else in the world. It soon produced the Great Pyramid, the largest stone structure ever erected in ancient or (until recently) in modern times. The Egyptians were also the first people who learned how to raise buildings with vast halls

[1] At least seven of the zodiacal signs found in our almanacs — lion, ram, scorpion, crab, fishes, archer, and twins — are of Babylonian origin.

the roofs of which were supported by rows of columns (colonnades). An upper story, or clerestory, containing windows, made it possible to light the interior of these halls. The column, the colonnade, and the clerestory, as architectural devices, were adopted by Greek and Roman builders, from whom they descended to medieval and modern Europe. To Babylonia Europe owes the round arch and vault, as a means of carrying a wall or roof over a void. In both Egypt and Babylonia the transportation of colossal stone monuments exhibits a knowledge of the lever, pulley, and inclined plane.[1]

Medicine

The Oriental peoples made some progress in medicine. A medical treatise found in Egypt distinguishes various diseases and notes their symptoms. The curious characters by which apothecaries indicate grains and drams are of Egyptian origin. Even as early as the time of Hammurabi, there were physicians and surgeons in Babylonia. The healing art, however, was always much mixed up with magic, just as astronomy, the scientific study of the heavens, was confused with astrology.

Schools and libraries

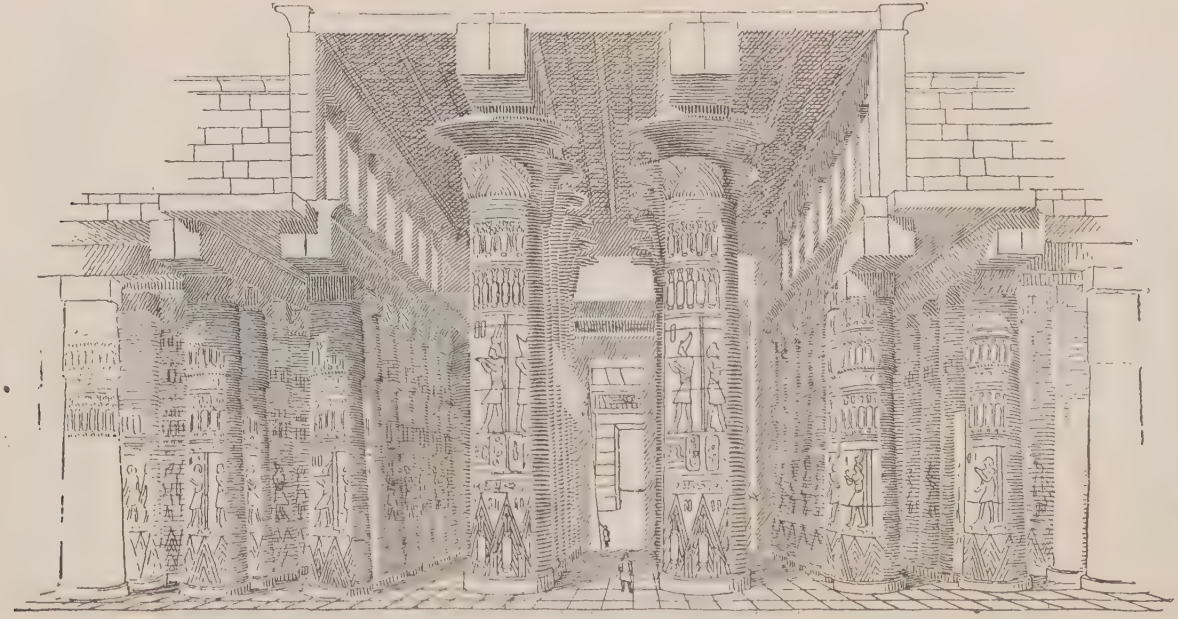
The schools, in both Egypt and Babylonia, were attached to the temples and were conducted by the priests. Reading and writing formed the chief subjects of study. It took many years to master the cuneiform symbols or the even more difficult hieroglyphs. Having learned to read and write, the pupil was ready to enter upon the career of a scribe.[2] When a man wished to send a letter, he had a scribe write it, signing it himself by affixing his seal. When he received a letter, he usually employed a scribe to read it to him. The scribes were also kept busy copying books on the papyrus paper or clay tablets which served as writing materials. Both the Egyptians and the Babylonians possessed libraries, usually as adjuncts to the temples and hence under priestly control.

Education

These schools and libraries were not freely open to the public. As a rule, only the well-to-do could secure any learning. The common people remained ignorant. Their ignorance involved their intellectual bondage to the past;

[1] See the illustration on page 43.

[2] See the illustration on page 42.



TEMPLE OF AMON-RA AT THEBES (RESTORED)

This temple, the ruins of which are still standing in the village of Karnak near the site of ancient Thebes, was one of the most imposing structures ever raised by man. The great hall, the only room shown in the illustration, measured 338 feet in width and 170 feet in depth. The nave in the center reached 70 feet in height. The twelve enormous columns supporting the roof of the nave were made much higher than the columns at each side, in order to insert clerestory windows.

they were slow to abandon time-honored superstitions and reluctant to adopt new customs even when clearly better than the old. The absence of popular education, more than anything else, tended to make Oriental civilization unprogressive.

18. Orient and Occident

Our study of the ancient Orient has been confined chiefly to the Nile and Tigris-Euphrates valleys. The Egyptians and the Babylonians *originated* civilization during the thousand years between 4000 and 3000 B.C., while all the rest of the world continued either in Neolithic barbarism or Palæolithic savagery. In Egypt and Babylonia men first developed out of the tribal state and began to form cities, states, kingdoms and empires; here they first passed from hunting, fishing, and herding to the cultivation of the soil, manufacturing, and commerce; here first arose metallurgy, architecture, phonetic writing, mathematics, astronomy, medicine, and many other arts and sciences indispensable to the higher life of mankind.

Origin of Oriental civilization

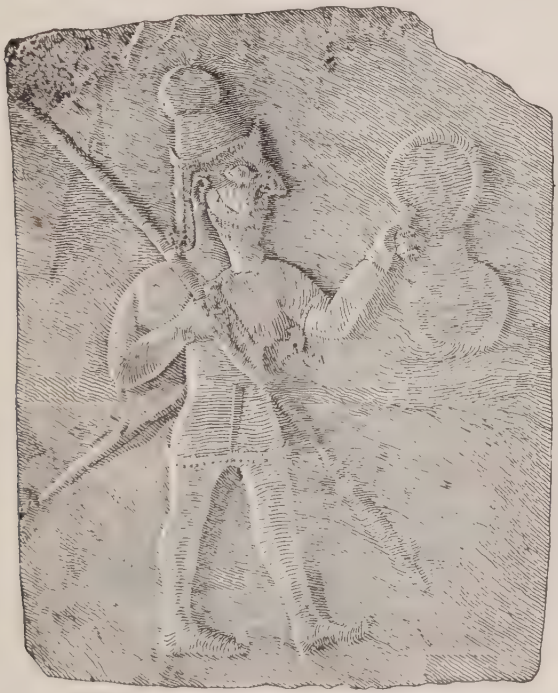
After 3000 B.C. civilization began to be *diffused* from its Egypto-Babylonian centers. Conquest, trade, and travel during the next twenty-five centuries led to increasing contact of peoples. By 500 B.C. the best of what the Egyptians and Babylonians had done became the common possession of the Near East.

Diffusion of Oriental civilization

From the Near East civilization was *transmitted* to the West. Four peoples, in particular, were agents in this process. Two of them used the waterways between the Orient and the Occident. The Cretans, about whom we shall soon study, for many centuries carried the products and practical arts of both Egypt and Babylonia to the islands of the Ægean and the Greek mainland, and even farther west to southern Italy, Sicily, and the coast of Spain. After about 1000 B.C. came the Phœnicians; their influence, as we have already seen, was felt in every country washed by the Mediterranean. The other two peoples made use of land routes. The Hittites, who spoke an Indo-European language, from early times spread

Transmission of Oriental civilization

over eastern Asia Minor and northern Syria. There they learned much from their Semitic neighbors and afterward communicated their learning to the Lydians of western Asia



HITTITE WARRIOR

Bas-relief on a wall at Sinjerli, Asia Minor. The warrior carries a spear, shield, and long dagger or sword. His body and face are in profile, his shoulders in full view. He wears a short tunic, fringed at the bottom, and the conical hat of the Hittites. On his feet are shoes with turned-up toes.

Minor, whose kingdom formed a fragment of the Hittite Empire. From the Lydians, in turn, various features of Oriental civilization passed over to the Greeks.

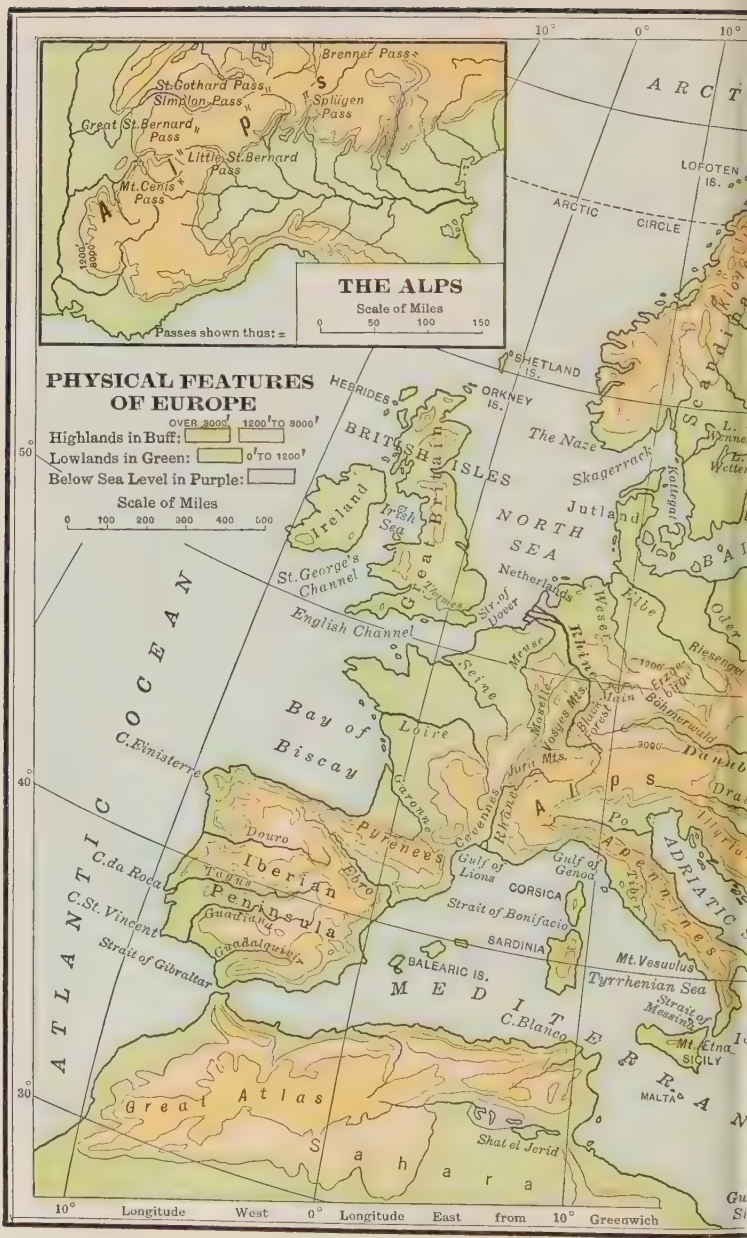
Studies

1. On an outline map of the Orient indicate eight important rivers, two gulfs, three inland seas, the great plateaus and plains, the principal mountain ranges, two important passes, and all the cities mentioned in this chapter. 2. For what were

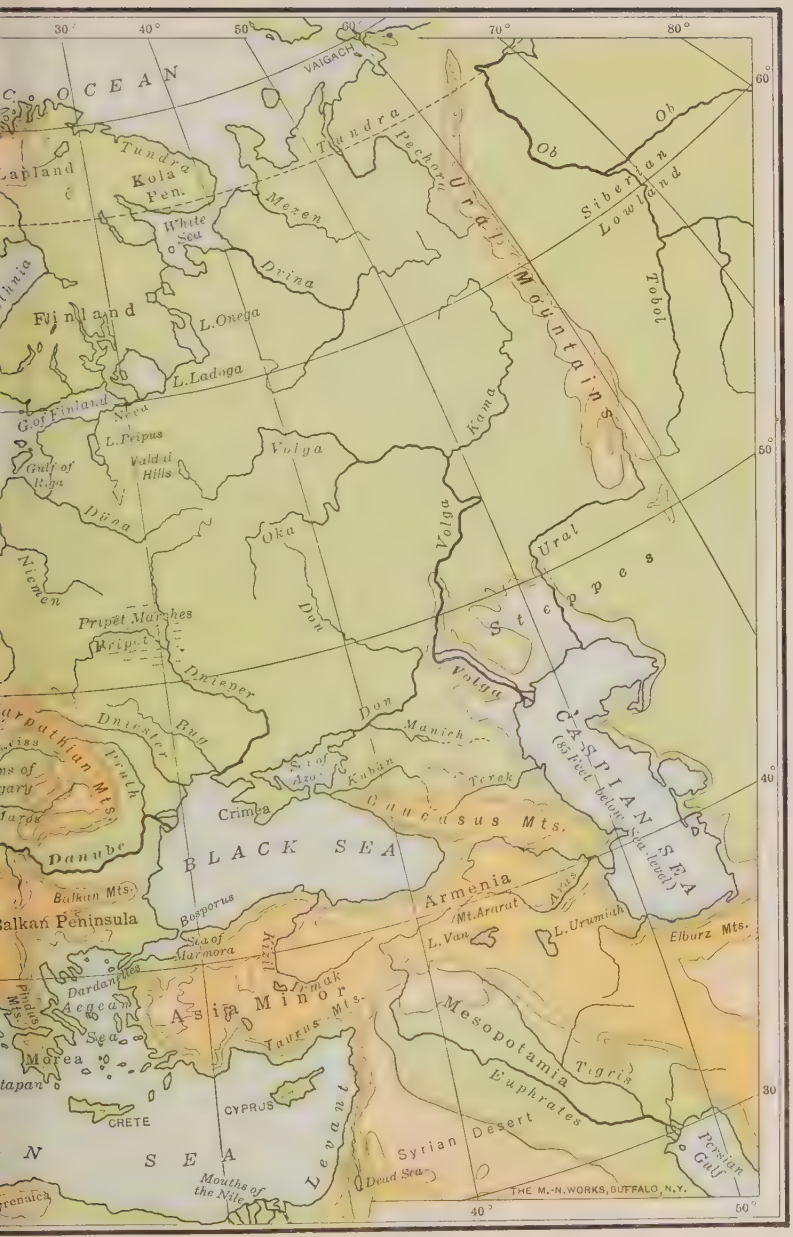
the following places noted: Memphis, Thebes, Nineveh, Babylon, Susa, Sardis, Sidon, Tyre, and Jerusalem? 3. For what were the following persons famous: Menes, Rameses II, Sargon, Hammurabi, Sennacherib, Nebuchadnezzar, Cyrus, and Darius? 4. Is the influence on civilization of such physical conditions as climate, fertility of soil, rainfall, mountain ranges, and rivers, greater or less to-day than in earlier times? 5. Why was Egypt called "the gift of the Nile?" 6. What modern countries are included within the limits of the Persian Empire under Darius? 7. Define and illustrate these terms; tribe, city-state, kingdom, empire, and province. 8. What was the origin of the "divine right of kings"? 9. Explain what is meant by despotism, autocracy, and absolutism. 10. On the map between pages 34–35 trace the principal Asiatic trade routes. 11. On the map facing page 46 locate the most important Phœnician water routes and settlements. 12. Look up in the Old Testament (*Ezekiel*, xxvii) an account of Phœnician commerce. 13. Compare the Negative Confession with the Ten Commandments. 14. Define polytheism and monotheism, giving examples of each. 15. From what Oriental people do we get the oldest true arch? the first coined money? the earliest legal code? the most ancient book? 16. Why were the inventions and discoveries of the Egyptians and Babylonians of such great importance in the development of civilization? 17. Mention some of the defects and limitations of Oriental civilization as noted in this chapter.

ROCK SEPULCHERS OF THE PERSIAN KINGS

The tombs are those of Darius, Xerxes, and two of their successors. They are near Persepolis.



THE ALPS
Scale of Miles
0 50 100 150
Passes shown thus: ±
Brenner Pass
St. Gothard Pass
Simplon Pass
Splügen Pass
Great St. Bernard Pass
Little St. Bernard Pass
Mt. Cenis Pass
Alps
1200'
3000'
PHYSICAL FEATURES OF EUROPE
OVER 3000'
1200' TO 3000'
Highlands in Buff:
Lowlands in Green:
0' TO 1200'
Below Sea Level in Purple:
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500
ARCTIC CIRCLE
LOFOTEN IS.
SHETLAND IS.
ORKNEY IS.
HEBRIDES
BRITISH ISLES
Ireland
Irish Sea
Great Britain
St. George's Channel
English Channel
Thames
Str. of Dover
The Naze
Skagerrack
Kattegat
Jutland
NORTH SEA
Netherlands
Elbe
Oder
Riesengel
Weser
Rhine
Meuse
Seine
Moselle
Vosges Mts.
Black Forest
Main
Erzgebirge
Böhmerwald
Danube
Loire
Bay of Biscay
Garonne
Cevennes
Rhône
Jura Mts.
Alps
Po
Apennines
Tiber
ADRIATIC
Illyrian
Pyrenees
Douro
Ebro
Iberian Peninsula
Tagus
Guadiana
Guadalquivir
Gulf of Lions
Gulf of Genoa
CORSICA
Strait of Bonifacio
SARDINIA
BALEARIC IS.
Mt. Vesuvius
Tyrrhenian Sea
Strait of Messina
Mt. Ætna
SICILY
MALTA
MEDITERRANEAN
C. Blanco
Great Atlas
Sahara
Shat el Jerid
ATLANTIC OCEAN
C. Finisterre
C. da Roca
C. St. Vincent
Strait of Gibraltar
10° Longitude West 0° Longitude East from 10° Greenwich



OCEAN
VAIGACH
Tundra
Pechora
Ob
Siberian Lowland
Lapland
Kola Pen.
White Sea
Mezen
Ural Mountains
Tobol
Finland
L. Onega
Drina
L. Ladoga
G. of Finland
Neva
L. Peipus
Gulf of Riga
Valdai Hills
Volga
Kama
Düna
Oka
Ural
Niemen
Steppes
Pripet Marches
Pripet
Don
Dnieper
Volga
Dniester
Bug
Don
Manich
Pruth
Sea of Azov
Kuban
Terek
CASPIAN SEA
(85 Feet below Sea-level)
Crimea
Caucasus Mts.
Danube
BLACK SEA
Balkan Mts.
Armenia
Bosporus
Mt. Ararat
Aras
Balkan Peninsula
Sea of Marmora
Kizil
L. Van
L. Urumiah
Elburz Mts.
Dardanelles
Irmak
Pindus Mts.
Aegean Sea
Asia Minor
Taurus Mts.
Mesopotamia
Morea
Tigris
Euphrates
CYPRUS
CRETE
Levant
Syrian Desert
Persian Gulf
N SEA
Mouths of the Nile
Dead Sea
THE M.-N. WORKS, BUFFALO, N.Y.

CHAPTER III

GREECE[1]

19. The Lands of the West

HISTORY, which begins in the Near East, for the last twenty-five centuries has centered in Europe. Modern industry and commerce, modern systems of government, modern art, literature, and science are very much the creation, during this long period, of European peoples. Within the last four hundred years, especially, they have occupied and populated America and Australia and have brought under their control all Asia, except China and Japan, nearly the whole of Africa, and the islands of all the seas. They have introduced into these remote regions their languages, laws, customs, and religion, until to-day the greater part of the world is subject to European influence.

Europe in history

The geographical advantages enjoyed by Europe account, in part, for its historic importance. The sea, which washes only the remote edges of Asia, penetrates deeply into Europe, forming numerous gulfs and bays. Europe has a longer coast-line than Africa and South America combined. No other continent possesses such opportunities for sea-borne traffic. Again, Europe is well supplied with rivers, which are navigable for long distances. Another feature of European geography is the preponderance of lowlands over

Physical Europe

[1] Webster, *Readings in Ancient History*, chapter iii, "Early Greek Society as Pictured in the Homeric Poems"; chapter iv, "Stories from Greek Mythology"; chapter v, "Some Greek Tyrants"; chapter vi, "Spartan Education and Life"; chapter vii, "Xerxes and the Persian Invasion of Greece"; chapter viii, "Episodes from the Peloponnesian War"; chapter ix, "Alcibiades the Athenian"; chapter x, "The Expedition of the Ten Thousand"; chapter xi, "The Trial and Death of Socrates"; chapter xii, "Demosthenes and the Struggle against Philip"; chapter xiii, "Exploits of Alexander the Great."

highlands. Beginning in the west with southern England, the great European plain stretches across northern France, Belgium and Holland (the "Low Countries"), and northern Germany, and broadens eastward into Russia. About two-thirds of the continent are included in this plain. Furthermore, the mountains of Europe do not present such barriers to intercourse as those of Asia. The Alps, though very abrupt on the Italian side, slope gradually northward toward Germany. No other high mountains, except the Rockies, have so many easy passes or offer so little impediment to movement across them. Moreover, the outspurs of the Alps in central and southeastern Europe are separated by transverse valleys, thus establishing convenient routes of communication from one region to another.

Climatic Europe

Nearly all Europe lies in the northern half of the North Temperate Zone, that is, within those latitudes most conducive to the development of a high civilization. Nowhere, except beyond the Arctic Circle, does excessive cold stunt body and mind, and nowhere does enervating heat sap human energies. The climate is moderated by the Gulf Stream drift, which reaches the British Isles and Scandinavia. Climatic conditions are made still more favorable by the circumstance that Europe lies open to the west, with great inland seas penetrating deeply from the Atlantic, and with the higher mountain ranges extending nearly east and west. The westerly winds, warmed in passing over the Gulf Stream drift, can thus spread far into the interior, bringing with them an abundant rainfall, except in such regions as southern Spain, Italy, Greece, and eastern Russia. Europe, in consequence, is the only continent without extensive deserts.

Racial types of Europe

We learned in the first chapter that Europe was inhabited by man during Palæolithic times and that, with the exception of certain invading peoples who came from Asia in antiquity or the Middle Ages, the present inhabitants of Europe belong to the White Race.[1] They may be separated into three racial types. The Baltic or Nordic (northern) type is found in the Scandinavian countries and

[1] See page 13.

throughout the great European plain: it is characterized by a long or narrow head, tall stature, very light hair, blue eyes, and blond complexion. The Mediterranean (southern) type prevails in the peninsulas of southern Europe and the adjoining islands: it is short in stature and brunette in complexion, but is also long-headed. The Alpine (central) type comes midway between the other two in respect to stature and complexion,

Racial Types in Western Europe

but has a broad head, unlike either of them. Each of these racial types, despite some fusion with the others, still occupies a fairly well-defined area of the continent. The Baltic type possibly originated in Europe where it is now found. The Mediterranean and Alpine types are believed to have entered Europe about the beginning of Neolithic times, the one from North Africa, the other from Asia.

About sixty distinct languages are still spoken in Europe. Anciently, there were many more. The Turks in the Balkan

Peninsula and the Mongols and Tatars in Russia still keep their Asiatic tongues. The same is true of the Magyars (Hungarians), Esthonians, and Finns, who in other respects have been thoroughly Europeanized. The remaining languages of any importance belong to the Indo-European family.[1]

Languages of Europe

Racial and linguistic groupings do not necessarily coincide in Europe any more than in other parts of the world. The North Frenchman is more nearly allied in physical characteristics to the North German than to the South Frenchman; and the North Italian resembles the South German more closely than the South Italian or Sicilian. A study of the accompanying map will furnish other illustrations of the fact that race and language are not convertible terms.

Race and language in Europe

The almost unbroken mountain chain formed by the Pyrenees, the Alps, and the Balkans sharply separates the northern and central land mass of Europe from the southern part of the continent. Twenty-five centuries ago Europe beyond these mountain barriers had not entered the light of history. Its Celtic, Teutonic, Lettic, and Slavic-speaking inhabitants were still barbarians. During ancient times we hear little of them, except as their occasional migrations southward brought them into contact with the civilized Græco-Latin peoples along the Mediterranean.

European peoples

20. The Mediterranean Basin

The Mediterranean, about 2200 miles in length and 500 to 600 miles in greatest breadth, is the most extensive inland sea in the world. It washes the shores of three continents — Europe, Asia, and Africa. Nevertheless, its basin is relatively isolated, being confined within a mountain wall on the north and an almost impassable desert on the south. The climate of the basin falls half-way between tropical conditions and the temperate conditions of central and northern Europe. The sea exercises a moderating in-

Characteristics of the Mediterranean basin

[1] See the chart on page 18.

fluence, however, raising the temperature in the rainy season (winter) and lowering it in the dry season (summer). The rainfall is, on the whole, scanty, with the result that the most important trees are the vine and the olive, which offer considerable resistance to drought. Their northern and southern limits, together with those of the orange, are shown on the map (p. 70). In respect to both climate and vegetation, the Mediterranean basin is thus a region of marked individuality, a separate, definite area by itself.

A "highway of nations"

The Mediterranean was well suited for early commerce, because of its long and contracted shape, indented northern shore, and numerous islands. Mariners seldom had to proceed far from the sight of land or at a great distance from good harbors. Though its storms are often fierce, they are usually brief, since the narrow strait of Gibraltar shuts out the great waves of the Atlantic. Freedom from high tides also facilitates navigation. Such advantages made the Mediterranean from a remote period an avenue by which everything that the older Eastern world had to offer could be passed on to the younger West. And the various European peoples themselves were able to exchange their products and communicate their ideas and customs along this "highway of nations."

Divisions of the Mediterranean basin

The Mediterranean basin divides into two parts. The boundary between them occurs near the center, where Africa and Sicily almost touch each other across a narrow strait. The western part contains, besides Sicily, the large islands of Sardinia and Corsica. Between these islands and the Italian coast lies the wide expanse of the Tyrrhenian Sea. The eastern part includes the Adriatic, Ionian, and Ægean seas. It was the last of these which had most importance in Greek history.

The Ægean Sea

The Ægean forms an almost landlocked body of water. The Balkan Peninsula, narrowing toward the Mediterranean into the smaller peninsula of Greece, confines it on the west. On the east it meets a boundary in Asia Minor. The southern boundary consists of a chain of islands.

The only opening northward is found in the Dardanelles (the ancient Hellespont), the Sea of Marmora (the ancient Propontis), and the Bosporus.

The islands of the Ægean are a continuation into the Mediterranean of the mountain ranges of Europe and Asia. In size they vary from tiny Delos, less than three miles in length, to the long and narrow ridge of Crete. Hundreds of them are sprinkled throughout the Ægean, making it possible to cross that body of water in almost any direction

The Ægean Islands

without losing sight of land. The islands consequently became "stepping stones" between Greece and Asia Minor.

Greece proper — continental Greece — is a tiny country. Its greatest length is scarcely more than two hundred and fifty miles; its greatest breadth is only one hundred and eighty miles. Mountain ridges, offshoots of the Balkans, break it up into numberless small valleys and glens, which seldom widen into plains. The coast-line is most irregular — a constant succession of sharp promontories and curving bays. No place in Greece is more than fifty miles from a

Greece

mountain range or more than forty miles from some long arm of the Mediterranean.

The western coast of Asia Minor resembles Greece in its deep indentations, variety of scenery, and mild climate. The river valleys and plains of this region, however, are larger, more numerous, and more fertile than those of the Greek mainland.

Western Asia Minor

21. The Ægeans

The first civilization to arise in Europe was the work of gifted Ægean peoples. They belonged to the dark-skinned, short-statured, long-headed branch of the White Race. This Mediterranean racial type, as has been noted, probably originated in North Africa and spread entirely around the Mediterranean, where its descendants still live to-day. During Neolithic times it was already occupying the Ægean Islands, the coasts of Greece, and western Asia Minor. Here modern excavations[1] have revealed centers of civilized life almost as venerable as those of Egypt and Babylonia. As early as 3000 B.C. the Ægeans began to give up stone implements in favor of copper and bronze. These two metals were doubtless introduced from the Near East. The Copper-Bronze Age lasted in the Ægean for about two thousand years.

Antiquity of Ægean civilization

"Throne of Minos"

Excavated by Sir Arthur Evans in the palace at Gnossus, Crete. The material is gypsum. This interesting object dates from about 1500 B.C.

Ægean civilization first arose in Crete and developed most highly there. We can understand why. Crete is a kind of half-way house between Europe and the Near East. It lies only a few days' sail from the

Origin of Ægean civilization

[1] Especially at Gnossus in Crete, Mycenæ and Tiryns in Greece, and Troy in Asia Minor.

mouths of the Nile and the shores of western Asia. The island was consequently in a position early to receive and profit by all the culture of the Orient. From Crete, in turn, cultural influences spread throughout the Ægean.

Ægean civilization shows several marked characteristics. The people lived in villages and cities, where the frowning fortress of the chief or king looked down on the humble dwellings of common men. The monarch, as in the Orient, was doubtless a thorough despot, whose subjects toiled to build the great palaces and tombs. If life was hard and cheerless for them, it must have been pleasant enough for court ladies and gentlemen, who occupied luxurious apartments, wore fine clothing and jewelry, and enjoyed such exhibitions as bull-fights and the contests of pugilists.

Characteristics of Ægean civilization

A Cretan Girl

Museum of Candia, Crete

A fresco painting from the palace of Gnossus. The girl's face is so astonishingly modern in treatment that one can scarcely believe that the picture belongs to the sixteenth century B.C.

Remarkable progress took place in some of the arts. Ægean architects raised imposing palaces of hewn and squared stone and arranged them for a life of comfort. The palace at Gnossus in Crete even had tile water-pipes, bath-rooms, and other conveniences which have hitherto been regarded as of recent origin. Brilliant wall paintings — hunting scenes, landscapes, portraits of men and women — excite our admiration. The costumes of the women, with their flounced skirts, puffed sleeves, low-cut bodices, and gloved hands, were astonishingly modern in appearance. Ægean artists made porcelain vases and decorated them with plant and animal forms. They carved ivory, engraved gems, and inlaid metals. It was doubtless from these Ægeans that the later Greeks inherited their artistic genius.

Art

A form of recording thoughts had been secured. The explorations in Crete show that its inhabitants had passed from picture writing to sound writing. The palace of Gnossus contained several thousand clay tablets, with inscriptions in a language as yet unread.[1] About seventy characters appear to have been in common use. They probably denote syllables and indicate a decided advance over both Egyptian and Babylonian scripts.

Writing

Much commerce existed throughout the Mediterranean during Ægean times. Products of Cretan art or imitations of them are found as far west as Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, and Spain, and as far east as inland Asia Minor, Syria, and Babylonia. Crete also enjoyed close commercial relations with both Egypt and Cyprus. In those ancient days Crete was mistress of the seas, and the merchants of that island preceded the Phœnicians as carriers between the Near East and Europe.[2]

Commerce

Ægean civilization did not penetrate deeply into Europe. The interior of Greece remained the home of barbarous tribes, who had not yet learned to build cities, to create beautiful objects of art, or to traffic on the seas. Between about 1500 and 1000 B.C. their destructive inroads brought about the downfall of Ægean civilization.

Downfall of Ægean civilization

22. The Greeks

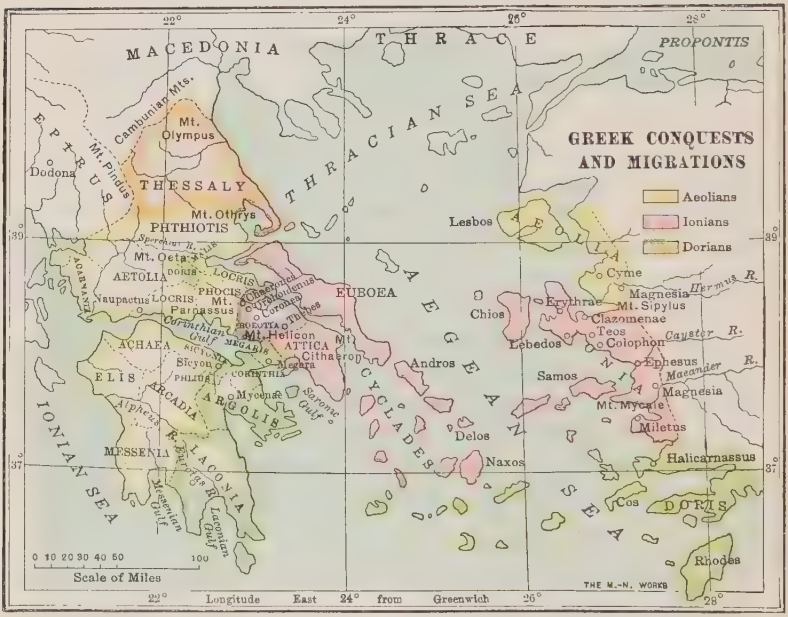
The invaders who plunged the Ægean region once more into barbarism were a tall, light-complexioned, fair-haired, blue-eyed people, probably of the Baltic (Nordic) racial type. Their speech was Greek, which belongs to the Indo-European family of languages. They lived a nomadic life as hunters and herdsmen. When the grasslands became insufficient to support their sheep and cattle, these northerners began to move gradually southward into the Danube Valley and thence through the many passes of the Balkans into Greece. The iron weapons which they possessed doubtless gave them a

The Greek people

[1] See the illustration on page 26.

[2] See page 47.

great advantage in conflicts with the bronze-using natives of this region. Sometimes the invaders must have exterminated or enslaved the earlier inhabitants; more often, perhaps, they settled peacefully in the sunny south. Conquerors and conquered slowly intermingled, thus producing the one Greek people which is found at the dawn of history.



The Greeks, as we shall now call them, did not stop at the southern limits of Greece. They also occupied Crete and the other Ægean Islands, together with the western coast of Asia Minor. Their settlements in Asia Minor came to be known as Æolia (or Æolis), Ionia, and Doris, after the names of Greek tribes. The entire basin of the Ægean henceforth became the Greek world.

The Greek world

Several hundred years elapsed between the end of Ægean civilization and the beginning of historic times in the Greek world, about 750 B.C. This period is usually known as the

Homeric Age, because various aspects of it are reflected in two epic poems called the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. The former gives the story of a Greek expedition led by Agamemnon, king of Mycenæ, against Troy; the latter relates the wanderings of the Greek hero Odysseus on his return from Troy. The two epics were probably composed in Ionia, and by the Greeks were attributed to a blind bard named Homer. Many modern scholars, however, regard them as the work of several generations of poets.

The Homeric Age

The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* show how rude was the culture of the Homeric Age, as compared with the splendid Ægean civilization which it displaced. The Greeks at this time had not wholly abandoned the life of shepherds for that of farmers. Wealth still consisted chiefly of flocks and herds. Nearly every freeman, however, owned a little plot of land on which he cultivated grain and cared for his orchard and vineyard. Though iron was now used for weapons and farm implements, bronze continued to be the commoner and cheaper metal. Commerce was little followed. People depended upon Phœnician merchants for articles of luxury which they could not produce themselves. A class of skilled workmen had not arisen. There were no architects who could raise magnificent palaces and no artists who could paint or carve with the skill of their Ægean predecessors. The backwardness of the Homeric Greeks is also indicated by their failure to develop a system of writing to replace the old Cretan script which had utterly perished.

Culture of the Homeric Age

THE SWASTIKA

A prehistoric symbol widely diffused throughout both the Old World and the New. The example here shown is on the cover of a vase found at Troy.

Social life was very simple. Princes tended flocks and built houses; princesses carried water and washed clothes. Agamemnon, Odysseus, and other heroes were not ashamed to be their own butchers and cooks. Coined money was unknown. Values were reckoned in oxen

Homeric society

or in lumps of gold and silver. Warfare was constant and cruel. Piracy, flourishing upon the unprotected seas, ranked as an honorable occupation. Murders were frequent. The murderer had to dread, not a public trial and punishment, but rather the private vengeance of the kinsmen of the victim. On the other hand, both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* contain many charming descriptions of family life. "There is nothing mightier or nobler," sings the poet, "than when man and wife are of one heart and mind in a house, a grief to their foes, to their friends great joy, but their own hearts know it best." [1]

Ideas of the gods

The Homeric Greeks and their successors worshiped various gods and goddesses, twelve of whom formed a select council. It was supposed to meet on snow-crowned Olympus in northern Thessaly. Many Olympian deities appear to have been simply personifications of natural phenomena. Zeus, "father of gods and men," as Homer calls him, was a heaven god, who gathered the clouds in storms and hurled the lightning bolt. His brother, Poseidon, ruled the sea. His wife, Hera, presided over the life of women and especially over the sacred rites of marriage. His son, Apollo, a god of light, who warded off darkness and evil, became the ideal of manly beauty and the patron of music, poetry, and the healing art. Athena, a goddess who sprang full-grown from the forehead of Zeus, embodied the ideal of wisdom and all womanly virtues. These and other divinities were really magnified men and women, with human passions and appetites, but with more than human power and endowed with immortality. Morally, they were no better than their worshipers. But Homer, who sometimes represents them as deceitful, dissolute, and cruel, could also say, "Verily the blessed gods love not evil deeds, but they reverence justice and the righteous acts of men." [2]

Ideas of the future life

Greek ideas of the future life were dismal to an extreme. All men, it was thought, went down after death to Hades and passed there a shadowy, joyless existence. The Greek Hades thus closely resembled the Hebrew Sheol and the Babylonian underworld of the dead.[3]

[1] *Odyssey*, vi, 182–185. [2] *Ibid.*, xiv, 83–84. [3] See page 55.

The Greeks believed that communications from the gods were received at certain places called oracles. The oldest of Greek oracles was that of Zeus at Dodona in Epirus. Here the priests professed to read the divine will in the rustling leaves of an oak tree sacred to Zeus. At Delphi in Phocis the god Apollo was supposed to speak through a prophetess. The words which she uttered when thus "possessed" were interpreted by the attendant priests and delivered to inquirers. The fame of the Delphic oracle spread throughout Greece and reached foreign lands. Every year great numbers of people visited Delphi. Statesmen wished to learn the fate of their political schemes; ambassadors sent by kings and cities asked advice as to weighty matters of peace and war; and colonists sought directions as to the best country in which to settle. The oracle endured for over a thousand years. It was still honored at the close of the fourth century A.D., when a Roman emperor, after the adoption of Christianity, silenced it forever.

Oracles

THE DISCUS THROWER

Lancelotti Palace, Rome

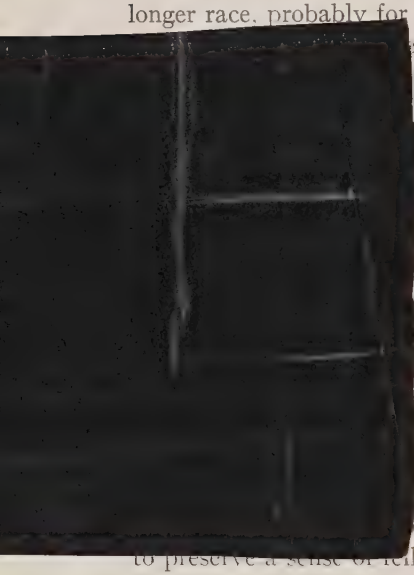
Marble copy of the bronze original by Myron, a sculptor of the fifth century B.C. Found in 1781 on the Esquiline Hill, Rome. The statue represents a young man, perhaps an athlete at the Olympian games, who is bending forward to hurl the discus. His body is thrown violently to the left with a twisting action that brings every muscle into play.

The Greeks brought with them from their northern home a great love of athletics. Their most famous athletic festivals were those in honor of Zeus at Olympia in Elis. The Olympian games took place every fourth year, in midsummer.[1] A sacred truce was proclaimed for an entire month, so that the thousands of spectators from every part of the Greek

The Olympian games

[1] The first recorded celebration of the games occurred in 776 B.C., and from this year all Greek dates were reckoned.

world might arrive and depart in safety. No one not of Greek blood and no one convicted of crime might be a competitor. The games occupied five days, beginning with contests in running. There was a short-distance dash through the length of the stadium, a quarter-mile race, and also a longer race, probably for two or three miles. Then followed a



events: the long jump, hurling the elin, running, and wrestling. Other horse races, and chariot races.

ere religious in character, because the was thought to be a spectacle most the gods. The winning athlete re- wreath of wild olive at Olympia, but njoyed the gifts and veneration of his isands of visitors to the festival gave at fair, where merchants set up their ers their tables. Poets recited their udiences, and artists exhibited their ad treaties recently framed between have them widely known. Orators neral interest. Until their abolition, racle, the Olympian games did much to preserve a sense of fellowship among Greek communities.

The Greek language formed the strongest tie uniting the Greeks. Everywhere they used the same beautiful and expressive speech, which still lives in modified form on the lips of several million people in modern Greece. Greek literature likewise made for unity. The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were recited in every Greek village and city for centuries. They formed the principal text-book in the schools; an Athenian philosopher well calls Homer the "educator" of Greece. Religion provided still another tie, for all Greeks worshiped the same Olympian gods, visited the oracles at Dodona and Delphi, and attended the Olympian games. A common language, literature, and religion were *cultural* bonds of union; they did not lead to the *political* unification of the Greek world.

Bonds of union among the Greeks

23. The Greek City-States

A Greek city grew up about a hill of refuge (acropolis), to which the people of the neighborhood resorted in time of danger. This mount would be crowned with a fortress and the temples of the gods. Not far away was the market-place, where the citizens conducted business, held meetings, and enjoyed social intercourse. The most beautiful buildings in the city were always the temples and other public structures. Private houses, for the most part, were insignificant in appearance, often of only one story, and covered with a flat roof. Judged by modern standards, a Greek city was small. Athens, at the climax of its power, may have had a quarter of a million people:[1] Thebes, Argos, and Corinth, the next largest places, probably had between 50,000 and 100,000 inhabitants; Sparta probably had less than 50,000. These figures include all classes of the population — citizens, slaves, and resident foreigners.

The city

The city included not only the territory within its walls, but also the surrounding district, where many of the citizens lived. Being independent and self-governing, it is properly called a city-state. Just as a modern state, it could declare war, arrange treaties, and make alliances with its neighbors.

The city-state

The citizens were very closely associated. They believed themselves to be descended from a common ancestor and they shared a common worship of the patron god or hero who had them under his protection. These ties of supposed kinship and religion made citizenship a privilege which a person enjoyed only by birth and which he lost by removal to another city-state. Elsewhere he was only a foreigner lacking legal rights — a man without a country.

The citizens

The independent city-states which from early times arose in the Near East eventually combined into kingdoms and empires under one government.[2] The like never happened in the

[1] Living not only in Athens itself and its port of Piræus, but also throughout Attica.

[2] See pages 32–34 and 62.

Greek world. Mountain ranges and deep inlets of the sea, by cutting up Greece proper into small, easily defended districts, made it almost impossible for one city-state to conquer and hold in subjection neighboring communities for any length of time. Many city-states, moreover, were on islands or were scattered along remote coasts of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. The result was that the Greeks never came together in one nation. Their city feeling, or civic patriotism, took the place of our love of country.

Civic patriotism

Religious influences sometimes proved strong enough to produce loose federations of tribes or city-states known as amphictyonies. The people living around a famous sanctuary would meet to observe their festivals in common and to guard the shrine of their divinity. One of these local unions arose on the little island of Delos, the reputed birthplace of Apollo. A still more noteworthy example was the Delphic Amphictyony. It included twelve tribes and cities of central Greece and Thessaly. They established a council which took the temple of Apollo at Delphi under its protection and superintended the athletic games held there in honor of the god. One of the regulations binding on the members reads: "We will not destroy any amphictyonic town; we will not cut off any amphictyonic town from running water." This solemn oath did not always prevent the members of the Delphic Amphictyony from fighting one another and their neighbors; nevertheless, the federation deserves mention as the earliest peace agency known to history.

Amphictyonies

During the Homeric Age each city-state had a king, "the shepherd of the people." The king did not possess absolute authority, as in the Orient; he was more or less controlled by a council of nobles. They helped him in judgment and sacrifice, followed him to war, and filled the principal offices. Both king and nobles were obliged to consult the common people on matters of great importance, such as making war or declaring peace. The citizens would then be summoned to meet in the market-place, where they shouted assent to the proposals laid before them

Government of the city-state

or showed disapproval by silence. This public assembly had little importance in the Homeric Age, but later it became the center of Greek democracy.

After the opening of historic times in Greece many city-states began to change their form of government. In some of them, for example, Thebes and Corinth, the nobles became strong enough to abolish the kingship altogether. Monarchy, the rule of one, thus gave way to aristocracy, the rule of the nobles. In Sparta and Argos the kings were not driven out, but their authority was much lessened. Some city-states came under the control of usurpers, whom the Greeks called "tyrants." A tyrant was a man who gained supreme power by force or guile and governed for his own benefit without regard to the laws. There were many such tyrannies during the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. Still other city-states, of which Athens formed the most conspicuous instance, went through an entire cycle of changes from kingship to aristocracy, thence to tyranny, and finally to democracy, or popular rule.

Political development of the city-state

The city-states most prominent in Greek history were Sparta and Athens. Sparta had been founded at a remote period by Greek invaders of southern Greece (the Peloponnesus). It conquered some of the neighboring communities and entered into alliance with others, so that by 500 B.C. its power extended over the greater part of the Peloponnesus. The Spartans were obviously good soldiers, but they were little more. They had no industries of importance, cared nothing for commerce, and lived upon the produce of their farms, which were worked by serfs. The Spartans never created anything worth while in literature, art, or philosophy. When not fighting, they passed their time in military drill and warlike exercises. Even their government bore a martial stamp. It was a monarchy in form, but since there were always two kings reigning at once, neither could become very powerful. The real management of affairs lay in hands of five men, called ephors, who were elected every year by the citizens. The ephors accompanied the kings in war and directed their actions;

Sparta

guided the deliberations of the council of nobles and public assembly; superintended the education of children; and exercised a paternal oversight of everybody's private life. Nowhere else in the Greek world was the welfare of the individual so thoroughly subordinated to the interests of the society of which he formed a unit.

The city-state of Athens stood in marked contrast to Sparta. Athens, by 500 B.C., had rid itself of kings and tyrants, had overthrown the power of the nobles, and had created the first really *democratic* government in antiquity. Later sections will describe this Athenian democracy and set forth, also, some of the contributions of the Athenian genius to the artistic and intellectual life of mankind.

Athens

24. Colonial Expansion of Greece

The Greeks, with the sea at their doors, naturally became sailors, traders, and colonizers. After the middle of the eighth century B.C., the city-states began to plant numerous settlements along the shores of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. The great age of colonization covered about two hundred and fifty years.[1]

Age of colonization

Trade was one motive for colonization. The Greeks, like the Phœnicians, were able to realize large profits by exchanging their manufactured goods for the food and raw materials of other countries. Land hunger was another motive. The poor soil of Greece could not support many inhabitants, and, as population increased, emigration offered the only means of relieving the pressure of numbers. A third motive was political and social unrest. The city-states at this period contained many men of adventurous disposition, who were ready to seek in foreign lands a refuge from the oppression of nobles or tyrants. They hoped to find abroad more freedom than they had at home.

Motives for colonization

A Greek colony was not simply a trading-post; it was a center of Greek life. The colonists continued to be Greeks in

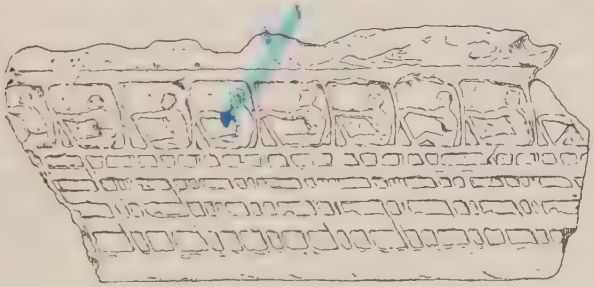
[1] See the map facing page 46.

language, customs, and religion; they called themselves "men away from home." Mother city and daughter colony traded with each other and in time of danger helped each other. The sacred fire carried from the public hearth of the old community to the new settlement formed a symbol of the close ties binding them together.

Nature of colonization

The Greeks established many colonies along the coast of the northern Ægean and on both sides of the passages leading into the Black Sea. Their most important settlement here was Byzantium, upon the site where Constantinople now stands. The colonies which fringed the Black Sea were centers for the supply of fish, wood,

Colonies in the north and northeast



An Athenian Trireme

Bas-relief found on the Acropolis of Athens. Dates from about 400 B.C. The part of the relief preserved shows the waist of the vessel, with the uppermost of the three banks of rowers. Only the oars of the two lower banks are seen.

wool, grain, meats, and slaves. The large profits to be gained by trade made the Greeks willing to live in what was then a wild and inhospitable region.

The Greeks could feel more at home in southern Italy, where the genial climate, clear air, and sparkling sea recalled their native land. They made so many settlements in this region that it came to be known as Great Greece (Magna Græcia). One of these was Cumæ, on the coast just north of the Bay of Naples. Emigrants from Cumæ, in turn, built the city of Naples (*Neapolis*), which in Roman times formed a center of Greek culture and even to-day possesses a large Greek population. Other important colonies in southern

Colonies in the west

Italy included Taranto,[1] Reggio,[2] and Messina.[3] The most important colony in Sicily was Syracuse, established by Corinth. The Greeks were not able to expand over all Sicily, owing to the opposition of the Carthaginians, who had numerous possessions at its western extremity.

The Greeks were also prevented by the Carthaginians from gaining much of a foothold in Corsica and Sardinia and on the coast of Spain. The city of Marseilles (*Massilia*), at the mouth of the Rhône, was the chief Greek settlement in this part of the Mediterranean. Two colonies in the southeastern corner of the Mediterranean were Cyrene, west of Egypt, and Naucratis, in the Delta of the Nile. From now on many Greek travelers visited Egypt to see the wonders of that strange old country. Greek colonies were also established in Cyprus and along the southern coast of Asia Minor.

Other Mediterranean colonies

Greek colonial expansion formed one of the most significant movements in ancient history, because it spread Greek culture over so many lands. To distinguish themselves from the foreigners, or "barbarians," [4] about them, the Greeks began to give themselves the common name of Hellenes. Hellas, their country, came to include all the territory possessed by Hellenic peoples. The life of the Greeks, henceforth, was confined no longer within the narrow limits of the Ægean. Wherever rose a Greek city, there was a scene of Greek history.

Results of colonization

25. The Persian Wars, 499–479 B.C.

The creation of the Persian Empire [5] almost immediately reacted upon the Greek world. Cyrus the Great, the first Persian conqueror, destroyed the kingdom of Lydia, thus becoming overlord of the Greek cities in Asia Minor. His son, Cambyses, annexed Cyprus and after subduing Egypt proceeded to add Cyrene and other Greek colonies in Africa to the Persian dominions. The

Conquests of Cyrus the Great

[1] Ancient Tarentum. [2] Ancient Regium. [3] Ancient Messana.
[4] Greek *barbaroi*, "men of confused speech." [5] See page 38.

entire coast of the eastern Mediterranean came in this way under the control of a single, powerful, and aggressive state.[1]

The accession of Darius the Great to the throne of Persia only increased the dangers that overshadowed the Greek world. Darius desired to secure his possessions on the northwest by extending them as far as the Danube River, which would furnish an admirable frontier. Accordingly, he entered Europe with a large army and marched against the barbarous but warlike Scythians, then living on both sides of the lower Danube. This enterprise was apparently a great success. Even the Scythians learned to tremble at the name of Persia's king. After the return of Darius to Asia, his lieutenants conquered the Greek settlements on the northern shore of the Dardanelles and the Bosporus, together with the wild tribes of Thrace and Macedonia. The Persian Empire now included a considerable part of the Balkan Peninsula as far as Greece.

Conquests of Darius

A Scythian

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

A painting on an Attic vase of about 400 B.C. The barbarian wears a tall cap with lappets which could be fastened under the chin. His undergarments are of chequer-pattern, with sleeves and trousers. Over these he wears a tunic, gathered in at the waist.

Not long after the European expedition of Darius, the Ionian cities of Asia Minor revolted against Persia. The Ionians sought the help of Sparta, the chief military state of Greece. The Spartans refused to take part in the war, but the Athenians, who realized the menace to Greece from the Persian advance, aided their Ionian kindred with both ships and soldiers. The allied forces captured and destroyed Sardis, the old capital of Lydia. The rest of the Asiatic Greeks now joined the Ionians, and even Thrace threw off the Persian yoke. These successes were only tem

The Ionian Revolt, 499–493 B.C.

[1] See the map between pages 34-35.

porary. The revolting cities could not hold out against the vast resources of Persia. One by one they fell again into the hands of the Great King.

Quiet had no sooner been restored in Asia Minor than Darius made ready to reassert Persian supremacy in the Balkan Peninsula and to punish Athens for her share in the Ionian Revolt. Only the first part of this program was carried out. A large army, commanded by Mardonius,

First Persian expedition

The Persian Invasions of Greece

the son-in-law of the Persian monarch, soon reconquered Thrace and received the submission of Macedonia. Mardonius could not proceed farther, however, because the Persian fleet, on which his army depended for supplies, was wrecked off the promontory of Mount Athos.

The partial failure of the first Persian expedition only aroused Darius to renewed exertions. Two years later another fleet, bearing perhaps twenty thousand soldiers, set out from Ionia to Greece. Datis and Artaphernes, the Persian leaders, sailed straight across the Ægean and landed on the plain of Marathon, twenty-six miles from Athens.

Second Persian expedition

The situation of the Athenians seemed desperate. They had scarcely ten thousand men with whom to face an army at least twice as large and hitherto invincible. The Spartans promised support, but delayed sending troops at the critical moment. Nevertheless, the Athenians decided to take the offensive. Their able general, Miltiades, believed that the Persians, however numerous, were no match for heavy-armed Greek soldiers. The issue of the battle of Marathon proved him right. The Athenians crossed the plain at the quickstep and in the face of a shower of arrows drove the Persians to their ships. Datis and Artaphernes then sailed for home, with their errand of vengeance unfulfilled.

Battle of Marathon, 490 B.C.

PERSIAN ARCHERS

Louvre, Paris

A frieze of enameled brick from the royal palace at Susa. It is a masterpiece of Persian art and shows the influence of both Assyrian and Greek design. Each archer carries a spear, in addition to the bow over the left shoulder and the quiver on the back. These soldiers probably served as palace guards, hence the fine robes worn by them.

"Ten years after Marathon," says a Greek historian, "the 'barbarians' returned with the vast armament which was to enslave Greece." [1] Darius was now dead, but his son Xerxes

[1] Thucydides, i, 18.

had determined to complete his task. Great quantities of provisions were collected; the Dardanelles strait was bridged with boats; and the promontory of Mount Athos, where a previous fleet had met shipwreck, was pierced with a canal. An army, estimated to exceed one hundred thousand men, was brought together from all parts of the Great King's realm. He evidently intended to crush the Greeks by sheer weight of numbers.

Third Persian expedition

Xerxes did not have to attack a united Greece. Some Greek states submitted without fighting, when Persian heralds came to demand "earth and water," the customary symbols of submission. Some other states remained neutral throughout the struggle. But Athens and Sparta, with their allies, remained joined for resistance to the end.

Disunion of the Greeks

Early in the year 480 B.C. the Persian host moved out of Sardis, crossed the Dardanelles, and advanced as far as the pass of Thermopylæ, commanding the entrance into central Greece. This position, one of great natural strength, was held by a few thousand Greeks under the Spartan king, Leonidas. Xerxes for two days hurled his best troops against the defenders of Thermopylæ, only to find that numbers did not avail in that narrow defile. There is no telling how long the handful of Greeks might have resisted, had not the Persians found a road over the mountain in the rear of the pass. Leonidas and his men were now attacked both in front and from behind. Xerxes at length won the pass — but only over the bodies of its heroic defenders. Years later a monument to their memory was raised on the field of battle. It bore the simple inscription: "Stranger, go tell the Spartans that we lie here in obedience to their commands."[1]

Battle of Thermopylæ, 480 B.C.

The Persians now marched rapidly through central Greece to Athens, but found a deserted city. Upon the advice of Themistocles, ablest of the Athenian leaders, the non-combatants had withdrawn to places of safety and the entire fighting force of Athens had gone on shipboard. The Greek fleet, which consisted chiefly of

Battle of Salamis, 480 B.C.

[1] Herodotus, vii, 228.

Athenian vessels under the command of Themistocles, then took up a position in the strait separating the island of Salamis from Attica and awaited the enemy. The Persians at Salamis had many more ships than the Greeks, but Themistocles believed that in the narrow strait their numbers would be a disadvantage to them. Such turned out to be the case. The Persians fought well, but their vessels, crowded together, could not navigate properly and even wrecked one another by collision. After an all-day contest what remained of their fleet withdrew to Asia Minor. The Great King himself had no heart for any more fighting. However, he left Mardonius, with a large body of picked troops, to subjugate the Greeks on land. So the real crisis of the war was yet to come.

Mardonius passed the winter quietly in Thessaly, preparing for the spring campaign. The Greeks, in their turn, made a final effort. A Spartan army, supported by the Athenians and other allies, met the enemy near the little town of Platæa in Bœotia. The Greek soldiers, with their long spears, huge shields, and heavy swords, were completely successful. At about the same time as this battle the remainder of the Persian fleet suffered a crushing defeat at Mycale, on the Ionian coast. These two engagements really ended the Persian wars. Never again did Persia make a serious effort to conquer Greece.

Battles of Platæa and Mycale, 479 B.C.

The Persian wars were much more than a contest for supremacy between two rival powers. They were a struggle between East and West; between Oriental despotism and Occidental democracy. Had Persia won, the fresh, vigorous Western civilization then being developed by Athens and other Greek states would have been submerged, probably for ages, under the influx of Eastern ideas and customs. The Greek victory saved Europe for better things. It was a victory for human freedom.

Victorious Greece

26. Athens, 479–431 B.C.

Greek history, for half a century after the close of the Persian wars, centers about Athens. She was now the most populous

of Greek cities. She possessed an extensive commerce throughout the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. Her citizens were energetic; her government was a democracy. The Athenians also enjoyed the prestige which resulted from their successful resistance to Persia. Herodotus even calls them the saviors of Greece. "Next to the gods," he says, "*they* repulsed the invader." [1]

Ascendancy of Athens

In order to remove the danger of another Persian attack, the Athenians formed a defensive league with their Greek kindred in Asia Minor and on the Ægean Islands. It included, ultimately, over two hundred city-states. Some of the wealthier members agreed to provide ships and crews for the allied fleet. All the other members preferred to make their contributions in money, allowing Athens to build and equip the ships. Athenian officials collected the revenues, which were placed for protection in the temple of Apollo on the island of Delos.

Athens and the Delian League

The Delian League formed the most promising step which the Greeks had yet taken in the direction of federal government. It might have developed into a United States of Greece, had the Athenians shown more wisdom and justice in dealing with their allies. Unfortunately, the Athenians proceeded to use the naval force which had been formed by the contributions of the league as a means of bringing its members into dependence upon Athens. The Delian communities were compelled to accept governments like those of Athens, to endure the presence of Athenian garrisons in their midst, to furnish soldiers for Athenian armies, and to pay an annual tribute. Even the common treasury of the league was eventually transferred from Delos to Athens. What had started out as a voluntary association of free and independent states thus ended by becoming, to all intents and purposes, an Athenian Empire.

Athenian imperialism

The Athenians governed imperially, but they belonged to a democratic state. Democracy, the rule of the sovereign people, was unknown in the ancient Orient.[2] It formed a Greek con-

[1] Herodotus, vii, 139.

[2] See page 40.

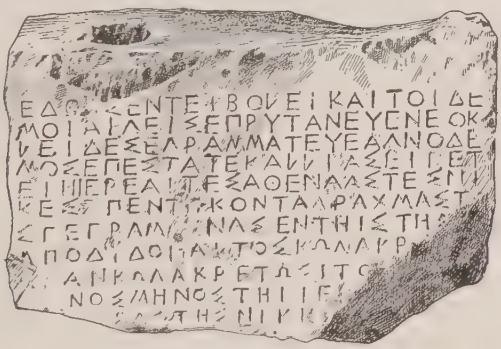
THE
ATHENIAN EMPIRE
at its Height (about 450 B. C.)
Allied States
Dependent States
Scale of Miles
0 25 50 75 100
ILLYRIA
MACEDONIA
THRACE
BITHYNIA
Black Sea
Bosporus
Byzantium
SEA OF MARMORA
(Propontis)
Sangarius
Hebrus R.
Amphipolis
Axius
THASOS
Ægospotami
SAMOTHRACE
IMBROS
Mt. Athos
CHALCIDICE
Olynthus
Thermaic Gulf
Potidæa
Mt. Olympus
Aous
EPIRUS
Dodona
CORCYRA (CORFU)
IONIAN SEA
Ambracian Gulf
LEUCAS
CEPHALLENIA
ITHACA
ZACYNTHUS
Peneus
THESSALY
Pagasæan Gulf
ACHÆA PHTHIOTIS
ÆNIS
MALIS
LOCRIS
ÆTOLIA
PHOCIS
Delphi
Naupactus
Gulf of Corinth
ACHÆA
ELIS
Olympia
ARCADIA
ARGOLIS
Argos
PELOPONNESUS
Gulf of Argolis
Messene
MESSENIA
Sparta
LACONIA
Gulf of Messenia
Gulf of Laconia
CYTHERA
CRETE
THRACIAN SEA
LEMNOS
Dardanelles (Hellespont)
Ilium (Troy)
PHRYGIA
ASIA MINOR
MYSIA
Pergamum
LESBOS
Mytilene
ÆOLIS
LYDIA
Phocæa
Hermus
Sardis
Caster
CHIOS
Chalcis
EUBŒA
BŒOTIA
Thebes
ATTICA
Athens
Corinth
CORINTHIA
Pyræus
ÆGEAN SEA
ANDROS
TENOS
DELOS
PAROS
NAXOS
MELOS
CYCLADES
SPORADES
SAMOS
ICARIA
Ephesus
Maeander
Miletus
CARIA
Halicarnassus
Indus
LYCIA
DORIS
Rhodes
RHODES
CARPATHUS
THE M.-N. WORKS, BUFFALO, N. Y.
26° Longitude East 28° from Greenwich
20° 22° 24° 26° 28° 30°
40° 38° 36°

tribution, especially an Athenian contribution, to civilization. The Athenians had now learned how unjust could be the rule of a king, a tyrant, or a privileged aristocracy. They tried, instead, to afford every free citizen, whether rich or poor, whether noble or commoner, an opportunity to hold office, to serve in the law courts, and to participate in legislation.

Athenian democracy

The center of Athenian democracy was the popular assembly. All citizens who had reached twenty years of age were members. The number present at a meeting rarely exceeded five thousand, however, because so many Athenians lived outside the walls in the country districts of Attica.

The popular assembly



AN ATHENIAN INSCRIPTION

A decree of the popular assembly, dating from about 450 B.C.

The popular assembly met every eight or nine days on the slopes of a hill called the Pnyx. After listening to speeches, the people voted, usually by show of hands, on the measures laid before them. They settled in this way all questions of war and peace, sent out military and naval expeditions, sanctioned public expenditures, and exercised general control over the affairs of Athens and her dependencies.

Democracy, then, reached its height in ancient Athens. The people ruled, and they ruled directly. Every citizen could take some active part in politics. Such a government worked well in the conduct of a small city-state. It proved to be less

successful in the management of an empire. The subject communities of the Delian League were unrepresented at Athens. They had no one to speak for them in the public assembly or before the law courts. Hence their interests were always subordinated to those of the Athenians. We shall notice the same absence of a representative system in ancient Rome, after that city had become mistress of the Mediterranean basin.

Absence of a representative system

But even in Athens, most democratic of all Greek city-states, democracy was really class rule. Not all the free men — to say nothing of the numerous slaves — were citizens. The law restricted citizenship to those free men who were the sons of an Athenian father (himself a citizen) and an Athenian mother. Consequently, the thousands of foreign merchants and artisans living in Athens could not take any part in its government. This jealous attitude toward foreigners contrasts with the liberal policy of modern countries, such as our own, in naturalizing immigrants.

Class rule

Athens contained many artisans. Their daily tasks gave them scant opportunity to engage in the exciting game of politics. The average rate of wages was very low. In spite of cheap food and modest requirements for clothing and shelter, it must have been difficult for the city workman to keep body and soul together. Outside of Athens lived the peasants, whose little farms produced the olives, grapes, and figs for which Attica was celebrated. There were also thousands of slaves in Athens, as in other city-states of Greece. Their number was so great and their labor so cheap that we may think of them as taking the place of modern machines. Slaves did most of the work on large estates owned by wealthy men, toiled in the mines and quarries, and served as oarsmen on ships. The system of slavery lowered the dignity of free labor and tended to prevent the rise of poorer citizens to positions of responsibility. In Greece, as in the Orient,[1] slavery cast a blight over industrial life.

Industrial Athens

[1] See page 43.

The Athenian city, during this period, formed the commercial center of Greece. Exports of wine and olive oil, pottery, metal wares, and objects of art were sent from Piræus, the port of Athens, to every part of the Greek world. The imports from the Black Sea region, Thrace, Asia Minor, Egypt, Sicily, and Italy included such commodities as salt, dried fish, wool, timber, hides, and, above all, great quantities of wheat. As is the case with modern England, Athens could feed all her people only by bringing in food from abroad.

Commercial Athens

27. Athenian Culture

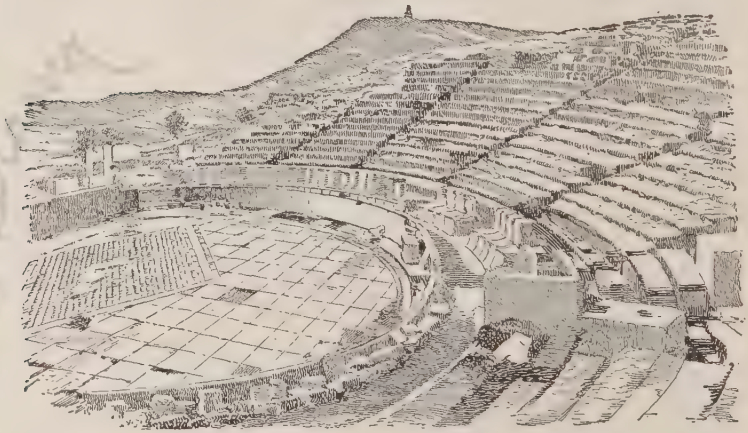
The wealth which the Athenians found in industry and commerce, together with the tribute paid by the Delian League, enabled them to adorn their city with statues and buildings. The most beautiful monuments arose on the Acropolis. Access to this steep rock was gained through a superb entrance gate, or Propylæa, constructed to resemble the front of a temple with columns and pediment. Just beyond the Propylæa stood a huge bronze statue of the goddess Athena, by the sculptor Phidias. On the crest of the Acropolis were two temples. The smaller one, named after Erechtheus, a legendary Athenian king, was of the Ionic order of architecture. The larger one, dedicated to the Virgin Athena (Athena Parthenos), was of the Doric order. It contained a gold and ivory statue (also by Phidias) of the goddess who had the Athenian city under her protection. A Greek temple,[1] such as the Parthenon, was merely a rectangular building, provided with doors, but without windows, and surrounded by a single or a double row of columns. The temple did not serve as a meeting place for worshipers, but only as a sanctuary for the deity. Less imposing than the majestic structures raised in Egypt, it had more beauty, because of its harmonious proportions, perfect symmetry, and exquisite workmanship. The Parthenon is now a ruin. Many of the wonderful sculptures which once decorated the exterior have survived, however, and may be viewed to-day in the British Museum at London.

Artistic Athens

[1] See the plate facing page 81.

Up against a corner of the Acropolis, the Athenians built an open-air theater, where performances took place in midwinter and spring at the festivals of the god Dionysus. A Greek play would seem strange enough to us; there was no elaborate scenery, no raised stage, until late Roman times, and little lively action. The actors, who were all men, never numbered more than three or four. They wore elaborate costumes and grotesque masks. The

The Athenian theater



THEATER OF DIONYSUS, ATHENS

About sixteen thousand persons could be accommodated in this open-air theater. They sat at first on wooden benches; later, stone seats were placed against the adjacent hillside. The marble seats in the front row, next to the orchestra circle, were reserved for prominent Athenians.

narrative was mainly carried on in song by the chorus, which met with the actors in the dancing ring, or orchestra. The theater held an important part in the life of Athens and, indeed, of all Greek cities. It formed a partial substitute for our pulpit and press, for it dealt either with religious and moral themes or with leading personages and questions of the day. The tragedies and comedies produced by Athenian playwrights originated a new type of literature — the drama.

The playwrights composed in verse, but there were also Athenians who learned to write in prose. The first great prose

ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS (RESTORATION)

Propylæa Erechtheum Parthenon Mt. Lycabettus

ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS FROM THE SOUTHWEST

writer of Greece, or of any other country, was the "father of history," Herodotus. Though born in Asia Minor, he passed much of his life at Athens, mingling in its brilliant society and coming under the influences, literary and artistic, which that city afforded. Herodotus wrote about the Persian wars, but also wove into his narra-

Athenian prose writers

AN ATHENIAN SCHOOL

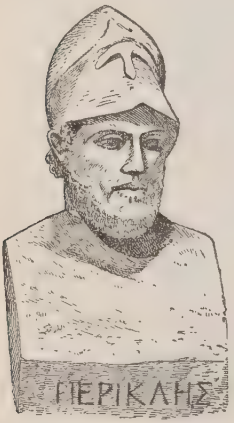
Royal Museum, Berlin

A painting by Duris on a drinking-cup, or cylix. The picture is divided by the two handles. In the upper half, beginning at the left: a youth playing the double flute as a lesson to the boy before him; a teacher holding a tablet and stylus and correcting a composition; a slave (*pædagogus*), who accompanied the children to and from school. In the lower half: a master teaching his pupil to play the lyre; a teacher holding a half opened roll, [illegible] to a recitation by the student before him; a bearded *pædagogus*. The inner picture, badly damaged, represents a youth in a bath.

tive accounts of the Egyptians, Babylonians, and other Oriental peoples. His work is one of our chief sources of information for ancient history. Greek prose was further developed by the orators, who flourished in democratic Athens.

The Greeks really founded philosophy, which means an intelligent effort to probe the mysteries of existence and human nature. No one did more in this direction than the Athenian, Socrates. A true "lover of wisdom" and one of the greatest teachers of any age, Socrates kept no school; he never wrote anything; he taught only by conversation with any one willing to discuss moral or religious subjects. When an old man, Socrates was convicted of impiety and of corrupting the youth of Athens by his doctrines. He suffered death, in consequence, but his philosophy did not perish. It found an exponent in the Athenian Plato, whose writings, known as *Dialogues*, took the form of question and answer that Socrates had used. Plato's works were profound in thought and admirable in style. They have continued to influence philosophic speculation to our own day.

Athenian philosophers



PERICLES

British Museum, London

The bust is probably a good copy of a portrait statue set up during the lifetime of Pericles on the Athenian Acropolis. Inscribed with the name Pericles in letters of the 3d or 2d century B.C.

What the Greeks, and especially the Athenians, originated in art, literature, oratory, and philosophy still abides in the world. Much of it is unexcelled; all of it is an inspiration. There is no exaggeration, consequently, in the proud words which the statesman, Pericles, applied to Athens in the fifth century B.C.: "Our city is equally admirable in peace and in war. We are lovers of the beautiful, yet simple in our tastes, and we cultivate the mind without loss of manliness. Wealth we employ, not for talk and ostentation, but when there is real use for it. To acknowledge poverty with us is no disgrace; the true disgrace is in doing nothing to avoid it. An Athenian citizen does not neglect the state because he takes care of his own household; and even those of us who are engaged in business have a very fair idea of politics. We alone regard a man who shows no

Athens, the "school of Hellas"

interest in public affairs, not as a harmless, but as a useless, character. . . . In short, Athens is the school of Hellas." [1]

28. Decline of the Greek City-States, 431–338 B.C.

The patriotic Greeks, during the Persian wars, had achieved a temporary union and had fought valiantly, successfully, in a common cause. When all danger from Persia was removed, it became impossible to continue a working system of federation. The old antagonisms between rival communities arose again in full vigor. The Greek people, whose unity of blood, language, religion, and customs should have welded them into one nation, continued to be divided into independent and often hostile city-states.

Disunion of the Greeks

The history of Greece, after the Persian wars, is therefore a record of almost ceaseless conflict. In 431 B.C. the fierce and exhausting Peloponnesian War broke out between Athens and Sparta, with their allies and dependencies. After ten years of fighting without a decisive result, both sides grew weary of the struggle and made peace. Athens, instead of husbanding her resources for another contest with Sparta, then tried to conquer Syracuse, the largest Greek city in Sicily. The failure of the Sicilian expedition so weakened Athens that Sparta felt encouraged to renew the Peloponnesian War, this time with the financial help of Persia, who was always ready to subsidize the Greeks in fighting one another. The Peloponnesian War ended in 404 B.C. with the complete triumph of Sparta. That city played the imperial rôle for a few years, until her harsh military rule goaded Thebes into revolt. By defeating Sparta, Thebes became the chief power in Greece. Athens and Sparta, however, joined forces to make headway against Theban dominion, and this, too, went down bloodily on the field of battle. By the middle of the fourth century B.C. it had become evident that no single city-state was strong enough or wise enough to rule Greece.

Conflicts between the Greeks

A new influence now began to be felt in the Greek world —

[1] Thucydides, ii, 39–41.

the influence of Macedonia. Its people were an offshoot of those northern invaders who had entered the Balkan Peninsula before the dawn of history. They were thus Greek in both blood and language, but less civilized than their kinsmen of central and southern Greece. Macedonia, however, formed a territorial state under a single ruler, in contrast to the disunited city-states of the other Greeks.

Macedonia

Philip II, one of the most remarkable men of antiquity, became king of Macedonia in 359 B.C. He was not a stranger to Greece. Part of his boyhood had been passed as a hostage at Thebes, where he learned the art of war as the Greeks had perfected it, and also gained an insight into Greek politics. The distracted condition of Greece offered Philip an opportunity to secure for Macedonia the position of supremacy which neither Athens, Sparta, nor Thebes had held for long. He seized the opportunity.

Philip II, 359–336 B.C.

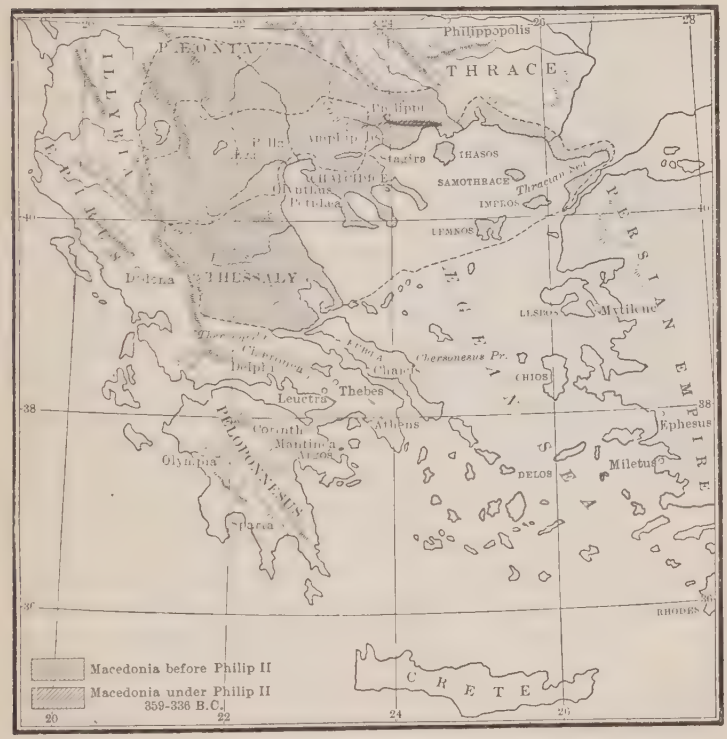
Philip created a permanent or standing army of professional soldiers and improved their methods of fighting. Hitherto, battles had been mainly between massed bodies of infantry, forming a phalanx. Philip retained the phalanx, only he deepened it and gave to the rear men longer spears. The business of the phalanx was to keep the front of the opposing army engaged, while horsemen rode into the enemy's flanks. This reliance on masses of cavalry to win a victory was something new in warfare. Another novel feature consisted in the use on the battle-field of catapults, a kind of artillery able to throw darts and huge stones for three hundred yards into the enemy's ranks. All these different arms working together made a war machine which was the most formidable in the ancient world until the days of the Roman legion.

Philip's army

Philip commanded a fine army; he ruled with absolute sway a territory larger than any city-state; and he himself possessed a genius for both war and diplomacy. With such advantages the Macedonian king entered upon the subjugation of disunited Greece. His first important success was won in western Thrace. Here he founded the city of Philippi, and secured some rich gold mines, the income from

Philip's conquests

which enabled him to keep his soldiers always under arms and to fit out a fleet. Philip next made Macedonia a maritime state by annexing the Greek cities on the peninsula of Chalcidice. He also appeared in Thessaly, occupied its principal fortresses,



Growth of Macedonia

and brought the frontier of Macedonia as far south as the pass of Thermopylæ.

Philip's conquests excited mixed feelings at Athens, Thebes, and Sparta. He had many influential friends in these cities, some paid agents, but others honest men who favored Macedonian headship as the only means of uniting Greece. Those opposed to Philip found their foremost representative in the famous Athenian orator, Demos- **Demosthenes**

thenes. His patriotic imagination had been fired by the great deeds which free Greeks once accomplished against Persia. Athens he loved with passionate devotion, and Athens, he urged, should become the leader of Greece in a second war for independence.

DEMOSTHENES

Vatican Museum, Rome

A marble statue, probably a copy of the bronze original by the sculptor Polyeuctus. The work, when found, was considerably mutilated and has been restored in numerous parts. Both forearms and the hands holding the scroll are modern additions. It seems likely that the original Athenian statue showed Demosthenes with tightly clasped hands, which, with his furrowed visage and contracted brows, were expressive of the orator's earnestness and concentration of thought.

The stirring appeals of Demosthenes met little response, until Philip entered central Greece at the head of his army. Athens, Thebes, and some Peloponnesian states then formed a defensive alliance against him. The decisive battle took place at Chæronea, in Bœotia. On that fatal field the well drilled and seasoned troops of Macedonia, led by a master of the art of war, overcame the citizen-soldiers of Greece. The victory made Philip master of all the Greek states, except Sparta, which still preserved her liberty. It was the victory of an absolute monarchy over free, self-governing commonwealths. The city-states had had their day. Never again did they become first-rate powers in history.

Battle of Chæronea 333 B.C.

Philip's restless energy now drove him forward to the next step in his ambitious program. He determined to carry out the plans, long cherished by the Greeks, for the conquest of Asia Minor and perhaps even of Persia. A congress of the Greek states, which met at Corinth, voted to supply ships and soldiers for the undertaking and placed Philip in command of the Græco-Macedonian army. But Philip did not lead it into Asia. Less than two years after Chæronea he was struck down by an assassin, and the scepter passed to his son, Alexander.

After Chæronea

29. Alexander the Great, and the Conquest of Persia, 336–323 B.C.

Alexander became king of Macedonia when only twenty years old. He had his father's vigorous body, keen mind, and resolute will. His mother, a proud, ambitious woman, told him that the blood of Achilles ran in his veins, and bade him emulate the deeds of that Greek hero. We know that he learned the *Iliad* by heart and always carried a copy of it on his campaigns. The youthful Alexander developed into a splendid athlete, skillful in all the sports of his rough-riding companions and trained in every warlike exercise. But Alexander was also well educated. He had Aristotle, the most learned man in Greece, as his tutor. The influence of that philosopher, in inspiring him with an admiration for Greek civilization, remained with him throughout life.

The youthful Alexander

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

After a medallion found at Tarsus in Asia Minor.

The situation which Alexander faced on his accession might well have dismayed a less dauntless spirit. Philip had not lived long enough to unite firmly his dominions; his unexpected death proved the signal for uprisings against Macedonia. The Thracian tribes revolted, and the Greeks made ready to answer the call of Demosthenes to arms. But Alexander soon set his kingdom in order. After crushing the Thracians, he descended on Greece and besieged Thebes. The city was captured and destroyed; its inhabitants were sold into slavery. The fate of Thebes induced the other states to submit without further resistance.

Alexander and the Greeks

With Greece pacified, Alexander could proceed to the inva-

sion of Persia. The Persian Empire had remained almost intact since the time of Darius the Great. It was a huge, loosely knit collection of many different peoples, whose sole bond of union consisted in their allegiance to the Great King.[1] Its resources in men and wealth were enormous. However imposing on the outside, events proved that it could offer no effective resistance to a Græco-Macedonian army. With not more than fifty thousand soldiers, Alexander destroyed an empire before which for two centuries the Near East had bowed the knee.

Alexander and the Persians

Alexander entered Asia Minor near the plain of Troy, visited this site made famous by his legendary ancestor, Achilles, overthrew with little difficulty such troops as opposed him, and then marched southward, capturing the Greek cities on the way. Western Asia Minor was soon freed of Persian control. Meanwhile, Darius III, the king of Persia, had assembled a large army and had advanced to the narrow plain of Issus, between the Syrian mountains and the Mediterranean. In such cramped quarters superiority in numbers counted for nothing. Alexander perceived this, and struck with all his force. After a stubborn resistance the Persians gave way, turned, and fled. The battle now became a massacre, and only the approach of night stayed the swords of the victorious Macedonians.

Battle of Issus, 333 B.C.

Alexander's next step was the siege of Tyre. This Phœnician city, the headquarters of Persia's naval power, lay on an island half a mile from the shore. Alexander could only approach it by building a mole, or causeway, between the shore and the island. Battering rams then breached the walls, the Macedonians poured in, and Tyre fell by storm. The great emporium of the Near East became a heap of ruins.

Capture of Tyre, 332 B.C.

From Tyre Alexander led his army through Palestine into Egypt. The Persian officials there offered little resistance, and the Egyptians themselves welcomed Alexander as a deliverer. He entered Memphis in triumph

Alexander in Egypt

[1] See pages 38–39.

and then sailed down the Nile to its western mouth. Here he laid the foundations of Alexandria, to replace Tyre as a commercial metropolis.

The time had now come to turn eastward. Following the ancient trade routes, Alexander reached the Euphrates, crossed this river and the Tigris, and on a broad plain not far from the ruins of Nineveh [1] found himself confronted by the Persian host. Darius held an excellent position and hoped to crush his foe by sheer weight of

Battle of Arbela, 331 B.C.

THE ALEXANDER MOSAIC

Naples Museum

This splendid mosaic, composed of pieces of colored glass, formed the pavement of a floor in a Roman house at Pompeii, Italy. It was probably a copy of an earlier Greek painting. Alexander (on horseback at the left) is shown leading the cavalry charge against Darius III at the battle of Issus. The Great King wears the characteristic Persian headdress, with cheek pieces fastening under the chin. The royal charioteer (behind the king) lashes his horses, in order that Darius may escape. Persian nobles, meanwhile, are desperately fighting about their lord.

numbers. But nothing could stop the Macedonian onset; once more Darius fled away; and once more the Persians, deserted by their king, sought safety in ignominious flight.

The battle of Arbela decided the fate of the Persian Empire. Alexander had only to gather the fruits of victory. Babylon surrendered to him without a struggle. Susa, with its enormous treasure, fell into the conqueror's hands. Persepolis, the old Persian capital, was

End of the Persian Empire

[1] See page 37.

given up to fire and sword. Darius himself, as he retreated into the eastern mountains, was murdered by his own men.

The Macedonians had now overrun all the Persian territories except distant Iran and India. These regions were peopled by warlike tribes of a very different stamp from the effeminate Persians. Alexander might well have been content to have left them undisturbed, but the man could never rest while there were still conquests to be made. Long marches and many battles were required to subdue the tribes about the Caspian and the inhabitants of the countries now known as Afghanistan and Russian Turkestan. Crossing the lofty barrier of the Hindu Kush, Alexander next led his soldiers into the valley of the Indus and quickly added northwestern India[1] to the Macedonian possessions. He then pressed forward to the conquest of the Ganges Valley, but his troops refused to go farther. They had had their fill of war.

Conquest of Iran and India

Alexander was of too adventurous a disposition to return by the way he had come. He built a fleet on the Indus and had it accompany the army down the river to its mouth. His admiral, Nearchus, was then sent with the fleet to explore the Indian Ocean and to discover, if possible, a sea route between India and the Near East. Alexander himself led the army by a long and toilsome march, through desert wastes, to Babylon. That city now became the capital of his empire.

The return to Babylon

But the reign of Alexander was nearly over. In 323 B.C., while planning expeditions against the Arabs, Carthage, and the Italian states, he suddenly sickened and died. He was not quite thirty-three years of age.

Death of Alexander, 323 B.C.

Alexander was one of the foremost, perhaps the first, of the great captains of antiquity. Had he been only this, his career would not bulk so large in history. The truth is, that during his brief lifetime this remarkable man stamped an enduring impress upon much of the ancient world. At his death the old Greece comes to its end. During

Alexander in history

[1] See pages 29 and 38.

EMPIRE OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT, 336-323 B. C.

Under Alexander | Allied States | Independent States

Route of Alexander

THE KINGDOMS OF ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS

Kingdom of the Seleucids | Kingdom of the Ptolemies | Macedonian Kingdom

Route of Nearchus

the next two hundred years, we follow, not the development of a single people, but the gradual spread of Greek civilization in the Near East. We enter upon the Græco-Oriental or Hellenistic[1] Age.

30. The Hellenistic Age

The empire created by Alexander did not survive him. It broke up almost immediately into a number of Hellenistic kingdoms (Macedonia, Syria, and Egypt). They were ruled by dynasties descended from Alexander's generals.[2] These three states remained independent, though with shifting boundaries, until the era of Roman expansion in the Near East.

Hellenistic kingdoms

A Greek Cameo

Museum, Vienna

Cut in sardonyx. Represents Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, and his wife Arsinoë.

Alexander's conquests, and the subsequent establishment of Hellenistic kingdoms, resulted in the disappearance of the barriers which had so long separated Europe and Asia. Henceforth the Near East lay open to Greek merchants and artisans, Greek architects and artists, Greek philosophers, scientists, and writers. Everywhere into that huge, inert, unprogressive Orient entered the active and enterprising men of Hellas. They brought their Hellenic culture with them and became the teachers of those whom they had called "barbarians."

Hellenizing the Orient

The Hellenizing of the Orient was begun by Alexander, who founded no less than seventy cities in Egypt, in western Asia, in central Asia, and even in India. Alexander's successors continued city-building on a still more extensive scale. Unlike the old Greek city-states, the Hellenistic cities did not enjoy independence. They formed a part of the kingdom in which they lay and paid tribute, or

Hellenistic cities

[1] The term "Hellenic" refers to purely Greek culture; the term "Hellenistic," to Greek culture as modified by contact with the Orient.

[2] The Antigonids (from Antigonus) in Macedonia, the Seleucids (from Seleucus) in Syria, and the Ptolemies (from Ptolemy) in Egypt.

taxes, to its ruler. In appearance, also, the new cities contrasted with those of Greece. They had broad streets, well paved and sometimes lighted at night, a good water supply, and baths, theaters, gymnasiums, and parks. Such splendid foundations formed the real backbone of Hellenism in the Near East. Their inhabitants, whether Greeks or "barbarians," spoke

LIGHTHOUSE OF ALEXANDRIA (Restored)

The island of Pharos, in the harbor of Alexandria, contained a lighthouse built about 280 B.C. It rose in three diminishing stages, the first being square, the second octagonal, and the third round, to a height of nearly four hundred feet. On the apex stood a statue. The lighthouse was considered by the ancients one of the "Seven Wonders" of the world. It collapsed (as the result of repeated earthquakes) in 1326 A.D. The minarets of Moslem mosques and the spires of Christian churches are both derived from this famous structure.

Greek, read Greek, and wrote in Greek. For the first time in history the largest part of the civilized world had a common language.

Commercial intercourse of East and West

Some Hellenistic cities were only garrison posts in the heart of remote provinces or along the frontier. Many more, such as Alexandria in Egypt, Seleucia in Babylonia, Antioch in Syria, and Rhodes on the island of that name, were thriving business centers, through which Asiatic products, even those of distant India and China,

reached Greece. Kings, nobles, and rich men now began to build palaces, to keep up large households with many servants, and to possess fine furniture, carpets, tapestries, gold and silver vessels, and beautiful works of art. The standard of living was thus raised by the introduction of luxuries to which the old Greeks had been strangers.

Greece and the Orient exchanged ideas as well as commodities. What the Greeks had accomplished in art, literature, philosophy, and science became familiar to the Egyptians, Babylonians, and other Oriental peoples. They, in turn, introduced the Greeks to *their* achievements in the realm of thought.

Intellectual relations between East and West

The fusion of East and West went on most thoroughly at Alexandria in Egypt. It was the foremost Hellenistic center, because of its unrivaled site for commerce with Africa, Asia, and Europe. The inhabitants included not only Egyptians, Greeks, and Macedonians, but also Jews, Syrians, Babylonians, and other Orientals. The population increased rapidly, and by the time of Christ Alexandria ranked in size next to imperial Rome.

Alexandria

The Macedonian rulers of Egypt made Alexandria their capital and did everything to adorn it with imposing public buildings and masterpieces of Greek art. Learning flourished at Alexandria. The city possessed in the royal Museum, or Temple of the Muses, a genuine university, with lecture halls, botanical and zoölogical gardens, an astronomical observatory, and a great library. The collection of books, in the form of papyrus or parchment (sheepskin) manuscripts,[1] finally amounted to over five hundred thousand rolls, or almost everything that had been written in antiquity. The more important works were carefully edited by Alexandrian scholars, thus supplying standard editions of the classics for other ancient libraries. The learned men at Alexandria also translated into Greek various productions of Oriental literature, including the Hebrew Old Testament. Science likewise flourished in Alexandria, for the professors, who lived in

Alexandrian culture

[1] See page 26.

THE WORLD ACCORDING TO PTOLEMY

See note on next page.

the Museum at public expense, had the quiet and leisure so necessary for research. Much progress took place at this time in mathematics, astronomy, physics, geography, anatomy, medicine, and other branches of knowledge. The Greeks in their investigations must have been greatly helped by the scientific lore of old Egypt and Babylonia, which was now disclosed to the world at large. Græco-Oriental science in turn passed over to the Romans, and later became known to the Moslem and Christian peoples of the Middle Ages.

THE ÆTOLIAN AND ACHÆAN LEAGUES (ABOUT 229 B.C.)

During the period following Alexander the Greek city-states began to realize that the freedom they prized so much could only be secured by a close union. They now formed the Ætolian League in central Greece and the Achæan League in the Peloponnesus. The latter was the more important. Its business lay in the hands

The eminent scientist Ptolemy, who lived at Alexandria about the middle of the second century A.D., summed up in his map of the world the geographical knowledge of the ancients. Ptolemy's inaccuracies are obvious: his Europe extends too far west; his Africa is too wide; and his Asia is vastly exaggerated at its eastern extremity. He knows practically nothing of the Baltic Sea, marking only a small island as Scandia or Scandinavia. His idea of the British Isles is also vague. Ptolemy shows some knowledge of central and southern Asia, but India is not represented as a peninsula, and a huge gulf, with China on its farther shore, is placed in the remote east. The size of Ceylon is exaggerated. Notice that Ptolemy represents the Nile as rising in two lakes and that he marks the Mountains of the Moon in their approximate location. Two famous voyages of discovery have been indicated on this map; namely, that of the Carthaginian Hanno to the Gulf of Guinea (about 500 B.C) and that of the Greek Pytheas possibly as far as the Baltic (about 330 B.C).

of an assembly or congress, where each city, whether large or small, had one vote. The assembly, meeting twice a year, chose a general, or president, levied taxes, raised armies, and conducted all foreign affairs. The cities, in local matters, continued to enjoy their old independence. This organization shows that the Achæan League was more than a mere alliance of city-states. It formed the first genuine *federation* that the world had ever seen, and its example was repeatedly cited by the American statesman who helped frame our Constitution. But the attempt to unify Greece came too late. Sparta refused to enter the Achæan League, and Athens failed to join the Ætolian League. Without these two powerful states, neither association could achieve lasting success.

The Ætolian and Achæan leagues

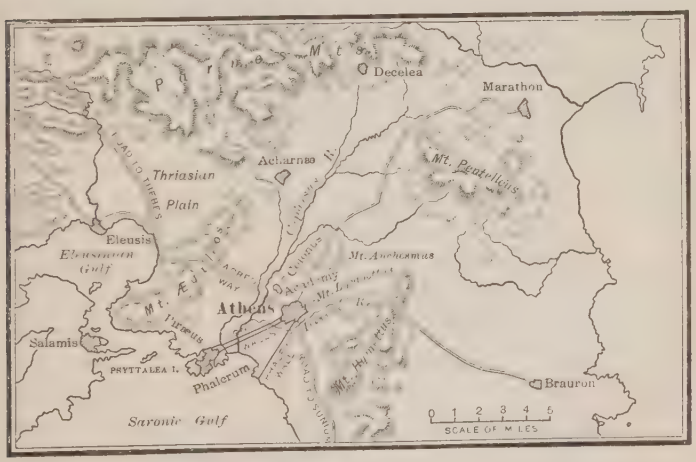
The Greeks who emigrated in such numbers to Egypt and western Asia lost citizenship at Athens, Sparta, or Thebes and formed subjects of the Ptolemies or of the Seleucids. They surrendered local attachments and prejudices, which had so long divided them, to be "cosmopolitans," or citizens of the world. They likewise lost old feelings of antagonism toward non-Greeks. Henceforth the distinction between Greek and Barbarian gradually faded away, and mankind became ever more unified in sympathies and aspirations. This Græco-Oriental world of city-states, federations, and kingdoms about the *eastern* Mediterranean was now to come in contact with the great power which had been arising in the *western* Mediterranean — Rome.

Cosmopolitanism

Studies

1. Compare the area of Europe with that of Brazil, of Canada, and of the United States (including Alaska). 2. "In many respects Europe may be considered the most favored among the continents." Explain this statement in detail. 3. Why was Europe better fitted than Asia to develop the highest civilization? Why not so well fitted as Asia to originate civilization? 4. "The history of the Mediterranean from the days of Phœnicia, Crete, and Greece to our own time is a history of western civilized mankind." Comment on this statement. 5. How is Greece in its physical aspects "the most European of European lands"? 6. Why did Crete become the "cradle of our European civilization"? 7. Locate on the map Mount Olympus, Dodona, Delphi, and Olympia. 8. Define the terms monarchy,

aristocracy, tyranny, and democracy, as the Greeks used them. 9. What differences existed between Phœnician and Greek colonization? 10. Why have Greek colonies been called "patches of Hellas"? 11. What reasons can be assigned for the Greek victory in the Persian wars? 12. If the Athenian Empire had rested on a representative basis, why would it have been more likely to endure? 13. How far can the expression "government of the people, by the people, and for the people" be applied to the Athenian democracy? 14. Present some differences between Athenian democracy and American democracy. 15. Using materials in larger histories, write an essay (500 words) describing an imaginary walk on the Athenian Acropolis in the days of Pericles. 16. Describe the theater of Dionysus (illustration on page 94). 17. Why has the Peloponnesian War been called the "suicide of Greece"? 18. On an outline map indicate the routes of Alexander, marking his principal battle-fields. Insert, also, the voyage of Nearchus. 19. What likenesses can you discover between the political condition of the Græco-Oriental world after Alexander and the condition of modern Europe? 20. Show that the founding of Hellenistic cities formed a renewal of Greek colonial expansion. 21. What resemblances are there between the Achæan League and American federal government? 22. "The seed-ground of European civilization is neither Greece nor the Orient, but a world joined of the two." Comment on this statement. 23. Enumerate some of the principal contributions of the Greeks to civilization.



THE VICINITY OF ATHENS

CHAPTER IV

ROME[1]

31. Italian Peoples

Italy

The Italian Peninsula is long and narrow. It reaches nearly seven hundred miles from the Alps to the sea, but measures only about one hundred miles across, except in the Po Valley. The shape of Italy is determined by the course of the Apennines. Starting from the Alpine chain at the Gulf of Genoa, they cross the peninsula in an easterly direction almost to the Adriatic. Then they turn sharply to the southeast and parallel the coast for a considerable distance. The plains of central Italy are all on the western slope of the mountains. In southern Italy the Apennines swerve to the southwest and penetrate the "toe" of the peninsula.

Geography and Italian history

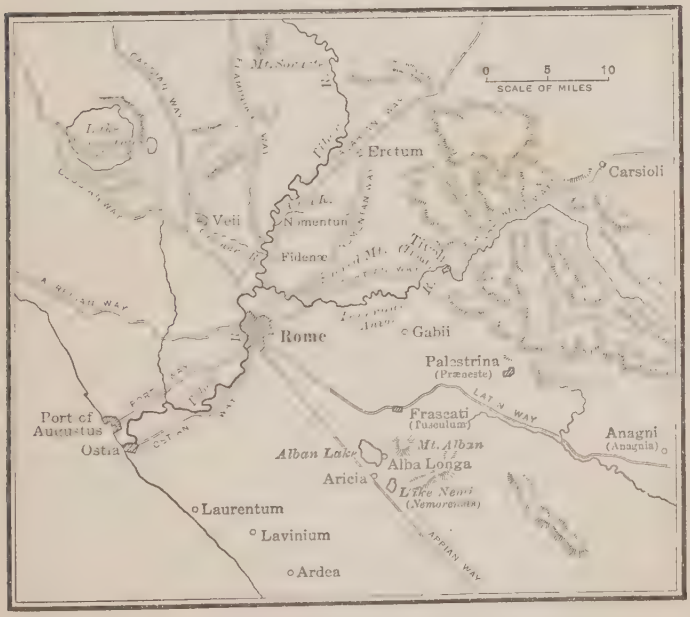
Geographical conditions exerted the same profound influence on Italian history as on that of Greece. In the first place, Italy is not cut up by a tangle of mountains into many small districts. It was therefore easier for the Italians than for the Greeks to establish one large and united state. In the second place, Italy has comparatively few good harbors, but possesses upland pastures and rich lowland plains. The Italian peoples consequently developed cattle raising and agriculture much earlier than commerce. And in the third place, the location of Italy, with its best harbors and most numerous islands on the western side, for a long time brought the peninsula into closer relations with the western islands and the coasts of Gaul, Spain, and

[1] Webster, *Readings in Ancient History*, chapter xiv, "Legends of Early Rome"; chapter xv, "Hannibal and the Great Punic War"; chapter xvi, "Cato the Censor: a Roman of the Old School"; chapter xvii, "Cicero the Orator"; chapter xviii, "The Conquest of Gaul, related by Cæsar"; chapter xix, "The Makers of Imperial Rome: Character Sketches by Suetonius"; chapter xx, "Nero: a Roman Emperor"; chapter xxi, "Roman Life as seen in Pliny's Letters"; chapter xxii, "A Satirist of Roman Society."

North Africa than with the countries bordering on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean. If Greece faced the civilized nations of the East, Italy fronted the barbarous tribes of the West.

The earliest civilization in Italy was introduced there by Etruscans from the Ægean region. Perhaps as early as 1000 B.C., they landed on the western side of the peninsula, pushed back the early inhabitants, and founded a strong power in the region called after them Etruria (modern

Etruscans



THE VICINITY OF ROME

Tuscany). The Etruscan dominions in time extended along the coast from the Bay of Naples to the Gulf of Genoa and inland to the Po Valley as far as the Alps. The Etruscans are a mysterious people. No one has been able to read their language. It is quite unlike any Indo-European tongue, though

the words are written in an alphabet borrowed from Greek settlers in Italy. Many other cultural influences reached the Etruscans from abroad. Babylonia gave to them the principle of the round arch [1] and the practice of divination.[2] Etruscan graves contain Egyptian seals marked with hieroglyphs and vases bearing Greek designs. The Etruscans were skillful workers in bronze, iron, and gold. They built cities with massive walls, arched gates, paved streets, and underground drains. A great part of Etruscan civilization was ultimately absorbed in that of Rome.

Greeks

The Etruscans were followed by the Greeks. Greek colonies began to be planted in southern Italy after the middle of the eighth century B.C.[3] A glance at the map [4] shows that these were all on or near the sea, from the Gulf of Taranto to Campania. North of the "heel" of Italy extends an almost harborless coast, where nothing tempted the Greeks to settle. North of Campania, again, they found the good harbors already occupied by the Etruscans. The Greeks, in consequence, never penetrated deeply into Italy. Room was left for the native Italians, under the leadership of Rome, to build up their own power in the peninsula.

Italians

Barbarous peoples of the Mediterranean racial type occupied Italy, as well as Greece, during Neolithic times. After them came invaders apparently of the Baltic (Nordic) racial type, who spoke an Indo-European language closely related both to Greek and to the Celtic tongues of western Europe. They entered the Italian Peninsula through the numerous Alpine passes, probably not long after the Greeks had found a way into the Balkan Peninsula.[5] Wave after wave of these northerners flowed southward, until the greater part of Italy came into their possession. We must assume that the invaders, having overcome all armed opposition, mingled more or less with the earlier inhabitants of Italy. There is every reason to believe that the historic Italians, like the historic Greeks, were a *mixed* people.

[1] See page 60. [2] See page 53. [3] See page 83.
[4] See the map facing page 122. [5] See page 73.

The Italians who settled in the central, eastern, and southern parts of the peninsula were highlanders. They formed many tribes, including the Umbrians and the Samnites. With the Samnites Rome was one day to fight a duel for the supremacy of Italy.

The Umbrians and the Samnites

The western Italians, or Latins, were lowlanders. They dwelt in Latium, originally only the "flat land" extending south of the Tiber River between the mountains and the sea. The Latin plain is about thirty by forty miles in size. Its soil, though not very productive, can nevertheless support a considerable population devoted to herding and farming. The Latins, as they increased in number, gave up tribal life and established little city-states, like those of Greece. The need of defense against their Etruscan neighbors across the Tiber and the Italian tribes in the near-by mountains bound them together. At a very early period they united in the Latin League. The chief city in this league was Rome.

The Latins

32. The Romans

Rome began as a Latin settlement on the Palatine Mount. It was the central eminence in a group of low hills just south of the Tiber and about fourteen miles from its ancient mouth. Shallow water and an island made the river easily fordable at this point for Latins and Etruscans and facilitated intercourse between them. Villages also arose on the neighboring mounts, and these in time combined with the Palatine community. Rome thus became the City of the Seven Hills.[1]

Founding of Rome

Rome, from the start, owed much to a fortunate location. The city was easy to defend. It lay far enough from the sea to be safe from sudden raids by pirates, and it possessed in the seven hills a natural fortress. The city was also well placed for commerce on the only navigable stream in Italy. Finally, Rome was almost in the

Advantages of the site of Rome

[1] The Romans believed that their city was founded in 753 B.C., from which year all Roman dates were reckoned.

center of Italy, a position from which its warlike inhabitants could most easily advance to the conquest of the peninsula.

Early Rome

We cannot trace in detail the development of early Rome. The accounts which have reached us are a tissue of legends, dealing with Romulus, the supposed founder of the city, and the six kings who followed him. What seems certain is that the Roman city-state very soon fell under the sway of the Etruscans, who governed it for perhaps two centuries or more. Etruscan tyranny at length provoked a successful uprising, and Rome became a republic (about 509 B.C.).

The Roman family

While the legends contain little history they do tell us a good deal about the customs, beliefs, morals, and everyday life of the early Romans. The family, in a very real sense, formed the unit of Roman society. Its most marked feature was the unlimited authority of the father. His wife had no legal rights: he could sell her into slavery or divorce her at will. Nevertheless, no ancient people honored women more highly than did the Romans. The wife was the mistress of the home, as the husband was its master. She was not confined, as was an Athenian wife, to a narrow round of duties within the house. Though her education did not proceed far, we often find the Roman matron aiding her husband both in politics and in business. Women, as well as men, made Rome great among the nations. Over his sons and his unmarried daughters the Roman father ruled as supreme as over his wife. He brought up his children to be sober, silent, modest in their bearing, and, above all, obedient. Their misdeeds he might punish with banishment, slavery, or even death. As head of the family, he could claim all their earnings; everything they had was his. The father's great authority ceased only with his death. Then his sons, in turn, became lords over their families.

The family religion

The Romans, as well as the Greeks and other ancient peoples, were ancestor worshipers. The dead received daily offerings of food and wine and special veneration on those festival days when their spirits, it was supposed, came from the underworld to visit the living. The worship

of ancestors immensely strengthened the father's authority, for it made him the chief priest of the household. It also made

SUOVETAURILIA

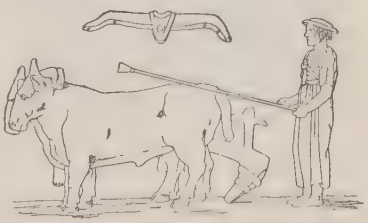
Louvre, Paris

The relief pictures the sacrifice of a bull, a ram, and a boar, offered to Mars to secure purification from sin. Note the sacred laurel trees, the two altars, and the officiating magistrate, whose head is covered with the toga. He is sprinkling incense from a box held by an attendant. Another attendant carries a ewer with the libation. In the rear is the sacrificer with his ax.

marriage a sacred duty, so that a man might have children to accord him and his forefathers all honors after death. This religion of the family endured with little change throughout Roman history, lingering in many households as a pious rite long after the triumph of Christianity over paganism.

The state religion

The Romans worshiped various gods connected with their lives as shepherds, farmers, traders, and warriors. The chief divinity was Jupiter, who ruled the heavens and sent rain and sunshine to nourish the crops. The war god Mars reflected the military side of Roman life. His sacred animal was the fierce wolf; his symbols were spears and shields; his altar was the Campus Martius (Field of Mars)



AN ITALIAN PLOWMAN

A bronze group from Arezzo, Italy. The peasant holds a pole. A front view of the yoke appears above.

outside the city walls, where the army assembled in battle array. March, the first month of the old Roman year, was named in his honor. Other important deities were Mercury, who protected traders, Ceres, a vegetation goddess (compare our English word "cereal"), and Vesta, who kept watch over the sacred fire ever blazing in the Forum, or market-place, of Rome. Still other divinities were borrowed from the Greeks, together with many Greek myths. This religion of the state did not promise rewards or punishments in a future world. It dealt with the present life. Just as the family was bound together by the tie of common worship, so all the citizens were united in common reverence for the gods who watched over and guided the state.

Economic and social condition

Agriculture was the chief occupation of the early Romans. "When our forefathers," said an ancient writer, "would praise a worthy man, they praised him as a good farmer and a good landlord; and they believed that praise could go no further." [1] Cattle-breeding also must have been an important occupation, since prices were originally estimated in oxen and sheep. No great inequalities of wealth could exist in such a community of peasants. Few citizens were very rich; few were very poor. The members of each household made their own clothing from flax or wool, and fashioned out of wood and clay what utensils were needed for their simple life. The long use of copper for money indicates that gold and silver were rare among the early Romans, and that luxury was almost unknown.

EARLY ROMAN BAR MONEY

A bar of copper having the value of an ox, whose figure is stamped upon it. Dates from the fourth century B.C. The Romans subsequently cast copper disks to serve as coins.

Moral conditions

These Romans were a manly breed, abstemious in food and drink, iron-willed, vigorous, and strong. Deep down in their hearts was the proud conviction that Rome should rule over her neighbors. For this they freely shed

[1] Cato, *De agricultura*, 1.

their blood; for this they bore hardship, however severe, without complaint. Before everything else, they were dutiful citizens and true patriots. Such were the sturdy men who formed the backbone of the Roman state. Their character has set its mark on history for all time.

33. The Roman City-State

Early Rome formed a city-state with a threefold government, as in Homeric Greece.[1] The king had wide powers: he was commander-in-chief, supreme judge, and head of the state religion. A council of elders (Latin *senes*, "old men") made up the Senate, which assisted the king in government. The popular assembly, whenever summoned by the king, voted on important questions.

Government

After monarchy disappeared at Rome, two magistrates, named consuls, took the king's place in government. The consuls enjoyed equal honor and authority. Unless both agreed, nothing could be done. They thus served as a check upon each other, as was the case with the two Spartan kings.[2]

The consuls

When grave danger threatened the state and unity of action seemed imperative, the Romans sometimes appointed a dictator. The consuls relinquished their authority to him and the people put their property and lives entirely at his disposal. The dictator's term of office might not exceed six months, but during this time he had all the power formerly wielded by the kings.

The dictator

CURULE CHAIR AND FASCES

A consul sat on the curule chair. The *faxes* (axes in a bundle of rods) symbolized his power to flog and behead offenders.

The Roman city-state seems to have been divided, during the regal age, between an aristocracy and a commons. The nobles were called patricians[3] and the common people, plebeians.[4] The patricians occupied a privileged

[1] See page 80.
[2] See page 81.
[3] From the Latin *patres*, "fathers."
[4] Latin *plebs*, "crowd."

position, since they alone sat in the Senate and served as magistrates, judges, and priests. In fact, they controlled society, and the plebeians found themselves excluded from much of the political, legal, and religious life of Rome.

Patricians and plebeians

The oppressive sway of the patricians resulted in great unrest at Rome, and after the establishment of the republic the plebeians began to agitate for reforms. They soon compelled the patricians to allow them to have officers of their own, called tribunes, as a means of protection. Any tribune could veto, that is, forbid, the act of a magistrate which seemed to bear harshly on a citizen. There were ten tribunes, elected annually by the plebeians.

The tribunes

Next followed a struggle on the part of the plebeians for legal equality with the patricians. The Romans hitherto had had simply unwritten customs, which were interpreted by patrician judges. The plebeians now demanded that the customs be set down in writing — be made *laws* — so that every one might know them and secure justice in the courts. A commission was finally appointed to prepare a code. The laws were engraved on twelve bronze tablets and set up in the Forum of Rome. A few sentences from them have come down to us in rude, unpolished Latin. They mark the beginning of Rome's legal system.

The Twelve Tables, 451–450 B.C.

It would take too long to tell how the plebeians broke down the patrician monopoly of office holding. The result was that eventually they became eligible to the consulships and other magistracies, to seats in the Senate, and even to the priesthoods. Henceforth all citizens, whether patricians or plebeians, enjoyed the same rights at Rome.

Plebeian office holding

The Roman city-state called itself a republic — *respublica* — "a thing of the people." The citizens in their assemblies made the laws, elected public officials, and decided questions of war and peace. But Rome was less democratic than Athens. The citizens could not frame, criticize, or amend public measures; they could only vote "yes" or "no" to proposals made to them by a magistrate. All this afforded

Republican Rome

a sharp contrast to the vigorous debating which went on in the Athenian popular assembly.[1]

The authority of the magistrates, including both consuls and tribunes, was much limited by the Senate. It contained about three hundred members, who held office for life. Vacancies in it were filled, as a rule, by persons who had previously held one of the higher magistracies. There sat in the Senate every man who, as statesman, general, or diplomatist, had served his country well. All weighty matters came before this august body. It conducted war, received ambassadors from foreign countries, made alliances, administered conquered territories, and, in short, formed the real governing body of the republic. The Senate proved not unworthy of its high position. During the centuries when Rome was winning dominion over Italy and throughout the Mediterranean basin, the Senate conducted public affairs with foresight, energy, and success. An admiring foreigner once called it "an assembly of kings."

The Senate

34. Expansion of Rome over Italy, 509(?)–264 B.C.

The first centuries of the republic were filled with warfare against the Etruscans on the north and the Italian tribes of the Apennines. About 390 B.C. the republic came near to destruction, as a result of an invasion of the Gauls. These barbarians, a Celtic-speaking people, poured through the Alpine passes, conquered the Etruscan settlements in the Po Valley, and then fell upon the Romans. A Roman army was annihilated, and Rome itself, except the fortress on the Capitoline Mount, was captured and burned. The Gauls, according to the story, were induced to return to northern Italy by the payment of a heavy ransom in gold. Though they made subsequent raids, they never again reached Rome, which soon rose from her ashes stronger than ever. Half a century after the Gallic invasion, she was able to subdue her former allies, the Latins, and to destroy their league. The Latin War, as it is called, ended in 338 B.C. By this time

Rome supreme in Latium

[1] See page 91.

Rome ruled in Latium and southern Etruria and had begun to extend her sway over Campania.

Rome supreme in central and southern Italy

The expansion of the Romans southward over the fertile Campanian plain soon led to wars with the Samnites, who coveted the same region. In numbers, courage, and military skill the two peoples were well matched. Nearly half a century of hard fighting was required before Rome gained the upper hand. The close of the Samnite wars found her supreme in central Italy. A few years later she annexed the disunited Greek cities in southern Italy (Magna Græcia).

Italy under Roman rule

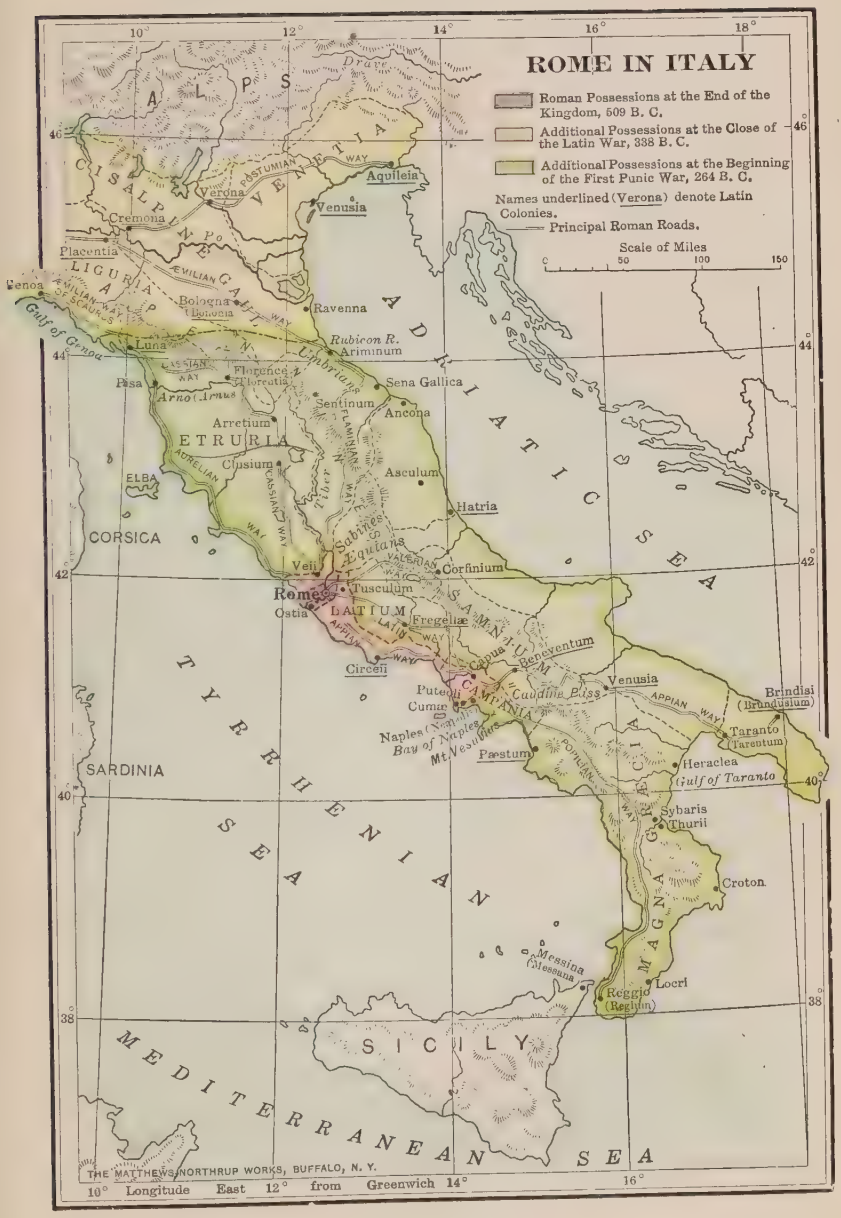
Rome was now the undisputed mistress of Italy from the strait of Messina northward to the Arno (*Arnus*) River. Etruscans and Greeks, together with Latins, Samnites, and other Italian peoples, acknowledged her sway. The central city of the peninsula thus became the center of a united Italy. It should be noticed, however, that as yet Rome ruled only the central and southern parts of what is the modern kingdom of Italy. The Gauls held the Po Valley, while most of Sicily and Sardinia was controlled by the Carthaginians.

Roman citizens

As Rome extended her rule in Italy, she bestowed upon the conquered peoples citizenship. It formed a great gift, for a Roman citizen enjoyed many privileges. He could hold and exchange property under the protection of Roman law; could contract a valid marriage which made his children themselves citizens; and could vote in the popular assemblies at Rome and hold public office there. At the period we have reached, Italy contained about three hundred thousand such citizens, all of them feeling a common interest in the welfare of Rome. This extension of the citizenship to those who formerly had been enemies was something quite *novel* in history, and it was the great secret of Rome's success as a governing power.

Italian allies

The Italian peoples who failed to receive citizenship at this time were not treated as complete subjects, but as "friends and allies" of the Romans. They lost the right of declaring war on one another, of making treaties,



THE MATTHEWS-NORTHRUP WORKS, BUFFALO, N. Y.

and of coining money. Rome otherwise allowed them to govern themselves, never calling on them for tribute and only requiring that they should furnish soldiers for the Roman army in time of war. These allies occupied a large part of the Italian Peninsula.

The Romans established what were called Latin colonies in various parts of Italy. The colonies consisted usually of veteran soldiers or poor plebeians, who wanted farms of their own. Being offshoots of Rome, the Latin colonies naturally remained faithful to her interests. **Latin colonies**

The colonies were united with one another and with Rome by an extensive system of roads. The first great road, known as the Appian Way, was carried as far as Capua during the period of the Samnite wars and afterward to Brindisi (*Brundusium*) on the Adriatic, whence travelers embarked for Greece. Other trunk lines were soon built in Italy, and from them a network of smaller highways penetrated every part of the peninsula. Roman roads, like those of the Persians,[1] were intended to facilitate the rapid dispatch of troops, supplies, and official messages into every corner of Italy. Being free to the public, they also became avenues of trade and travel and so helped to bring the Italian peoples into close touch with Rome. **Roman roads**

Rome thus began in Italy the process of Romanization which she was to extend later to Sicily, Spain, Gaul, and Britain. She began to make all Italians like herself in blood, language, religion, and customs. More and more they came to regard themselves as one people — a civilized people who spoke Latin as contrasted with the barbarous, Celtic-speaking Gauls. **Romanization of Italy**

35. Expansion of Rome beyond Italy, 264–133 B.C.

Rome had scarcely finished the conquest of Italy before she became involved in a life-and-death struggle with the city of Carthage.[2] This Phœnician colony occupied an admirable site, for it bordered on rich farming land and had the largest harbor

[1] See page 39. [2] See page 48.

of North Africa. The Carthaginians gradually extended their control over the adjacent coast, eastward as far as the Greek city of Cyrene[1] and westward to the Atlantic. Carthaginian settlements also lined the shores of Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, the Balearic Islands, and southern Spain. The western basin of the Mediterranean formed, to a large extent, a Carthaginian lake.

Carthage

The Phœnician founders of Carthage kept their own (Semitic) language, customs, and beliefs and did not mingle with the native African peoples. The Carthaginian government was in form republican, with two elective magistrates somewhat resembling Roman consuls. The real power lay, however, with a group of merchant nobles, forming a council. It was a government by capitalists, who cared very little for the welfare of the poor freemen and slaves over whom they ruled. The wealth of Carthage enabled her to raise armies of mercenary soldiers and to build warships which in size, number, and equipment surpassed those of any other Mediterranean state. Mistress of a wide realm, strong both by land and sea, Carthage was now to prove herself Rome's most dangerous foe.

Carthaginian civilization

The First Punic War[2] was a contest for Sicily. The Carthaginians wished to extend their rule over all that island, which from its situation seems to belong almost as much to Africa as to Italy. But Rome, now supreme in the Italian Peninsula, also cast envious eyes on Sicily. She believed, too, that the conquest of Sicily by the Carthaginians would soon be followed by their invasion of southern Italy. The fear for her possessions, as well as the desire to obtain new ones, led Rome to fling down the gage of battle. The war lasted nearly twenty-four years. It was fought mainly on the sea. The Carthaginians at the start had things all their own way, but with characteristic energy the Romans built fleet after fleet and at length won a complete victory over the enemy. The treaty of peace ousted the Car-

First Punic War, 264–242 B.C.

[1] See page 84.

[2] "Punic" (Latin *Punicus*) is another form of the word "Phœnician."

thaginians from Sicily. That island now became the first Roman province.

The peace amounted to no more than an armed truce. The decisive conflict, which should determine whether Rome or Carthage was to rule the western Mediterranean, had yet to come. Before it came, Rome strengthened her military position by seizing Sardinia and Corsica, in spite of Carthaginian protests against this unwarranted action,

The interval of preparation

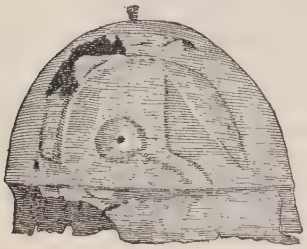
and by conquering the Gauls in the Po Valley. The Roman power now extended over northern Italy to the foot of the Alps. Carthage, meanwhile, created a new empire in Spain, as far north as the Ebro River. Spain at this time was a rich, though undeveloped, country. The produce of its silver mines filled the Carthaginian treasury, and its hardy tribes, the descendants of Neolithic Europeans, made excellent soldiers for the Carthaginian army. Carthage thus had both means and men for another struggle with Rome.

The war which now ensued has been sometimes called the Hannibalic War, because it centered about the personality of Hannibal the Carthaginian. As a commander, he ranks with Alexander the Great. The Macedonian king conquered for the glory of conquest; Hannibal, burning with patriotism, sought to destroy the power which had humbled his native land. He failed; and his failure left Carthage weaker than he found her. Few men have possessed a more dazzling genius than Hannibal, but his genius was not employed for the lasting good of humanity.

Hannibal

The Romans planned to conduct the war in Spain and Africa, at a distance from their own shores. Hannibal's bold movements took them by surprise. The young Carthaginian general had determined to fight in Italy. Since Roman fleets now controlled the western Mediterranean, it was necessary for him to lead his army, with its supplies, equipment, horses, and war elephants, from Spain through the defiles of the Pyrenees, across the wide, deep Rhône, over the snow-covered passes of the Alps, and down their steeper southern slopes into the valley of the Po. He did all this and at length stood on Italian soil. For fifteen years thereafter he maintained himself in Italy, marching up and down the peninsula, almost at will, and inflicting severe defeats upon the Romans. His hopes were brightest after the battle of Cannæ (216 B.C.), which resulted in the annihilation of an entire Roman army. But Hannibal had no siege engines to reduce the Latin colonies that studded Italy or to capture Rome itself. His little army dwindled away, year by year, and reinforcements sent from Spain were caught and destroyed by the Romans before they could effect a junction with his troops. Meanwhile, the brilliant Roman commander, Publius Scipio, drove the Cartha-

Second Punic War, 218–201 B.C.



A Carthaginian or Roman Helmet

British Museum, London

Found on the battle-field of Cannæ.

ginians out of Spain and invaded Africa. Hannibal was summoned home to face this new adversary. He came, and on the field of Zama met his first and only defeat (202 B.C.). Scipio, the victor, received the proud surname *Africanus*.

The treaty of peace following the battle of Zama required Carthage to cede Spain, surrender all but ten of her warships, and pay a heavy indemnity. She also agreed not to wage war anywhere without the consent of Rome, thus becoming, in effect, a vassal state. The long duel was now over. A great nation had overcome a great man. While our sympathies naturally go out to the heroic figure of Hannibal, it must be clear that Rome's victory in the Second Punic War was essential to the continuance of European civilization. The triumph of Carthage in the third century, like that of Persia in the fifth century,[1] would have resulted in the spread of Oriental ideas and customs throughout the western Mediterranean. From this fate Rome saved Europe.

Victorious Rome

The last chapter of Carthaginian history remained to be written. Though Carthage was no longer a dangerous rival, Rome watched anxiously for half a century the reviving commerce of the Punic city and at length determined to blot it out of existence. A Roman army landed in Africa, and the Carthaginians were ordered to remove ten miles from the sea. It was a sentence of death to a people who lived almost entirely by overseas trade. In despair they took up arms again and for three years resisted the Romans. The city was finally captured, burned, and its site dedicated to the infernal gods. The Carthaginian territories in North Africa henceforth became a Roman province.

Third Punic War, 149–146 B.C.

The two European countries, Sicily and Spain, which Rome had taken from Carthage presented very different problems to the conqueror. Sicily had long been accustomed to foreign masters. Its peace-loving inhabitants were as ready to accept Roman rule as, in the past, they had accepted the rule of the Greeks and Carthaginians. Every year the island became more and more a part of Italy and of Rome.

Romanization of Sicily

[1] See page 89.

Spain, on the contrary, gave the Romans some hard fighting. The Spanish tribes loved liberty, and in their mountain fastnesses kept up a brave struggle for independence. It was not until 133 B.C. that their resistance was finally broken. Rome continued in Spain the process of Romanization which she had begun in Italy and Sicily. Many farmers and traders went to Spain; even Roman soldiers, quartered there for long periods, married Spanish wives, and, on retiring from active service, settled in the peninsula. Rome made her way by the sword; but after the sword came Roman civilization.

Romanization of Spain

While Rome was subduing and Romanizing the western Mediterranean, she also began to extend her influence in the eastern Mediterranean. The kingdom of Macedonia was the first Hellenistic state to become subject to Rome. Thus disappeared a great power which Philip had founded and Alexander had led to the conquest of the world.

Rome and Macedonia

Having overcome Macedonia, Rome proclaimed the "freedom" of Greece. But this meant really subjection, as was proved a few years later when the Achæan League [1] became involved in a struggle with the Italian republic. The heavy hand of Roman vengeance descended on Corinth, the chief member of the league and at this time one of the most beautiful cities in the world. In 146 B.C., the same year in which the destruction of Carthage occurred, Corinth was sacked and burned to the ground. The Greeks were henceforth subject to Rome. They remained under foreign sway until the nineteenth century of our era.

Rome and Greece

Rome was also drawn into a conflict with the kingdom of Syria.[2] That Hellenistic power proved to be no more capable than Macedonia of checking the Roman arms. The Seleucid king had to give up most of his territories in Asia Minor. The western part of the peninsula, together with the Greek cities on the coast, was erected in 133 B.C. into the province of Asia. The same year that witnessed the complete establishment of Roman rule in Spain thus

Rome and Syria

[1] See page 110.

[2] See page 105.

saw Rome gain her first possessions at the opposite end of the Mediterranean.

36. Rome the Mistress of the Mediterranean Basin

Rome's dealings with her new dependencies overseas did not follow the methods that proved so successful in Italy. The Italian peoples had received liberal treatment. Rome regarded them as allies and in many instances conferred upon them Roman citizenship. But for non-Italians Rome adopted the same system of *imperial* rule that had been previously followed by Persia and by Athens.[1] She treated the foreign peoples from Spain to Asia as subjects and made her conquered territories into provinces. Their inhabitants were obliged to pay tribute and accept the oversight of Roman officials.

Provincial administration

The proper management of conquered territories is always a difficult problem for the best-intentioned state. It cannot be truly said, however, that even Rome's intentions were praiseworthy. There was little desire to rule for the good of the subject peoples. A Roman governor exercised almost absolute sway over his province. Usually he looked upon it as a source of personal gain and did everything possible during his year of office to enrich himself at the expense of the inhabitants. They could indeed complain of the governor's conduct to the Senate, which had appointed him, but their injuries stood little chance of being redressed by senatorial courts quite ignorant of provincial affairs and notoriously open to bribery. To the extortions of the governors must be added that of the tax collectors, whose very name of "publican"[2] became a byword for greed and rapacity.

Evils of provincial administration

A possible solution of the problem of provincial administration might have been found, if the provincials had been allowed to send delegates to speak and act for them before the Senate

[1] See pages 39 and 90.

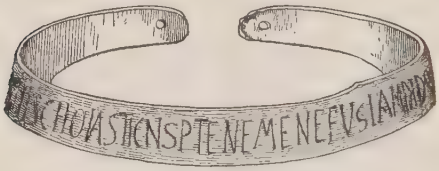
[2] In the New Testament "publicans and sinners" are mentioned side by side. See *Matthew*, ix, 10.

and the popular assemblies of Rome. But the representative system met no more favor with the Romans than with the Athenians.[1] Rome, like Athens, was a city-state suddenly called to the responsibilities of imperial rule. The machinery of her government had been devised for a small republican community, and it broke down when extended to distant lands and peoples. A single city could not administer, with justice and efficiency, all Italy and the Mediterranean basin.

No representative system

Successful foreign wars greatly enriched Rome. At the end of a campaign the soldiers received large gifts from their commander, besides the booty taken from the enemy. The state itself made money from the sale of enslaved prisoners and their property. When once peace had been declared, Roman governors and tax collectors followed in the wake of the armies and squeezed the provincials at every turn. The Romans, indeed, seem to have conquered the world less for glory than for profit.

Profitable conquests



A Slave's Collar

A runaway slave, if recaptured, was sometimes compelled to wear a metal collar riveted about his neck. One of these collars, still preserved at Rome, bears the inscription: *Servus sum dom(i)ni mei Scholastici v(iri) sp(ectabilis). Tene me ne fugiam de domo.* — "I am the slave of my master, Scholasticus, a gentleman of importance. Hold me, lest I flee from home."

So much wealth poured into Rome from every side that there could scarcely fail to be a sudden growth of luxurious tastes, as had been the case with the Greeks and Macedonians after Alexander's conquests.[2] Newly rich Romans developed a relish for all sorts of reckless display. They built fine houses adorned with statues, costly paintings, and furnishings. They surrounded themselves with troops of slaves. At their banquets they spread embroidered carpets, purple coverings, and dishes of gilt plate. Pomp and splendor replaced the rude simplicity of earlier times.

Growth of luxury

[1] See page 92.

[2] See page 107.

If the rich were becoming richer, it seems that the poor were also becoming poorer. After Rome had conquered so much of the Mediterranean basin, her markets were flooded with the cheap wheat raised in the provinces, especially in those granaries, Sicily and North Africa. The price of wheat fell so low that Roman peasants could not raise enough to support their families and pay their taxes. They had to sell out, often at a ruinous sacrifice, to capitalists, who turned many small farms into extensive sheep pastures, cattle ranches, vineyards, and olive orchards. These great estates were worked by gangs of slaves from Carthage, Spain, Macedonia, Greece, and Asia Minor. Thus disappeared the free peasantry, which had always been the strength of the Roman state.

Disappearance of the peasantry

YOUTH READING A PAPYRUS ROLL

Relief on a sarcophagus

The papyrus roll was sometimes very long. The entire *Iliad* or *Odyssey* might be contained in a single manuscript measuring one hundred and fifty feet in length. In the third century A.D. the unwieldy roll began to give way to the tablet, composed of a number of leaves held together by a ring. About this time, also, the use of vellum, or parchment made of sheepskin, became common.

The decline of agriculture and the ruin of the small farmer under the stress of foreign competition may be studied in modern England as well as in ancient Italy. Nowadays an Englishman, under the same circumstances, will often emigrate to America or to Australia, where land is cheap and it is easy to make a living. But Roman peasants did not care to go abroad. They thronged, instead, to the cities, to Rome especially, where they labored for a small wage, fared plainly on wheat bread, and dwelt in huge lodging houses, three or four stories high.

The exodus to the cities

We know little about these poor people of Rome. They must have lived from hand to mouth. Since their votes controlled elections in the popular assemblies, they were courted by candidates for office and kept from grumbling by being fed and amused. Such propertyless citizens, too lazy

The city mob

for steady work, too intelligent to starve, formed, with the riffraff of a great city, the elements of a dangerous mob. And the mob, henceforth, plays an ever larger part in the history of the times.

Greek influence at Rome

The conquest by the Romans, first of Magna Græcia and Sicily, then of Greece itself and the Hellenistic East, familiarized them with Greek culture. Roman soldiers and traders carried back to Italy an acquaintance with Greek customs. Thousands of cultivated Greeks, some slaves and others freemen, settled in Rome as actors, physicians, artists, and writers. Here they introduced the language, religion, literature, and art of their native land. Roman nobles of the better type began to take an interest in other things than farming, commerce, or war. They imitated Greek fashions in dress and manners, collected Greek books, and filled their homes with the productions of Greek art. Henceforth every aspect of Roman society felt the quickening influence of the older, richer culture of the Greek world. It was a Roman poet who wrote, — "Captive Greece captured her conqueror rude." [1]

37. Decline of the Roman City-State, 133–31 B.C.

A century of revolution

The period from 133 to 31 B.C. witnessed the breakdown of republican institutions and ended with the setting-up of autocracy at Rome. The Roman city-state, formerly a free, self-governing commonwealth, became transformed into an empire. There were two principal causes of the transformation. The first cause was *political strife* between Roman citizens. The class struggles of this period offered every opportunity for unscrupulous leaders to mount to power, now with the support of the Senate and the nobles, now with that of the populace. The second cause was *foreign warfare*, which enabled ambitious generals, supported by their soldiery, to become supreme in the government. Rome, after conquering the nations, found that she must herself submit to the rule of one man.

[1] Horace, *Epistles*, ii, 1, 156.

The century of revolution began with Tiberius Gracchus, who belonged to a noble Roman family distinguished for its services to the republic. He started out as a moderate social reformer. Having been elected one of the ten tribunes[1] of the people, he brought forward in 133 B.C. a measure intended to revive the drooping agriculture of Italy. Tiberius proposed that the public lands of Rome, then largely occupied by wealthy men, who alone had the capital to work them with cattle and slaves, should be reclaimed by the state, divided into small tracts, and given to the poorer citizens. This proposal aroused a hornet's nest about the reformer's ears. Rich people had occupied the public lands so long that they had come to look upon them as really their own. So the great land owners in the Senate got another tribune, devoted to their interests, to place his veto on the measure. The impatient Tiberius now took a false step. Though a magistrate could not legally be removed from office, Tiberius had the offending tribune deposed and thus secured the desired legislation. His arbitrary conduct further incensed the aristocrats, who threatened to impeach him as soon as his term expired. To avoid impeachment Tiberius sought re-election to the tribunate for the following year. This, again, was contrary to the constitution, which did not permit any one to hold office for two successive terms. On the day appointed for the election, while voting was in progress, a crowd of senators burst into the Forum and killed Tiberius, together with three hundred of his followers. Both sides had now begun to disregard the law. Force and bloodshed, henceforth, were to decide political disputes.

Tiberius Gracchus, 133–132 B.C.

Nine years after the death of Tiberius Gracchus, his brother Gaius became a tribune. One of Gaius's first measures permitted the sale of grain from public storehouses to Roman citizens at about half the market price. The law made Gaius popular with the poorer classes, but it was very unwise. Indiscriminate charity of this sort increased, rather than lessened, the number of paupers. Gaius

Gaius Gracchus, 123–121 B.C.

[1] See page 120.

showed much more statesmanship in his other measures. He encouraged the emigration of landless men from Italy to the provinces and introduced reforms in provincial administration. He even proposed to bestow the right of voting in the assemblies at Rome upon the inhabitants of the Latin colonies.[1] This effort to extend Roman citizenship cost Gaius his popularity. It aroused the jealousy of the city mob, which believed that the enrollment of new citizens would mean the loss of its privileges. There would not be so many free shows and so much cheap grain. The people therefore rejected the measure. They even failed to reëlect Gaius to the tribunate, though a law had been recently passed permitting a man to hold the position of tribune year after year. When Gaius was no longer protected by the sanctity of the tribune's office, he fell an easy victim to senatorial hatred. Another bloody tumult broke out, in which Gaius and several thousand of his followers perished.

Civil strife at Rome had so far left the aristocrats at the head of affairs. They still controlled the Senate, and the Senate still governed Rome. But that body had degenerated. The senators were no longer such able and patriotic men as those who had piloted the state while Rome was gaining world dominion.[2] They now thought less of the republic than of their own interests. Hence, as we have just seen, they blocked every effort of the Gracchi to improve the condition of the poorer citizens in Italy or of the provincials outside of Italy. Their growing incompetence and corruption, both at home and abroad, made the people more anxious than ever for a leader against the senatorial aristocracy.

The senatorial aristocracy

The popular leader who appeared before long was not another tribune but a *general* named Marius. He gained his greatest distinction in a war with some of the Teutonic peoples. These barbarians, whom we now hear of for the first time, had begun their migrations southward toward the Mediterranean basin. Rome was henceforth to face them in every century of her national existence. The decisive victories which Marius gained over them in southern Gaul and northern

Marius

[1] See page 123. [2] See page 121.

Italy removed a grave danger threatening Rome. The time had not come for ancient civilization to be submerged under a wave of barbarism.

Meanwhile, the senatorial aristocracy also found a leader in the brilliant noble Sulla. He, too, rose to eminence as a successful general, this time in a war between Rome and the Italian allies. It resulted from the refusal of the Senate and popular assemblies to extend Roman citizenship throughout Italy. The war ended only when Rome granted the desired citizenship, thus returning to her policy in former times.[1] The inhabitants of nearly all the Italian towns were soon enrolled as citizens at Rome, though they could not vote or stand for office unless they visited in person the capital city. In practice, therefore, the populace of Rome still had the controlling voice in ordinary legislation.

Sulla

A Roman Legionary

From a monument of the imperial age. The soldier wears a metal helmet, a leather doublet with shoulder-pieces, a metal-plated belt, and a sword hanging from a strap thrown over the left shoulder. His left hand holds a large shield, his right, a heavy javelin.

Marius and Sulla were rivals not only in war but also in politics. The one was the champion of the democrats, the other, of the aristocrats. The rivalry between them finally led to civil war, with its attendant bloodshed. Sulla triumphed, thus becoming supreme in the state. Rome now came under the rule of one man, for the first time since the expulsion of the kings. Sulla used his position of "Perpetual Dictator" only to pass a series of laws intended to intrench the Senate in power. He then retired to private life and died soon afterward (78 B.C.).

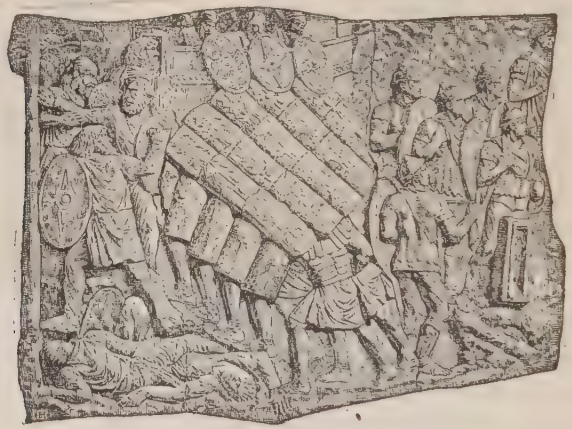
Rivalry of Marius and Sulla

After Sulla's death his friend Pompey was the leading figure

[1] See page 122.

in Roman politics. Pompey won great fame as a commander. He crushed a rebellion of the Spaniards, put down a formidable insurrection in Italy of slaves, outlaws, and ruined peasants, ridded the Mediterranean of pirates, and won sweeping conquests in the East, where he annexed Syria and Palestine to the Roman dominions.

Pompey

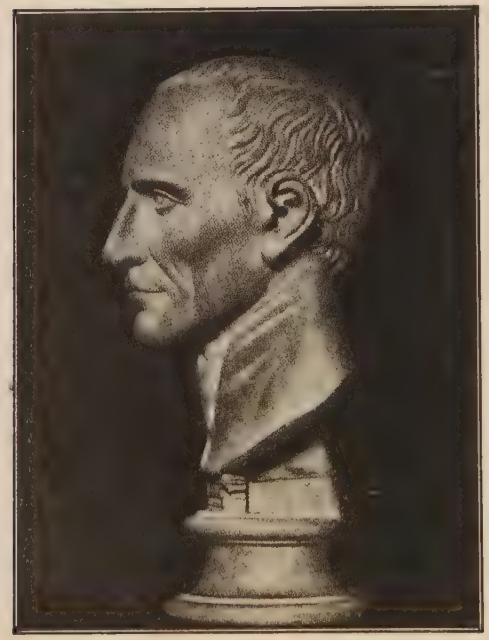


A Testudo

A relief from the Column of Trajan, Rome. The name *testudo*, a tortoise (shell), was applied to the covering made by a body of soldiers who placed their shields over their heads. The shields fitted so closely together that men could walk on them and even horses and chariots could be driven over them.

Rome at this time contained another able man in the person of Julius Cæsar. He belonged to a noble family, but his father had favored the democratic cause and his aunt had married Marius. Cæsar as a young man threw himself wholeheartedly into the exciting game of politics as played in the capital city. He won the ear of the multitude by his fiery harangues, his bribes of money, and his gifts and public shows. After spending all his private fortune in this way, he was "financed" by the millionaire Crassus, who lent him the money so necessary for a successful career as a politician. Cæsar, Crassus, and Pompey soon combined in what the Romans called a triumvirate, but what we should call a "ring." Pompey contributed his soldiers, Crassus, his wealth, and Cæsar, his

Julius Cæsar



JULIUS CÆSAR
A bust in the British Museum, London

AUGUSTUS
A bust in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Library of the Museum

influence over the mob. These three men were now really masters of Rome.

Cæsar was ambitious. The careers of Marius, Sulla, and Pompey taught him that the road to power at Rome lay through a military command, which would furnish an army devoted to his personal fortunes. Accordingly, after serving a year as consul, he obtained an appointment as governor of Gaul. The story of his campaigns there he has himself related in the famous *Commentaries*, still a Latin text in the schools. Starting from southern Gaul, which was Roman territory at this time, he conquered the Gallic tribes in one battle after another, twice bridged the Rhine and invaded Germany, made two military expeditions across the Channel to Britain, and brought within the Roman dominions all the territory bounded by the Pyrenees, the Alps, the Rhine, and the Atlantic Ocean.

Cæsar's conquest of Gaul, 58–50 B.C.

Cæsar's conquest of Gaul widened the map of the civilized world from the Mediterranean basin to the shores of the Atlantic. Gaul soon received and speedily adopted the Latin language, Roman law, and the customs and religion of Rome. "Let the Alps sink," exclaimed the orator Cicero, "the gods raised them to shelter Italy from the barbarians, but now they are no longer needed."

Romanization of Gaul

The death of Crassus, during Cæsar's absence in Gaul, dissolved the triumvirate. Pompey and Cæsar soon began to draw apart and at length became open enemies. Pompey had the support of the Senate, whose members believed that Cæsar was aiming at despotic power. Cæsar, on his side, had an army disciplined by eight years of fighting. Unable to compromise with the Senate, Cæsar boldly led his troops across the Rubicon, the little stream that separated Cisalpine Gaul from Italy, and marched on Rome. Thus began another civil war. It was fought in Italy, in Spain, in Greece, and in North Africa. It ended in the defeat and death of Pompey, the overthrow of the senatorial party, and the complete supremacy of Cæsar in the Roman state. He ruled supreme for only two years, and then fell a

Rivalry of Pompey and Cæsar

victim to a group of irreconcilable nobles, who struck him down in the Senate-house at Rome (44 B.C.).

Octavian

After Cæsar's death his grandnephew and adopted heir, Octavian, joined forces with Antony, the most prominent of Cæsar's officers, and together they defeated the senatorial party. They then divided the Roman world, Octavian taking Italy and the West, Antony taking the East, with Alexandria in Egypt as his capital. Before long the inevitable civil war broke out between them. It was decided in 31 B.C. by the victory of Octavian in a naval battle near Actium on the western coast of Greece. Antony and his Egyptian queen, Cleopatra, fled to Egypt, where both committed suicide rather than fall into the conqueror's hands. The death of Cleopatra ended the Hellenistic dynasty of the Ptolemies, rulers of Egypt since the time of Alexander the Great.[1] Egypt henceforth became a part of the Roman dominions.

The end of an epoch

The battle of Actium closed the century of revolution. Octavian, now without a rival, stepped into Cæsar's place as master of the Roman world. With Cæsar and Octavian Europe thus went back to monarchy, to one-man rule, such as had always prevailed in the Orient. It is only since the end of the eighteenth century that republicanism, as a form of government, has begun again to find favor among European peoples.

38. The Early Empire, 31 B.C.–284 A.D.

The emperor Augustus

Few persons have set their stamp more indelibly on the pages of history than Octavian, whom we may now call by his more familiar name *Augustus* ("the Majestic"), conferred upon him by the Senate as a mark of respect. Another title borne by him and his successors was that of *Imperator*, from which our word "emperor" is derived. The emperor Augustus enjoyed practically unlimited power, since he was commander-in-chief of the army. He took care, however, to conceal his authority under legal forms and to pose as a republican magistrate holding office by appointment of the

[1] See page 105 and note 2.

Senate. An American president would have a somewhat similar position if he ruled for life instead of for four years, selected the members of Congress, and designated his successor. In other words, Augustus gave up the externals, only to keep the essentials, of monarchy.

The Roman Empire in the age of Augustus girdled the Mediterranean basin.[1] On the west and south it found natural barriers in the Atlantic Ocean and the Sahara Desert. On the east the Euphrates River divided it from the kingdom of the Parthians. The northern frontier, beyond which lay the Teutonic peoples, required additional conquests for its protection. Augustus therefore annexed the districts south of the Danube, thus securing the entire line of this wide, impetuous stream as a boundary. Between Gaul and Germany the boundary continued to be the Rhine.

The empire under Augustus

The successors of Augustus made two important additions to the empire. During the reign of Claudius (41–54 A.D.) the Romans began to overrun Britain, which had been left alone for nearly a century after Cæsar's expeditions to the island. Britain, as far as the Scottish Highlands, was finally brought under Roman sway and organized as a province (*Britannia*). It remained a part of the Roman Empire for more than three hundred years, becoming in this time almost as completely Romanized as Spain and Gaul. Northern Scotland (*Caledonia*) and Ireland (*Hibernia*) the Romans never attempted to conquer.

Conquest and Romanization of Britain

The reign of Trajan (98–117 A.D.) saw the empire enlarged to its greatest extent. The conquests which this soldier-emperor made in Asia (Armenia and the valley of the Tigris-Euphrates) were abandoned by his successor on the throne; but those in Europe, resulting in the annexation of Dacia, north of the Danube, had more permanence. Thousands of colonists soon settled in Dacia and brought with them Roman civilization. The modern name of this country (Rumania) and the Latinized language of its people bear witness to Rome's abiding influence there.

Conquest and Romanization of Dacia

[1] See the map between pages 138–139.

The Roman Empire, at the zenith of its power in the second century of our era, included forty-three provinces. The provincials enjoyed far better treatment by the new imperial government than they had ever received at the hands of the republican Senate. Furthermore, Augustus and his successors steadily extended Roman citizenship to the provincials, and in 212 A.D. Caracalla issued a decree making *all* freemen in the empire citizens. Henceforth, Spaniards, Gauls, Britons, Greeks, Syrians, and Egyptians were Romans

Roman citizenship

ROMAN PONTOON BRIDGE

A relief from the arch of Trajan at Rome. It shows Roman soldiers crossing the Danube.

equally with the people of Italy. Rome, instead of being the ruling city of the empire, thus became merely its capital or seat of government.

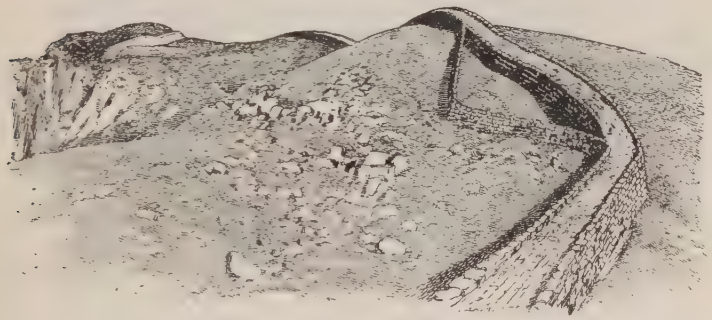
The provinces were protected against invasion by a standing army of about four hundred thousand men. The soldiers belonged to all the different nationalities within the empire and served for a long period of years. When not engaged in drill or border warfare, they built the great highways which, starting from Rome, penetrated every province; erected bridges and aqueducts; and along the exposed frontiers raised forts and walls. In her roads and fortifications, in the living rampart of her legions, Rome long found security. For two hundred years after Augustus the civilized world within the

The Roman Peace

boundaries of the empire rested under what an ancient writer calls "the immense majesty of the Roman Peace." [1]

The peace and prosperity of the Empire during the first and second centuries of our era fostered the growth of cities. They were numerous, and many of them, even when judged by modern standards, were large. Rome had a population of between one and two millions. Alexandria came next in size, and Syracuse ranked as the third metropolis of the empire. Italy had such important centers as Naples, Genoa, Florence, Verona, Milan, and Ravenna. In

Cities of the Roman world



WALL OF HADRIAN IN BRITAIN

The wall extended between the Tyne and the Solway, a distance of seventy miles. It was built of concrete, faced with square blocks. The height is nearly twenty feet; the thickness, about eight feet. Along the wall were numerous towers and gates, and a little to the north of it stretched an earthen rampart protected by a deep ditch. A broad road, lined with seventeen military camps, ran between the two fortifications.

Gaul were Marseilles, Bordeaux, Lyons, Paris, Strasbourg, Cologne, and Mainz — all places with a continuous existence to the present day. In Spain were Barcelona, Cadiz, Cartagena, and Seville. In Britain were London, York, Lincoln, and Chester. Greece, Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, and North Africa contained a great number of cities, some of them established in Hellenistic times and others of Roman formation.

Every city was a miniature Rome, with its forum and senate-house, its temples, theaters, and baths, its circus for horse

[1] Pliny, *Natural History*, xxvii, 1.

racing, and its amphitheater for gladiatorial shows. The excavations at Pompeii have revealed to us the appearance of one of these Roman cities. What we find at Pompeii was repeated on a more splendid scale in hundreds of places from the Danube to the Nile, from Britain to Arabia.

City life

THE AMPHITHEATER AT ARLES

The amphitheater at Arles in southern France was used during the Middle Ages as a fortress, then as a prison, and finally became the resort of criminals and paupers. The illustration shows it before the removal of the buildings, about 1830 A.D. Bullfights still continue in the arena, where, in Roman times, animal-baitings and gladiatorial games took place.

The cities of Roman origin, especially those in the western provinces, copied the political institutions of Rome. Each had a council modeled on the Senate, and a popular assembly, which chose magistrates corresponding to the two consuls and other officials. This Roman system of city government descended to the Middle Ages and so passed over to our own day.

City government

The Early Empire formed the golden age of Roman commerce. Augustus and his successors put down piracy in the Mediterranean, built lighthouses and improved harbors, policed the highways, and made travel

Commerce

THE PALACES OF THE CÆSARS

An imaginative painting by the British artist J. M. W. Turner.

THE ROMAN FORUM AT THE PRESENT TIME

A view looking eastward from the Capitoline Mount and showing the ruins of several buildings on or near the street called the Sacred Way. Directly ahead is the Arch of Titus, which commemorates the capture of Jerusalem by the Romans in 70 A.D. The Colosseum, where gladiatorial games were held, can be seen in the background. The ruins of the palaces of the Cæsars occupy the slopes of the Palatine Mount.

by land both speedy and safe. An imperial currency [1] replaced the various national coinages with their limited circulation. The vexatious import and export duties, levied by different countries on foreign products, were swept away. Free trade flourished between the cities and provinces of the Roman world.

A Roman Freight Ship

The ship lies beside the wharf at Ostia. In the after-part of the vessel is a cabin with two windows. Notice the figure of Victory on the top of the single mast and the decoration of the mainsail with the wolf and twins. The ship is steered by a pair of huge paddles.

Roman commerce followed, in general, the routes which had been used by the Phœnicians and Greeks. The annexation of Gaul, Britain, and the districts north and south of the Danube opened up trade channels between western and central Europe and the Mediterranean basin. Imports from the East reached the Mediterranean either by caravan through Asia or by ships which sailed across the Indian Ocean to the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea.

Commercial routes

The slaves at Rome, like those at Athens, engaged in many occupations. They worked as farm laborers, miners, artisans,

[1] For illustrations of Roman coins see the plate facing page 148.

shopkeepers, and domestic servants. The possession of a fine troop of slaves, dressed in handsome livery, formed a favorite way of parading one's wealth. Not all manual labor was performed by slaves, however. Slavery tended to decline, partly because there were now no more wars to furnish captives for the slave markets and partly in consequence of the growing custom of emancipation. The free workingmen who took the place of slaves seem to have led a fairly comfortable existence. They were not forced to labor for long hours in grimy, unwholesome factories. Slums existed, but no sweatshops. If wages were low, so also was the cost of living. Wine, oil, and wheat flour were cheap. The mild climate made heavy clothing unnecessary and permitted an outdoor life. The public baths — great clubhouses — stood open to every one who could pay a trifling fee. Numerous holidays, celebrated with games and shows, brightened existence. It is perhaps significant that Roman annals contain no record of a single labor strike.

Industry

We have already seen that the class of peasant proprietors disappeared from Italy during republican times.[1] It did not revive subsequently. Land was owned by the emperor and few other rich persons and was cultivated by free tenants or by slaves. The person who tilled the soil usually depended upon his landlord for tools, domestic animals, and other farm equipment. Such great domains had long prevailed in the East under the Persians and in North Africa under the Carthaginians. The Romans extended this system of land holding to Spain, Gaul, Britain, and other provinces, and it afterward became general throughout western Europe during the Middle Ages.

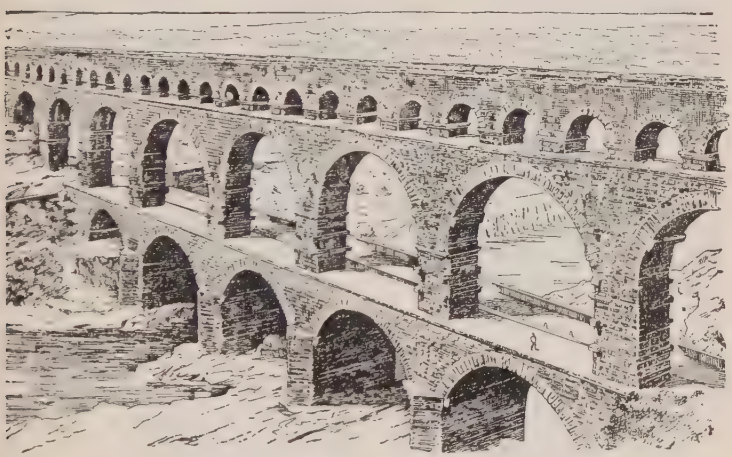
Agriculture

39. The World under Roman Rule

The Roman Empire consisted of three sections, differing widely in their previous history.[2] There was an Oriental section, which included such parts of the Near East as had come

[1] See page 131. [2] See the map between pages 138–139.

Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and Rumanian — which arose in the Middle Ages. Even our English language, which comes to us from the speech of the Teutonic invaders of Britain, contains so many words of Latin origin that we can scarcely utter a sentence without using some of them. The language of Rome, as well as the law of Rome, still remains to enrich the intellectual life of mankind.



A Roman Aqueduct

The Pont du Gard near Nimes (ancient Nemausus) in southern France. Built by the emperor Antoninus Pius. The bridge spans two hilltops nearly a thousand feet apart. It carries an aqueduct with three tiers of massive stone arches at a height of 160 feet above the stream. This is the finest and best-preserved aqueduct in existence.

Roman society: the dark side

It is easy, after centuries of Christian progress, to criticize numerous features of Roman society during the imperial age. The institution of slavery, an inheritance from prehistoric times, condemned multitudes to bare, hard, hopeless lives. Infanticide, especially of female children, was frequent enough among the lower classes, as was suicide among the upper classes. The brutal gladiatorial games were a passion with every one, from the emperor to his humblest subject. Common as divorce has now become, the married state was more and more regarded as undesirable. Augustus vainly made laws to encourage matrimony and to dis-

courage celibacy. Both educated and uneducated people believed firmly in magic, witchcraft, and the existence of demons. The decline of the earlier paganism left many men and women without a deep religious faith to offset the doubt and worldliness of the age.

Yet this picture needs correction. It may be questioned whether the luxury and vice of ancient Rome, Antioch, or Alexandria much exceeded what our great modern capitals can show. During the imperial age, moreover, remarkable improvements took place in social life. There was an increasing kindliness and charity. The weak and the infirm were better treated. The education of the poor was encouraged by the founding of free schools. Wealthy citizens lavished their fortunes on such public works as baths, aqueducts, and theaters, for the benefit of all classes. Even the slaves received better treatment. Imperial laws aimed to correct the abuses of neglect, overwork, and cruelty, and philosophers recommended to masters the exercise of gentleness and mercy toward their bondmen. In fact, a great growth of the humanitarian spirit marked the first and second centuries of our era.

Brighter aspects of Roman society

Just as Alexander's conquests, by uniting the Near East and Greece, produced a Hellenistic civilization, so now the expansion of Rome throughout the Mediterranean basin and beyond the Alps gave rise to a still wider civilization, which embraced much of Europe, with the adjacent parts of Asia and Africa. The Roman Empire contained perhaps seventy-five million people, at peace with one another, possessing the same rights of citizenship, obeying one law, speaking Latin in the West and Greek in the East, and bound together by trade, travel, and a common loyalty to the imperial government. Unconsciously, but none the less surely, local habits and manners, national religions and tongues, provincial institutions and customs, disappeared from the ancient world. Rome thus made a tremendous advance toward *internationalization*, toward the formation of a society embracing civilized mankind.

Internationalization

ORIENTAL, GREEK, AND ROMAN COINS

1. Lydian coin of about 700 B.C.; the material is electrum, a compound of gold and silver. 2. Gold *daric*, a Persian coin worth about $5. 3. Hebrew silver *shekel*. 4. Athenian silver *tetradrachm*, showing Athena, her olive branch, and sacred owl. 5. Roman bronze *as* (2 cents) of about 217 B.C.; the symbols are the head of Janus and the prow of a ship. 6. Bronze *sestertius* (5 cents), struck in Nero's reign; the emperor, who carries a spear, is followed by a second horseman bearing a banner. 7. Silver *denarius* (20 cents), of about 99 B.C.; it shows a bust of Roma and three citizens voting. 8. Gold *solidus* ($5) of Honorius, about 400 A.D.; the emperor wears a diadem and carries a scepter.

ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL GEMS

1. Steatite, from Crete; two lions with forefeet on a pedestal; above a sun. 2. Sardonyx from Elis; a goddess holding up a goat by the horns. 3. Rock crystal; a bearded Triton. 4. Carnelian; a youth playing a trigonon. 5. Chalcedony from Athens; a Bacchante. 6. Sard; a woman reading a manuscript roll; before her a lyre. 7. Carnelian; Theseus. 8. Chalcedony; portrait head; Hellenistic Age. 9. Aquamarine; portrait of Julia, daughter of the emperor Titus. 10. Chalcedony; portrait head; Hellenistic Age. 11. Carnelian; bust portrait of the Roman emperor Decius. 12. Beryl; portrait of Julia Domna, wife of the emperor Septimius Severus. 13. Sapphire; head of the Madonna. 14. Carnelian; the judgment of Paris; Renaissance work. 15. Rock crystal; Madonna with Jesus and St. Joseph; probably Norman-Sicilian work.

40. Christianity in the Roman World

Several centuries before the rise of Christianity, many Greek thinkers began to feel a growing dissatisfaction with the crude faith which had come down to them from pre- historic times. They found it difficult to accept the Olympian deities, who were fashioned like themselves and had all the faults of mortal men. For educated Romans, also, the beliefs and ceremonies of paganism came gradually to lose their meaning. Even the worship of the emperors, which helped to hold the Roman world together, failed to satisfy the spiritual needs of the age.

Decline of paganism

The uneducated shared also in the prevailing skepticism. For the satisfaction of their religious needs people began to turn to new cults which came in from the Near East, such as the worship of the Persian sun god Mithra and the Egyptian goddess Isis. These Oriental cults all appealed to the emotions as the ancient paganism had never done. They provided an inspiring ritual and they offered to their devotees the promise of a happier existence beyond the grave. It is not strange, therefore, that they penetrated every province of the empire, only disappearing with the triumph of Christianity.

New Oriental religions

Christianity rose among the Jews, for Jesus[1] was a Jew and his disciples were Jews. The first Christians did not neglect to keep up the customs of the Jewish religion. It was even doubted for a time whether any but Jews could properly be allowed within the Christian fold. A new convert, Saul of Tarsus, afterward the Apostle Paul, did most to admit the Gentiles, or pagans, to the privileges of the new religion. Though born a Jew, Paul had been trained in the schools of Tarsus, a city of Asia Minor which was a center of Greek culture. His education thus helped to make him an acceptable missionary to Greek-speaking peoples. During more than thirty years of activity Paul established churches in Asia Minor, Macedonia, Greece, and Italy. He wrote to these

Rise of Christianity

[1] Born probably in 4 B.C., during the reign of Augustus; crucified during the reign of Tiberius, when Pontius Pilate was the Roman governor of Judea.

churches the letters (epistles) which have a place in the New Testament and set forth many doctrines of the Christian faith.

Christianity spread rapidly over the Roman world. It was carried, as the other Oriental religions had been carried, by slaves, soldiers, traders, travelers, and missionaries. The use of Greek and Latin as the common languages of the Roman Empire furnished a medium in which Christian speakers and writers could be readily understood. The early missionaries, such as Paul himself, were often Roman citizens, who enjoyed the protection of Roman law and profited by the ease of travel which the imperial rule had made possible. Moreover, the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans (70 A.D.) and the subsequent exile of Jews from Palestine (135 A.D.) spread the Chosen People throughout the Roman Empire, where they familiarized the pagans with Jewish ideals of monotheism and moral purity and with Jewish hopes for a Messiah, thus preparing the way for Christianity. At no other period in ancient history were conditions so favorable for the growth of a world religion.

Spread of Christianity

INTERIOR OF THE CATACOMBS

The catacombs of Rome are underground cemeteries in which the Christians buried their dead. The bodies were laid in recesses in the walls of the galleries or underneath the pavement. Several tiers of galleries (in one instance as many as seven) lie one below the other. Their total length has been estimated at no less than six hundred miles. The illustration shows a small chamber or *cubiculum*. The graves have been opened and the bodies taken away.

The imperial government, which had treated other foreign faiths with careless indifference, or even with favor, which had tolerated the Jews and granted to them special privileges of

worship, made a deliberate effort to crush Christianity. The reason was that it seemed to threaten the existence of the state. Converts to the new religion condemned the official paganism as idolatrous; they refused to swear by pagan gods in courts of law; they would not worship the *genius* (guardian spirit) of the emperor or burn incense before his statue, which stood in every town. Naturally, the Christians were outlawed and from time to time were subjected to persecutions in various parts of the empire. The last persecution, early in the fourth century, was the most severe. It continued for eight years, but failed to shake the constancy of the Christians. They welcomed the torture and death which would gain for them a heavenly crown. Those who perished were called "martyrs," that is, "witnesses" to Christ.

The persecutions

The imperial government at length realized the uselessness of the persecutions, and in 313 A.D. Constantine and his colleague, Licinius, issued the Edict of Milan, which proclaimed for the first time in history the principle of religious toleration. This edict placed Christianity on a legal equality with the other religions of the empire. Constantine himself accepted Christianity and favored it throughout his reign. Under his direction the first general council of the Church assembled in 325 A.D. at Nicæa in Asia Minor to settle a dispute over the nature of Christ. The council framed the Nicene Creed, which is still the accepted summary of Christian doctrine. Christianity continued to progress after Constantine and became the state religion by the close of the fourth century. Sacrifices to the pagan gods were henceforth forbidden, the temples closed, the Delphic oracle and Olympian games forbidden, and even the private worship of ancestors prohibited.

Triumph of Christianity

The new religion certainly helped to soften and refine manners by the stress which it laid upon such "Christian" virtues as humility, tenderness, and mercy. By dwelling on the sanctity of human life, it did its best to repress the practice of suicide and infanticide. It set its face sternly against the obscenities of the theater and the cruelties of the gladiatorial shows. Even more original contri-

Christianity and Roman society

ST. PAUL'S TRAVELS
+++++ 1st Journey
3rd Journey
2nd Journey
4th Journey
Underlined names are the Seven Churches in Asia
Rome
Puteoli
ITALY
TYRRHENIAN SEA
SICILY
Regium
Syracuse
Malta (Melita)
ADRIATIC SEA
DALMATIA
MŒSIA SUPERIOR
THRACE
MACEDONIA
Philippi
Thessalonica
GREECE
Corinth
Athens
EGEAN SEA
Sea of Marmora
BLACK SEA
BITHYNIA & PONTUS
Tavium
Angora (Ancyra)
GALATIA
CAPPADOCIA
Adramyttium
Pergamum
Patira
ASIA
Sardis
Philadelphia
Smyrna
Ephesus
Laodicea
Miletus
Colossæ
Adalia (Attalia)
PAMPHYLIA
LYCIA
Rhodes
CRETE
KINGDOM OF ANTIOCHUS
Tarsus
Seleucia
Antioch
PROV. OF SYRIA
CYPRUS
Damascus
Sidon
Tyre
Nazareth
PROV. OF
Cæsarea
Samaria
JUDEA
Jerusalem
MEDITERRANEAN SEA

butions of Christianity to civilization lay in its *social* teachings. The belief in the fatherhood of God implied a corresponding belief in the brotherhood of man. This doctrine of human equality had been expressed before by pagan philosophers, but Christianity translated the precept into practice. Christianity also laid much emphasis on the virtue of charity and the duty of supporting all institutions which aimed to relieve the lot of the poor, the sick, and the downtrodden.

41. The Later Empire, 284–476 A.D.

The third century formed a very unsettled period in the history of the Roman Empire. There were many civil wars between rival pretenders to the throne; there were constant inroads of Teutonic peoples upon the European provinces and of Persians (successors of the Parthians) upon the Asiatic provinces. The empire, indeed, was unwieldy. One man, however able and energetic, had more than he could do to govern all of it and protect the distant frontiers on the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates. Diocletian, a common soldier who rose from the ranks and became emperor in 284 A.D., recognized this fact and appointed a second emperor to rule jointly with himself. He took the East; his colleague took the West.

The empire under Diocletian

Diocletian also remodeled the provincial system, in the interest of efficiency. The entire empire, including Italy, was divided into one hundred and twenty provinces, grouped into thirteen dioceses and four prefectures.[1] Henceforth a regular gradation of public officials reached from the lowest provincial magistrates to the governors of the provinces, the vicars of the dioceses, the prefects of the prefectures, and finally to the emperors themselves. The Roman Empire thus became a *centralized* monarchy.

A centralized monarchy

The Roman Empire likewise became an *absolute* monarchy. The old republican forms which Augustus had so carefully preserved disappeared, and the emperor stood forth frankly as the

[1] The number and arrangement of these divisions varied somewhat during the fourth century. See the map on page 155 for the system as it existed about 395 A.D.

master of the state. He assessed the taxes, framed edicts having the force of laws, and acted as the supreme judge. He took the title of "Lord and God" and required his subjects to pay him divine honors both in life and after death. He introduced all the pomp of an Oriental court.[1] His diadem of pearls, his purple robes, his throne, his scepter, all proclaimed the autocrat, and have furnished models for imitation by European sovereigns even to the present day.

An absolute monarchy

The emperor Constantine (sole ruler 324–337 A.D.) established another capital for the Roman world at the old Greek city of Byzantium,[2] on the European side of the Bosporus. It soon took his own name as Constantinople, the "City of Constantine." The new capital had a better commercial site than Rome, for it stands in Europe, looks on Asia, and commands the entrance to both the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. Far more than Rome it was now the military center of the empire, being about equidistant from the Teutonic barbarians on the lower Danube and the Persians on the Euphrates. The city was no less favorably situated for defense. It resisted siege after siege and for eleven centuries was the capital of what was left of the Roman Empire.[3]

A new capital

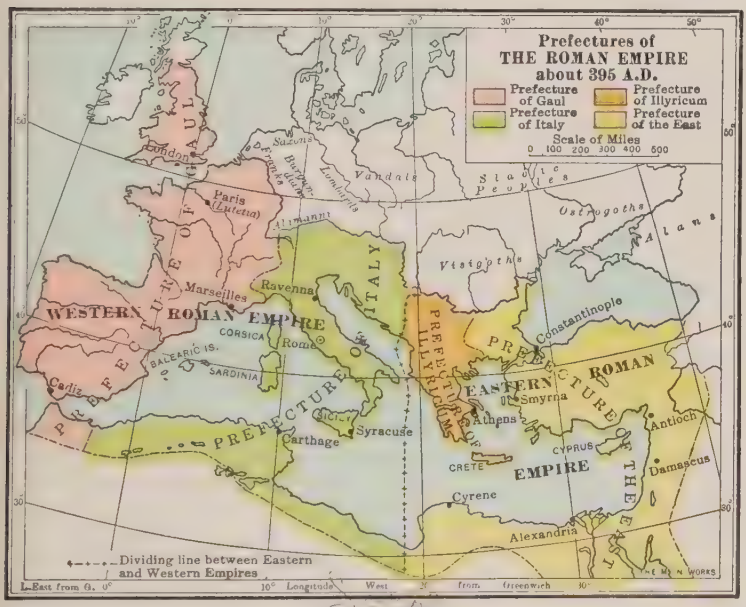
Diocletian's system of "partnership emperors" and Constantine's transfer of the capital from Italy to the Balkan Peninsula only emphasized the growing separation of East and West. The Roman Empire tended more and more to divide into two states, and after Constantine they were never more than temporarily reunited. They had very different histories. The Roman Empire in the East, though threatened by enemies from without and weakened by civil conflicts from within, managed to endure until the end of the Middle Ages. The Roman Empire in the West lasted only until the close of the fifth century. By that time Teutonic peoples had established independent kingdoms in Britain, Gaul, Spain, and North Africa. When in 476 A.D. the barbarians in Italy deposed Romulus Augustulus ("the little

Separation of East and West

[1] See page 41. [2] See page 83.

[3] Until the capture of the city by the Ottoman Turks in 1453 A.D.

Augustus"), whose name, curiously enough, recalled that of the legendary founder of Rome and that of its first emperor, there was no longer any Roman ruler in the West. The empire went on at Constantinople, or New Rome, but Old Rome itself passed into barbarian hands.



The collapse of the imperial system in the western provinces was due to many causes, but we need stress only one. The empire made no provision for *local self-government*. Not only did the numerous slaves and serfs lack political rights, but Roman citizens, as well, took no part in managing the affairs of state. They had simply to pay taxes and take orders from the officials whom the emperor placed over them. Even the imperial armies came to be made up predominantly of barbarians instead of native-born Romans. It is easy to see that under such circumstances a genuine patriotism was non-existent. The people looked to their all-powerful government to protect them; when it failed to do so they could

The "fall" of Rome

not, or would not, protect themselves. The "fall" of Rome then followed, inevitably.

Transition to the Middle Ages

We are not to suppose that the settlement of the barbarians within the Roman Empire ended with the deposition of Romulus Augustulus, near the close of the fifth century. The following centuries witnessed fresh invasions and the establishment of new Teutonic states. The study of these troubled times leads us from the classical to the medieval world, from the history of antiquity to the history of the Middle Ages.

Studies

1. Identify the following dates: 264 B.C.; 133 B.C.; 44 B.C.; 31 B.C.; 212 A.D.; 284 A.D.; and 476 A.D. 2. Why have Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica been called the "suburbs of Italy"? Which island does not belong to the present Italian Kingdom? 3. Give the meaning of our English words "patrician," "plebeian," "dictator," "tribune," and "veto." 4. Compare the Roman Senate and the Senate of the United States as to size, term of office of members, conditions of membership, functions, and importance. 5. Compare the nature of Roman rule in Italy with that of Athens over the Delian League. 6. Trace on the map facing page 122 the principal Roman roads in Italy, with their terminal points. 7. Comment on this statement: "As the rise of Rome was central in history, the Second Punic War was central in the rise of Rome." 8. Might Rome have extended her federal policy to her territories outside of Italy? Was a provincial system really necessary? 9. What contrasts can you draw between Cæsar and Alexander the Great? 10. How do you account for the failure of the republican institutions of Rome? 11. What modern countries are included within the limits of the Roman Empire at its greatest extent? 12. Compare the extent of the Roman Empire under Trajan with (*a*) the empire of Alexander and (*b*) the empire of Darius. 13. What was the *Pax Romana?* What is the *Pax Britannica?* 14. Give the Roman names of Italy, Spain, Gaul, Germany, Britain, Scotland, and Ireland. 15. On an outline map indicate the location of all the Roman cities mentioned in this chapter. 16. Trace on the map between pages 138–139 the principal Roman roads in the provinces. 17. Compare the Romanization of the ancient world with the process of Americanization now going on in the United States. 18. Trace on the map, page 152, the journeys of the Apostle Paul. 19. To what cities of the Roman Empire did Paul write his *Epistles?* 20. "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church." Explain this statement. 21. What reasons may be given for the conversion of the Roman world to Christianity? 22. "The emperor of the first century was a *prince*, that is, 'first citizen'; the emperor of the fourth century was a *sultan*." Comment on this statement. 23. Define the terms *absolutism* and *centralization* as applied to a government. 24. What arguments might have been made for and against the removal of the capital to Constantinople? 25. What is meant by the "fall" of the Roman Empire? 26. "The Roman Empire is the lake into which all the streams of ancient history lose themselves and which all the streams of modern history flow out of." Comment on this statement. 27. Enumerate some of the principal contributions of the Romans to civilization.

EUROPE
at the Deposition of
Romulus Augustulus 476 A. D.
Scale of Miles
0 50 100 200 300 400
NORTH SEA
Baltic Sea
ATLANTIC OCEAN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Black Sea
Aegean Sea
Tyrrhenian Sea
Adriatic Sea
Ionian Sea
HIBERNIA
Scots
Britons
Picts
Angles
Saxons
Jutes
Frisians
Franks
Lombards
Burgundians
Alamanni
Suevi
Vandals
Huns
Ostrogoths
Visigoths
Gepidæ
Bulgarians
Avars
Slavonians
Saracens
Normans
Russii
Petchenegs
Turcomans
Khozars
Magyars
Wallachians
Servians
Croatians
Bohemians
Moravians
Poles
Prussians
Lithuanians
Esthonians
Finns
Livonians
Courlanders
Samogitians
Russians
Tartars
Circassians
Georgians
Armenians
Kurds
Persians
Arabs
Turks
Egyptians
Abyssinians
Nubians
Berbers
Moors
Negroes
Tuaregs
Kabyles
Numidians
Mauritanians
Gætulians
Garamantes
Libyans
Nasamones
Ethiopians
Troglodytes
Blemmyes
Nubians
Egyptians
Arabs
Saracens
Turks
Persians
Kurds
Armenians
Georgians
Circassians
Tartars
Russians
Finns
Livonians
Courlanders
Samogitians
Esthonians
Lithuanians
Prussians
Poles
Moravians
Bohemians
Croatians
Servians
Wallachians
Magyars
Khozars
Petchenegs
Russii
Turcomans
Normans
Saracens
Slavonians
Avars
Bulgarians
Gepidæ
Huns
Ostrogoths
Visigoths
Vandals
Alamanni
Burgundians
Suevi
Franks
Lombards
Saxons
Frisians
Angles
Jutes
Britons
Scots
Picts
London
York
Paris
Reims
Metz
Cologne
Toulouse
Bordeaux
Poitiers
Tours
Orleans
Nantes
Geneva
Lyons
Milan
Verona
Turin
Genoa
Ravenna
Pisa
Rome
Naples
Narbonne
Arles
Nimes
Barcelona
Saragossa
Salamanca
Toledo
Merida
Cordova
Seville
Cadiz
Malaga
Valencia
Carthagena
Tangier
Carthage
Palermo
Messina
Syracuse
Tarentum
Dyrrachium
Thessalonica
Larissa
Corinth
Athens
Nicopolis
Philippopolis
Adrianople
Constantinople
Thrace
Illyria
Dalmatia
Pannonia
Noricum
Rætia
Vindelicia
Belgica
Gaul
Britain
Ireland
Sardinia
Corsica
Sicily
Crete
Cyprus
Rhodes
Lesbos
Chios
Samos
Ephesus
Smyrna
Pergamus
Troy
Sardis
Antioch
Damascus
Jerusalem
Alexandria
Memphis
Thebes
Carthage
Cæsarea
Tingis
Lisbon
Braga
Galicia
Asturias
Cantabrians
Vascones
Aquitania
Provincia
Italia
Dacia
Mœsia
Thrace
Macedonia
Epirus
Achaia
Thessaly
Crete
Cyprus
Rhodes
Lesbos
Chios
Samos
Ephesus
Smyrna
Pergamus
Troy
Sardis
Antioch
Damascus
Jerusalem
Alexandria
Memphis
Thebes
Carthage
Cæsarea
Tingis
Lisbon
Braga
Galicia
Asturias
Cantabrians
Vascones
Aquitania
Provincia
Italia
Dacia
Mœsia
Thrace
Macedonia
Epirus
Achaia
Thessaly
KINGDOM OF THE FRANKS
KINGDOM OF SYAGRIUS
KINGDOM OF THE VISIGOTHS
K. OF THE BURGUNDIANS
K. OF THE HERULI
K. OF THE OSTROGOTHS
K. OF THE VANDALS
K. OF ODOACER
ROMAN EMPIRE
ARMORICA
BALEARIC IS.
Longitude West 0° East from Greenwich
THE M.-N. WORKS

CHAPTER V

THE MIDDLE AGES[1]

42. The Germans

Limits of the Middle Ages

The period called the Middle Ages is not well defined either as to its beginning or its close. For an initial date we have selected the year 476, when the imperial provinces in the West were almost wholly occupied by Teutonic peoples. The Roman Empire had now been dismembered, and barbarian kingdoms, destined to become in later centuries the national states of western Europe, had been formed in Italy, Spain, Gaul, and Britain. For concluding dates we may take those of the invention of printing (about 1450), the capture of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks (1453), the discovery of America (1492), and the opening of a new sea-route to the East Indies (1498). Such significant events, all falling within the second half of the fifteenth century, seem to mark the end of medieval and the beginning of modern times. The student will understand, however, that it is really impossible to separate by precise dates one historic period from another. The change from antiquity to the Middle Ages and, again, from the medieval to the modern world was in each case a gradual process extending over several centuries. The truth is that the social life of man forms a continuous growth, and man's history, an uninterrupted stream.

[1] Webster, *Readings in Medieval and Modern History*, chapter i, "Stories of the Lombard Kings"; chapter ii, "Charlemagne"; chapter iv, "The Reëstablishment of Christianity in Britain"; chapter v, "St. Boniface, the Apostle to the Germans"; chapter vi, "The Teachings of Mohammed"; chapter vii, "The Saga of a Viking"; chapter viii, "Alfred the Great"; chapter ix, "William the Conqueror and the Normans in England"; chapter xii, "Richard the Lion-hearted and the Capture of Constantinople"; chapter xiv, "St. Louis"; chapter xv, "Episodes of the Hundred Years' War"; chapter xvi, "Memoirs of a French Courtier."

Divisions of the Middle Ages

The medieval period falls into two divisions of about equal length. The first, or early Middle Ages, formed in western Europe an era of turmoil, ignorance, and decline, consequent upon the barbarian invasions. It required a long time for the Teutonic peoples to settle in their new homes and to become thoroughly fused with the Romanized provincials. The process of absorption was practically completed by the end of the tenth century. Western Europe then entered upon the later Middle Ages, an era of more settled government, increasing knowledge, and steady progress in almost every field of human activity. The medieval period thus presents to the historical eye not a level stretch of a thousand years, with mankind stationary, but rather first a downward and then an upward slope.

Germany

The region called Germany (*Germania*) in antiquity reached from the Rhine eastward as far as the Vistula and from the Danube northward to the Baltic Sea. Germany consisted of dense forests, extensive marshes, and sandy plains, incapable of supporting a large population. Clouds and mists enveloped the country in summer, and in winter it lay buried under snow and ice. Such unfavorable conditions retarded the development of Germany, which was also shut out from the Mediterranean basin by mountain barriers. Hence the inhabitants had not advanced in civilization as far as the Greeks and Romans.

Inhabitants of Germany

The Germans belonged principally to the Baltic (Nordic) racial type.[1] Their tall stature, blue eyes, and blonde or ruddy hair marked them off from the shorter and darker Mediterranean peoples. They spoke a Teutonic language, related, on the one hand, to Greek and Latin and, on the other hand, to the Celtic, Lettic, and Slavic tongues.[2] In culture they were barbarians, who had passed from the use of stone and bronze to that of iron; who hunted, fished, kept cattle, and tilled the soil; who formed tribes and tribal confederations; and who lived in villages or small towns. Some

[1] See page 66.

[2] See the chart on page 18.

of the Germans nearest the Rŏmans learned from the latter to read and write, to make better weapons and clothes, to use money, to enjoy foreign luxuries, and, what was most important, to accept Christianity. The common religion of Germans and Romans paved the way for friendly intercourse between them.

The Roman Empire had long been full of Germans. Many were mercenaries in the imperial army. Augustus began the practice of hiring them as soldiers, and by the time of Constantine they formed the majority of the troops. The emperors also admitted friendly tribes of Germans within the frontiers to fill up the gaps in population and to farm the waste lands. Still other Germans entered the empire as slaves. The result was a very considerable "barbarization" of the Roman world *before* the period of invasions.

The Germans and the Romans

The love of fighting for its own sake, the desire for adventure, and the lust for booty explain, in part, the Germanic invasions. But only in part. They were principally due to land hunger. When the soil of Germany, as people then understood how to use it, could no longer sustain increasing numbers, the inhabitants had the alternative of migration or starvation. It was the same grim alternative that has confronted man at every stage of savagery, barbarism, and civilization. The Germans chose to migrate, even though that meant war, and so from the time of Marius and Julius Cæsar not a century passed without witnessing some dangerous movement by them against the frontiers of the Roman Empire.

The invasions: their causes

The invasions were of two types. Sometimes entire peoples migrated, as was the case with the Visigoths (West Goths), Ostrogoths (East Goths), Vandals, Burgundians, and Lombards. They all settled among a much more numerous subject population, which in time absorbed them. None of their kingdoms proved to be enduring. Sometimes, again, bands of warriors, led by military chiefs, set out from their home land and conquered possessions at the

The invasions: their character

expense of the provincials. Such was especially the case with the Franks in the northern part of Gaul and the Anglo-Saxons in Britain. The Frankish and Anglo-Saxon kingdoms were the only ones which developed into lasting states during the Middle Ages.

Ancient civilization suffered a great shock when the Germans descended on the Roman Empire. They were unlike the provincials in dress and habits of life. They lived under different laws, spoke different languages, and obeyed different rulers. Even when they settled peaceably within the empire, they allowed aqueducts, bridges, and roads to go without repairs, and theaters, baths, and public buildings to sink into ruins. As they were without appreciation of education, they failed to keep up schools, universities, and libraries. Being devoted chiefly to agriculture, they permitted both industry and commerce to languish. Ancient civilization had been declining before the Germans came. The invasions accelerated the decline, with the result that large parts of western Europe relapsed for several centuries into semi-barbarism.

German influence on society

Nevertheless, the Germans had the capacity to learn, and the willingness to learn, from those whom they had conquered. Their fusion with the Romans was helped by the previous settlement within the empire of so many German soldiers, colonists, and slaves. It was very greatly helped by the fact that some of the principal peoples, including the Visigoths, Ostrogoths, Vandals, Burgundians, and Lombards, were already Christians at the time of their invasions, while other peoples, including the Franks and Anglo-Saxons, afterward adopted Christianity. Finally, as observed above, the Germans invaded the empire to seek homes for themselves, rather than simply to pillage and destroy. They accepted what they understood of Græco-Roman culture and then imparted to the enfeebled provincials their fresh blood, youthful minds, and vigorous, progressive life. The fusion of Germans and Romans formed the great work of the early Middle Ages in western Europe.

Fusion of Germans and Romans

TEUTONIC MIGRATIONS and CONQUESTS
Visigoths
Ostrogoths
Lombards
Northmen
Normans
Vandals
Burgundians
Franks
Angles
Saxons
Jutes
Route of Attila
Route of Visigoths
Route of Vandals
Trade route between Constantinople and Scandinavia
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
BLACK SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Longitude 5° West
0° Longitude 5° East from Greenwich
THE M.-N. WORKS

43. The Holy Roman Empire

During the fifth century, while the Visigoths were finding a home in southern Gaul and Spain, the Ostrogoths in Italy, the Burgundians in the Rhône Valley, and the Vandals in North Africa, still another German people began to spread over northern Gaul. They were the Franks, who had long held lands on both sides of the lower Rhine. Their leader, Clovis, conquered the kingdom of Syagrius,[1] the only fragment of the Roman Empire remaining in Gaul, and then proceeded to annex the territories of his German neighbors. He built up in this way a great Frankish state.

The Franks under Clovis

The Franks were still heathen when they entered upon their career of conquest. Clovis, however, had married a Burgundian princess, Clotilda, who was a devout Roman Catholic and an ardent advocate of Christianity. The story is told how, when Clovis was hard pressed by the Alamanni in a battle near Strasbourg, he vowed that if Clotilda's God gave him victory he would become a Christian. The Franks won, and Clovis, faithful to his vow, had himself and three thousand warriors baptized into the Roman Catholic faith. By this act the king secured the loyalty of his Christian subjects in Gaul and won the favor of Rome. The friendship between the popes and the Frankish rulers afterward ripened into a close alliance.

Christianization of the Franks, 496

The power which Clovis founded stood the test of time. For more than two hundred and fifty years the successors of Clovis were the strongest rulers in western and central Europe. During the eighth century they helped to keep Europe Christian by beating back the Moslem Arabs, who, having seized Spain from the Visigoths, invaded Gaul and threatened to make that country also a Moslem land. At last we reach a Frankish king who created a Christian and German empire to replace the empire of Rome. This king was Charles the Great, or Charlemagne.[2]

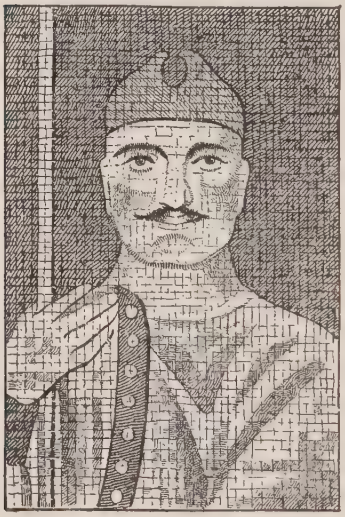
The Franks after Clovis, 511-768

[1] See the map facing page 156.

[2] The French form of his name, from the Latin *Carolus Magnus*.

Much of Charlemagne's reign (768–814) was filled with warfare. He conquered the Lombards, who had taken Italy from the Ostrogoths. He invaded Spain and wrested from the Moslems a considerable district south of the Pyrenees. His long struggle with the Saxons and various Slavic peoples farther widened the Frankish dominions. Charlemagne at the height of his power ruled over what is now France, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Austria, western Germany, northern Italy, and northern Spain, besides a part of Czecho-Slovakia and Jugoslavia. In this truly gigantic realm all the surviving Teutonic peoples, except those in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Britain, were brought under the sway of one man.

Charlemagne's conquests



CHARLEMAGNE

Lateran Museum, Rome

A mosaic picture made during the lifetime of Charlemagne, and probably a fair likeness of him.

Charlemagne was a statesman as well as a warrior. He divided his possessions into counties, each ruled by a count, who was expected to keep order and administer justice. The border districts, which lay exposed to invasion, were organized into "marks," or "marches," under the military supervision of margraves (marquises). These officials had so much power and lived so far from the royal court that Charlemagne appointed special agents, called the "lord's messengers," to travel from county to county and make sure that his orders were everywhere obeyed. It is interesting to compare this system of government with that which prevailed in the Persian Empire under Darius the Great.[1]

Charlemagne's government

[1] See page 39.

EUROPE
in the Age of Charlemagne, 800 A.D.
Roman Empire in the East
The Caliphate
Ommiad Emirate of Cordova
Original Possessions of Charlemagne
Conquests of Charlemagne
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Scots
English
Britons
London
Danes
Frisians
Saxons
Elbe R.
Paderborn
Rhine R.
Aix-la-Chapelle
AUSTRASIA
Frankfort
BOHEMIA
NEUSTRIA
BRITTANY
Paris
Chalons
Verdun
FRANCIA
Tours
St. Gall
BAVARIA
CARINTHIA
Geneva
Lyons
AQUITANIA
BURGUNDY
Milan
Venice
Arars
Danube R.
BULGARIA
Cherson
BLACK SEA
Constantinople
Trapezus (Trebizond)
Nicomedia
Angora
Nicaea
Philippopolis
Sophia
Adrianople
Thessalonica
Otranto
Spalato
Ravenna
ITALY
Arles
GASCONY
KINGDOM OF ASTURIAS
SPANISH MARCH
Saragossa
OMMIAD EMIRATE OF CORDOVA
Lisbon
Tagus R.
Toledo
Guadiana R.
Seville
Cordova
Guadalquivir R.
Cadiz
Granada
Strait of Gibraltar
Tangier
MOROCCO
CORSICA
Rome
Mt. Cassino
DUCHY OF BENEVENTUM
Naples
Amalfi
Salerno
SARDINIA
BALEARIC IS.
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Carthage
Palermo
SICILY
Syracuse
MALTA
Kairwan
Tripoli
THE CALIPHATE
ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE EAST
PHRYGIA
Philadelphia
Iconium
Edessa
Athens
RHODES
CRETE
CYPRUS
Antioch
Aleppo
Sidon
Damascus
Tyre
Nazareth
Jaffa
Jerusalem
Gaza
Pelusium
Alexandria
Scale of Miles
0 50 100 200 300 400 500
THE M.-N. WORKS, BUFFALO, N.Y.
Longitude West 0° East from Greenwich

Charlemagne did something for the promotion of education and art among the Franks. He encouraged the establishment of schools in the monasteries and cathedrals, where the sons of both freemen and serfs might be trained for the Christian ministry. He formed his court into a "school of the palace," in which learned men from Italy, Spain, and England gave instruction to his own children and to those of his nobles. He also erected churches and palaces in various parts of the Frankish realm. All this civilizing work formed only a hopeful beginning. Centuries were to pass before education and art in western Europe fully recovered from the low state to which they had fallen during the Germanic invasions.

Charlemagne's civilizing work

Charlemagne, the champion of western Christendom and the foremost ruler in Europe, seemed to the men of his time the rightful successor of the Roman emperors. He had their power, and now he was to have their name. On Christmas Day, 800, the pope, in old St. Peter's Church at Rome, placed on his head a golden crown, while all the people cried out with one voice, "Long life and victory to Charles Augustus, the great and pacific emperor of the Romans, crowned by God!"

The emperor Charlemagne, 800

The coronation of Charlemagne was regarded by his contemporaries as the restoration or renewal of the Roman Empire, more than three hundred years after the deposition of Romulus Augustulus.[1] But Charlemagne's empire did not include North Africa, Britain, or much of Spain, or the Roman dominions in the East, over which the emperors at Constantinople had ruled, and were still to rule, for centuries. It did include, on the other hand, extensive territories east of the Rhine and north of the Danube, which the Romans had never been able to conquer. Moreover, the German Charlemagne and his German successors on the imperial throne had little in common with the old Roman emperors, who spoke Latin, administered Roman law, and regarded the Germans as their most dangerous foes. Charlemagne's empire was,

The empire of Charlemagne

[1] See page 155.

indeed, largely a new creation, the result of an alliance between the Frankish Kingdom and the Roman Church.

The empire of Charlemagne passed to his only legitimate son, a weak ruler, who had difficulty enough in keeping it intact.

Division of Charlemagne's empire

After the latter's death the empire was divided among Charlemagne's three grandsons, though only one could hold the imperial title. Disputes which soon arose about the inheritance found a temporary settlement in a treaty concluded at Verdun (843). Lothair, the oldest brother, received North Italy and a narrow strip of land along the valleys of the Rhine and the Rhône, between the North Sea and the Mediterranean. Louis and Charles, the other brothers, received kingdoms lying to the east and west, respectively, of Lothair's territory. These arrangements have historical importance, because they foreshadowed the future map of western Europe. The East Frankish kingdom of Louis, inhabited almost entirely by Germans, was to develop into modern Germany. The West Frankish kingdom of Charles, inhabited mainly by descendants of Romanized Gauls, was to become modern France. Lothair's kingdom, however, never became one national state. A part of it now belongs to the kingdom of Italy, and another part survives as Belgium, Holland, Luxemburg, and Switzerland.

RING SEAL OF OTTO THE GREAT

The inscription reads *Odlo Rex.*

The imperial idea was revived, about one hundred and fifty years after Charlemagne's death, by an able German ruler,

The emperor Otto the Great, 962

Otto I, often called Otto the Great. Otto led his armies across the Alps, went to Rome, and had the pope crown him as Roman emperor (962). Otto's dominions were considerably smaller than Charlemagne's, since they included only Germany and North Italy. Nevertheless, Otto and the emperors who followed him asserted vast claims to sovereignty in Europe, as the heirs of Charlemagne and, through him, of Constantine and Augustus. The new

empire came subsequently to be styled the Holy Roman Empire, the word *Holy* in its title expressing its intimate connection with the Papacy. It lived on in some measure for more than eight hundred years and did not quite disappear from European politics until the opening of the nineteenth century.

EUROPE IN THE AGE OF OTTO THE GREAT, 962 A.D.

Germany and Italy in the Middle Ages

The successors of Otto the Great constantly interfered in the affairs of Italy, in order to secure the Italian crown and the imperial title. They treated that country as a conquered province which had no right to a national life and an independent government under its own rulers. At the same time, they neglected their German possessions and failed to keep their powerful territorial lords in subjection. Neither Italy nor Germany, in

consequence, became a united state, such as was formed in England, France, Spain, and other countries during the later Middle Ages.

44. The Northmen and the Normans

Our study of central and western Europe during the early Middle Ages has so far been confined to the Germans. We have left out of sight another group of Teutonic peoples, who lived, as their descendants still live, in Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. They were the Northmen.[1] Their settlement of the Scandinavian countries probably began long before the Christian era, but they do not appear in history until about the time of Charlemagne. The Northmen had taken no part in the earlier invasions. During the ninth century, however, the same land hunger which drove the German tribes southward made them quit their bleak, sterile country and seek new homes across the water. The invasions of the Northmen may be regarded, therefore, as the last wave of that great Teutonic movement which had previously inundated western Europe and overwhelmed the Roman Empire.[2]

Renewed Teutonic invasions

The Northmen were barbarous and heathen, untouched either by Græco-Roman culture or by the Christian religion. They started out as raiders and fell on the coasts of western Europe. In their shallow boats they also found it easy to ascend the rivers and reach places far inland. Their attacks did so much damage and inspired such great terror that a special prayer was inserted in the church services: "From the fury of the Northmen, good Lord, deliver us." The Northmen eventually planted settlements in some of the lands which they visited, including a considerable part of Ireland and Scotland.

Raids and settlements of the Northmen

The Northmen soon discovered Iceland. Colonization began in 874. The first settlement of Greenland was the work of an Icelander, Eric the Red, who reached the island toward the

[1] Also called Vikings, or "inlet men," from the Norse *vik*, a bay or fiord.

[2] See the map facing page 160.

end of the tenth century. He called the country Greenland, not because it was green, but because, as he said, "there is nothing like a good name to attract settlers." Leif Ericsson, his son, voyaged still farther westward, and about the year 1000 he seems to have visited the coast of North America. The Northmen, however, did not settle permanently in the New World.

The Northmen in the West

A Viking Ship

A Viking chieftain, after his days of sea-roving had ended, was sometimes buried in his ship, over which a grave chamber, covered with earth, would be erected. Several such burial ships have been discovered. The Gokstad vessel, shown in the illustration, is of oak, twenty-eight feet long and sixteen feet broad in the center. It has seats for sixteen pairs of rowers, a mast for a single sail, and a rudder on the right or starboard side. The gunwale was decorated with a series of shields, painted alternately black and gold.

The Norwegians had taken the leading part in the exploration of the West. The Swedes, on account of their geographical situation, were naturally the most active in expeditions to the East. They overran Finland, whose rude inhabitants, the Finns, were of Asiatic origin. Sweden ruled Finland throughout the Middle Ages. The Swedes also entered Russia as early as 862, and their leader, Ruric, established a dynasty which reigned over Slavic peoples for more than seven hundred years.

The Northmen in the East

The history of the Northmen in France began in 911, when a French king granted to a Viking chieftain, Rollo, dominion

over the region about the lower Seine. Rollo agreed to accept Christianity and to acknowledge the French ruler. The district ceded to Rollo was later called the duchy of Normandy. Its Scandinavian settlers, henceforth known as Normans,[1] soon became thoroughly French in language and culture.

Normandy and the Normans

A Scene from the Bayeux Tapestry

Museum of Bayeux, Normandy

The Bayeux Tapestry, which almost certainly belongs to the time of the Norman Conquest, is a strip of coarse linen cloth, about 230 feet long by 20 inches wide, embroidered in worsted thread of eight different colors. There are seventy-two scenes picturing various events in the history of the Norman Conquest. The illustration given above represents an attack of Norman cavalry on the English shield wall at the battle of Hastings.

One of the dukes of Normany, the famous William the Conqueror, added England to the Norman dominions, as the result of his victory in the battle of Hastings (1066). The island had previously been overrun by Jutes, Angles, and Saxons after the middle of the fifth century, and by the Danes during the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries. The Normans thus contributed a third Teutonic element to the English population.

Norman conquest of England

During the eleventh century the Normans found still another field in which to display their energy and daring. They turned southward to the Mediterranean and created in southern Italy and Sicily a Norman state known as the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. The Normans governed it for only about one hundred and fifty

Norman conquest of southern Italy and Sicily

[1] "Norman" is a softened form of "Northman."

years, but under other rulers it lasted until the middle of the nineteenth century, when the present kingdom of Italy came into existence.

45. Feudalism

The ninth century in western Europe was a period of disorder. Charlemagne for a time had arrested the disintegration of society which resulted from the invasions of the Germans, and had united their warring tribes under something like a centralized government. But Charlemagne's empire, as we have learned, did not long survive its founder. It soon broke up into separate kingdoms. The successors of Charlemagne in France, Germany, and Italy enjoyed little real authority. They reigned, but did not rule. During this dark age it was really impossible for a king to govern with a strong hand. The absence of good roads or of other easy means of communication made it difficult for him to move troops quickly from one district to another, in order to quell revolts. Even had good roads existed, the lack of ready money would have prevented him from maintaining a strong army devoted to his interests. Moreover, the king's subjects, as yet not welded into a nation, felt toward him no sentiments of loyalty and affection. They cared far less for their king, of whom they knew little, than for their own local lords who dwelt near them.

Decline of the royal authority

The decline of the royal authority, from the ninth century onward, meant that the chief functions of government came to be more and more performed by the nobles, who were the great landowners of the kingdom. Under Charlemagne these men had been the king's officials, appointed by him and holding office at his pleasure. Under his successors they tended to become almost independent princes. In proportion as this change was accomplished during the Middle Ages, European society entered upon the stage of feudalism.[1]

Increased power of the nobles

[1] The word comes from the medieval Latin *feudum*, from which are derived the French *fief* and the English *fee*.

Feudalism in medieval Europe was not a unique development. Parallels to it may be found in other parts of the world. Whenever the state becomes incapable of protecting life and property, powerful men in each locality will themselves undertake this duty; they will assume the burden of their own defense and of those weaker men who seek their aid. Such was the situation in ancient Egypt for several hundred years, in medieval Persia, and in modern Japan until about two generations ago.

Parallels to European feudalism

European feudalism arose and flourished in the countries which had formed Charlemagne's empire, that is, in France, Germany, and northern Italy. It also spread to Bohemia, Hungary, Poland, and the Christian states of Spain. Toward the close of the eleventh century the Normans transplanted it into England, southern Italy, and Sicily. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the crusaders introduced it into the kingdoms which they founded in the East. Still later, in the fourteenth century, the Scandinavian countries became acquainted with feudalism.

Extent of European feudalism

The basis of feudal society was usually the landed estate. Here lived the feudal noble, surrounded by dependents over which he exercised the rights of a petty sovereign. He could tax them; he could require them to give him military assistance; he could try them in his courts. A great noble even enjoyed the privilege of declaring war, making treaties, and coining money. How, it will be asked, did these rights and privileges arise?

Feudal sovereignty

Owing to the decay of commerce and industry, land had become practically the only form of wealth in the early Middle Ages. The king, who was regarded as the absolute owner of the soil, would pay his officials for their services by giving them the use of a certain amount of land. In the same way, one who had received large estates would parcel them out among his followers, as a reward for their support. Sometimes an unscrupulous noble might seize the lands of his neighbors and compel them to become his tenants. Sometimes, too, those who owned land in their own right might

Feudal tenure of land

surrender the title to it in favor of a noble, who then became their protector. An estate in land which a person held of a superior lord, on condition of performing some "honorable" service, was called a fief. A fief was inheritable, going at the holder's death to his oldest son. If a man had no legal heir, the fief went back to the lord.

The tie which bound the tenant who accepted a fief to the lord who granted it was called vassalage. Every holder of land was in theory, though not always in fact, the vassal of some lord. At the apex of the feudal pyramid stood the king, the supreme landlord, who was supposed to hold his land from God; below the king stood the greater lords (dukes, marquises, counts, barons), with large estates; and below them came the lesser lords, or knights, whose possessions were considered to be too small for further subdivision.

Vassalage

The vassal owed various services to the lord. In time of war he did garrison duty at the lord's castle and joined him in military expeditions. In time of peace the vassal attended the lord on ceremonial occasions, gave him the benefit of his advice, when necessary, and helped him as a judge in trying cases. The vassal, under certain circumstances, was also required to make money payments. When a new heir succeeded to the fief, the lord received from him a sum usually equivalent to one year's revenue of the estate. This payment was called a "relief." Again, if a man sold his fief, the lord demanded another large sum from the purchaser, before giving his consent to the transaction. Vassals were also expected to raise money for the lord's ransom, in case he was made prisoner of war, to meet the expenses connected with the knighting of his eldest son, and to provide a dowry for his eldest daughter. Such exceptional payments went by the name of "aids."

Personal services and money payments of the vassal

The vassal, in return for his services and payments, looked to the lord for the protection of life and property. The lord agreed to secure him the enjoyment of his fief, to guard him against his enemies, and to see that in all matters he received just treatment.

The lord's duty to the vassal

The ceremony of homage symbolized the whole feudal relationship. One who proposed to become a vassal and hold a fief came into the lord's presence, bareheaded and unarmed, knelt down, placed his hands between those of the lord, and promised henceforth to become his "man" (Latin *homo*). The lord then kissed him and raised him to his feet. After the ceremony the vassal placed his hands upon the Bible, or upon sacred relics, and swore to remain faithful to his lord. This was the oath of "fealty." The lord then gave the vassal some object—a stick, a clod of earth, a lance, or a glove—in token of the fief with the possession of which he was now "invested."

Homage

It is clear that the feudal tenure of land, coupled with the custom of vassalage, made in some degree for security and order. Each noble was attached to the lord above him by the bond of personal service and the oath of fealty. To his vassals beneath him he was at once protector, benefactor, and friend. Unfortunately, feudal obligations were not always strictly observed. Both lords and vassals often broke their engagements, when it seemed profitable to do so. Hence they had many quarrels and indulged in constant warfare. But feudalism, despite its defects, was better than anarchy. The feudal nobles drove back the pirates and hanged the brigands and enforced the laws, as no feeble king could do. Feudalism provided a rude form of local government for a rude society.

Feudalism a form of local government

The outward mark of feudalism was the castle, where the lord resided and from which he ruled his fief. Defense formed the primary purpose of the castle. Until the introduction of gunpowder and cannon, the only siege weapons employed were those known in ancient times. They included machines for hurling heavy stones and iron bolts, battering rams, and movable towers, from which the besiegers crossed over to the walls. Such engines could best be used on firm, level ground. Consequently, a castle would often be erected on a high cliff or hill, or on an island, or in the center of a swamp. A castle without such natural defenses would be surrounded by

The castle as a fortress

THE TOWER OF LONDON

William the Conqueror raised the great central keep or White Tower, so called because it was once whitewashed. The inner wall, with its thirteen turrets, was added by William Rufus, the Conqueror's son; the moat by Richard I, and the outer wall by Henry III. The Tower has been a fortress, a palace, and a prison: it now serves as a government arsenal, historical museum, and repository for the Crown jewels.

a deep ditch (the "moat"), usually filled with water. If the besiegers could not batter down or undermine the massive walls, they adopted the slower method of a blockade and tried to starve the garrison into surrendering. Ordinarily, however, a well-built, well-provisioned castle was impregnable.

The castle as a home

A visitor to a castle crossed the drawbridge over the moat and approached the narrow doorway, which was protected by a tower on each side. If he was admitted, the iron grating ("portcullis") rose slowly on its creaking pulleys, the heavy, wooden doors swung open, and he found himself in the courtyard, commanded by the great central tower ("keep"), where the lord and his family lived, especially in time of war. At the summit of the keep rose a platform whence a sentinel surveyed the country far and wide; below, two stories underground, lay the prison, dark, damp, and dirty. As the visitor walked about the courtyard, he came upon the hall, used as the lord's residence in time of peace, the armory, the chapel, the kitchens, and the stables. A spacious castle might contain all the buildings necessary for the support of the lord's servants and soldiers.

Private warfare

The nobles regarded the right of waging war on one another as their most cherished privilege. A vassal might fight with each of the various lords to whom he had done homage, in order to secure independence from them, with bishops and abbots whom he disliked for any reason, with his weaker fellow vassals, and even with his own vassals. Fighting became almost a form of business enterprise, which enriched the nobles and their retainers through the sack of castles, the plunder of villages, and the ransom of prisoners. Every hill became a stronghold and every plain, a battle-field. Such private warfare, though rarely very bloody, spread havoc throughout the land. As the power of the kings increased in western Europe, they naturally sought to put an end to the constant fighting between their subjects. The Norman rulers of Normandy, England, and the Two Sicilies restrained their turbulent nobles with a strong hand. Peace came later in most parts of the Continent; in Germany, "fist right" (the rule of the strongest) pre-

vailed until the end of the fifteenth century. The abolition of private warfare was the first step in Europe toward universal peace. The second step—the abolition of public war between nations—is yet to be taken.

The prevalence of private warfare made the use of arms a profession requiring special training. A nobleman's son served for a number of years as a squire in his father's castle or in that of some other lord. When he became of age and had been drilled in warlike exercises, he might be made a knight. The ceremony of conferring knighthood was often most elaborate. If, however, a squire for valorous conduct received knighthood on the battle-field, the accolade by stroke of the sword formed the only ceremony.

Knighthood

MOUNTED KNIGHT

Seal of Robert Fitzwalter, showing a mounted knight in complete mail armor; date about 1265.

As manners softened and Christian teachings began to affect feudal society, knighthood developed into chivalry. The Church, which opposed the warlike excesses of feudalism, took the knight under her wing and bade him be always a true soldier of Christ. To the rude virtues of fidelity to one's lord and bravery in battle, the Church added others. The "good knight" was he who respected his sworn word, who never took an unfair advantage of another, who defended women, children, and orphans against their oppressors, and who sought to make justice and right prevail in the world. Needless to say, the "good knight" appears oftener in romance than in sober history. While chivalry lasted, it produced some improvement in manners, particularly by insisting on the ideal of personal honor and by fostering greater regard for women

Chivalry

(though only those of the upper class). Our modern notion of the conduct befitting a "gentleman" goes back in part to the old chivalric code. Chivalry, however, expressed simply the sentiments of the warlike nobles. It was an aristocratic institution. The knight despised and did his best to keep in subjection the toiling peasantry, upon whose backs rested the real burden of feudal society.

46. The Byzantine Empire

The Greek or Byzantine Empire

If western Europe during the early Middle Ages presented a scene of violence and confusion, while the Teutonic peoples were settling in their new homes, a different picture was presented in eastern Europe. Here the Roman Empire survived and continued to uphold, for nearly a thousand years after the deposition of Romulus Augustulus, the Roman tradition of law and order. After 476 it is often called the "Greek Empire," since it became more and more Greek in character, owing to the loss of the western provinces in the fifth century and then of Syria and Egypt in the seventh century. The name "Byzantine Empire," which is in common use, most appropriately describes the empire in still later times, when its possessions were reduced to Constantinople (ancient Byzantium) and the territory in the neighborhood of that city.

Vitality of the Byzantine Empire

The long life of the Byzantine Empire is one of the marvels of history. Its vitality appears the more remarkable, when one considers that it had no easily defensible frontiers, contained many different peoples with little in common, and on all sides faced hostile states. The empire lasted so long, because of its vast wealth and resources, its despotic, centralized government, the strength of its army, and the almost impregnable position occupied by Constantinople, the capital city.

Importance of the Byzantine Empire

The history of the Byzantine Empire shows how constantly it was engaged in contests with Oriental peoples —first the Persians, then the Arabs, and finally the Turks—who attacked its domains. By resisting the advance of the invaders, the old empire protected the

RHEINSTEIN CASTLE

Rheinstein Castle, near Bingen, is one of the oldest strongholds bordering the Rhine. After the restoration about 1825 it was used as a summer home of German royalty. The walls are hung with medieval armor, the windows are of stained glass, and the furniture is of the Middle Ages.

Exterior

Interior

SANCTA SOPHIA, CONSTANTINOPLE

Built by Justinian and dedicated on Christmas Day, 538 A.D. The main building is roofed over by a great central dome, 107 feet in diameter and 179 feet in height. After the Ottoman Turks turned the church into a mosque, a minaret was erected at each of the four exterior angles. The outside of Sancta Sophia is somewhat disappointing, but the interior, with its walls and columns of polished marble, granite, and porphyry, is magnificent. The crystal balustrades, pulpits, and large metal disks are Turkish.

young states of Europe, until they had become strong enough to meet and repulse the hordes of Asia. This service was not less important than that which had been performed by Greece and Rome in the contests with the Persians and the Carthaginians.[1]

The Byzantine Empire During the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries

The merchant ships of Constantinople carried on much of the commerce of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. The products of Byzantine industry were exchanged at that city for the spices, drugs, and precious stones of the East. Byzantine wares also found their way into Italy and France and, by way of the Russian rivers, reached the heart of eastern Europe. Russia, in turn, furnished Constantinople with honey, wax, fur, wool, grain, and slaves. A traveler of the twelfth century well described the city as a metropolis "common to all the world, without distinction of country or religion."

Byzantine commerce and industry

Many of the emperors at Constantinople were great builders. Byzantine architecture became a leading form of art. Its most

[1] See pages 89 and 127.

striking feature is the dome, which replaces the flat, wooden roof used in the churches of Italy. The exterior of a Byzantine church is plain and unimposing, but the interior is adorned on a magnificent scale. The eyes of the worshipers are dazzled by the walls faced with marble slabs of variegated colors, by the columns of polished marble, jasper, and porphyry, and by the brilliant mosaic pictures of

Byzantine art

NAVAL BATTLE SHOWING USE OF "GREEK FIRE"

From a Byzantine manuscript of the fourteenth century at Madrid. "Greek fire" in marine warfare was most commonly propelled through long tubes of copper, which were placed on the prow of a ship and managed by a gunner. Combustibles might also be kept in tubes flung by hand and exploded on board the enemy's vessel.

gilded glass. The entire impression is one of richness and splendor. Byzantine artists, though mediocre painters and sculptors, excelled in all kinds of decorative work. Their carvings in wood, ivory, and metal, together with their embroideries, enamels, miniatures and mosaics, enjoyed a high reputation in medieval Europe.

The libraries and museums of Constantinople preserved classical learning. In the flourishing schools of that city the wisest men of the day taught philosophy, law, medicine, and science to thousands of pupils. It is true that Byzantine scholars were more erudite than original. Impressed by the great treasures of knowledge about them, they found it difficult to strike out into new, unbeaten paths. Most students

Byzantine scholarship

were content to make huge collections of extracts and notes from the books which antiquity had bequeathed to them. Even this task was useful, however, for their encyclopedias contained much information which otherwise would have been lost. The East thus cherished the productions of classical learning, until the time came when the West was ready to receive them and to profit by them.

The division of the Roman Empire and the removal of the capital to Constantinople brought about the gradual separation of Eastern and Western Christianity. The Eastern or Greek Church had for its spiritual head the patriarch of Constantinople, just as the Western or Roman Church had a head in the pope or bishop of Rome. The two churches remained in formal unity until 1054, when disputes between them on points of doctrine led to their final rupture. They have never since united. The missionary zeal of the Greek Church resulted in the conversion of the barbarians who entered southeastern Europe during the early Middle Ages. At the present time, most of the Christian inhabitants of the Balkan Peninsula, including Greeks, Jugoslavs, Bulgarians, and Rumanians, belong to the Greek Church. Its greatest victory was the conversion of the Russians, toward the close of the tenth century. With Christianity all these peoples received the use of letters and some knowledge of Roman law and methods of government. Constantinople was to them, henceforth, such a center of religion and culture as Rome was to the Germans.

The Greek Church

The heart of Byzantine civilization always continued to be Constantinople. It was the largest, most populous, and most wealthy place in medieval Europe. When London, Paris, and Venice were small and mean towns, visitors to Constantinople found paved and lighted streets, parks, public baths, hospitals, theaters, schools, libraries, museums, beautiful churches, and magnificent palaces, far surpassing anything in the West. The renown of Constantinople penetrated even into barbarian lands. The Northmen called it Micklegarth, the "Great City"; the Russians knew of it as Tsarigrad, the "City of the Cæsars." Both names did not lack

Constantinople

appropriateness, but its own people best described it as the "City guarded by God."

47. The Arabs and Islam, 622-1058

Christianity was not the only great religion of the Middle Ages. Six centuries after it arose came Islam, the religion of the Arabs. Islam did for half Asia and North Africa what Christianity had begun to do for medieval Europe in the work of assimilating the peoples and binding them together in one vast community irrespective of race or language.

A new world religion

Arabia during ancient times had appeared in history mainly as a reservoir of Semitic-speaking nomads, who drifted into Egypt, along the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, and into Babylonia, yet always leaving a nucleus of tribes behind them to supply fresh invasions in the future. The interior of the peninsula, except for occasional oases, was a desert, over which Bedouin tribes wandered with their sheep, cattle, horses, and camels. Along the southern and western coasts were patches of fertile land, whose inhabitants had reached a considerable degree of civilization. They practiced agriculture, engaged in traffic upon the Red Sea and Indian Ocean, and lived in walled towns. Every year for four months the Arabs ceased fighting with one another and went on a pilgrimage to Mecca. Here stood a famous sanctuary called the Kaaba (Cube). It contained idols and a small black stone (probably a meteorite), which was regarded with particular veneration. Although most of the Arabs were idolaters, yet some of them believed in Allah, the "Unknown God" of the Semites. The many Jews and Christians in Arabia at this time also helped to spread abroad the conception of one God and thus to prepare the way for the prophet of a monotheistic religion.

The Arabs before Mohammed

The founder of Islam, Mohammed, was born at Mecca about 570. Having been left an orphan at an early age, he received no regular education and for some time earned his living as a shepherd and camel driver. His

Mohammed's early life

MECCA

The chief sanctuary of Mecca is the building called the Kaaba, which lies in the center of a large courtyard surrounded by a colonnade. The Kaaba is here seen covered with a heavy black cloth renewed each year. Pilgrims enter the courtyard, walk around the Kaaba seven times—seven is a holy number in Islam—and kiss the sacred black stone fixed in the walls of the structure. The stone is now broken into pieces, which are kept together by a silver setting. The Kaaba has been rebuilt several times since the days of Mohammed, but it still preserves the old form of a heathen temple.

marriage to a rich widow enabled him to settle down as a prosperous though still undistinguished, merchant at Mecca. Mohammed, however, seems always to have been spiritually minded. When he was forty years old the call came to him in a vision (he said) to preach a new religion to the Arabs. It was very simple, but in its simplicity lay its strength, "There is no god but God, and Mohammed is the prophet of God."

Mohammed made his first converts in his wife, his children, and the friends who knew him best. Then, becoming bolder, he began to preach publicly. In spite of his eloquence and obvious sincerity, he met a discouraging reception. A few slaves and poor freemen became his followers, but most people regarded him as a madman. Mohammed's disciples, called Moslems,[1] were bitterly persecuted by the citizens of Mecca, who resented the prophet's attacks on idolatry. Finally, Mohammed and his converts took refuge in the city of Medina, where some of the inhabitants had already accepted his teachings. This was the famous Hegira (Flight of the Prophet).[2]

The Hegira, 622

At Medina Mohammed occupied a position of high honor and influence. The people welcomed him gladly and made him their chief magistrate. As his adherents increased in number, Mohammed began to combine fighting with preaching. His military expeditions against the Arab tribes proved very successful. Many of the conquered Bedouins enlisted under his banner and at length captured Mecca for the Prophet. He treated its inhabitants leniently, but threw down the idols in the Kaaba. After the submission of Mecca the Arabs throughout the peninsula abandoned idolatry and accepted the new religion.

Later life of Mohammed

The religion which Mohammed taught is called Islam, an Arabic word meaning "surrender" or "resignation." This re-

[1] From the Arabic *muslim*, "one who surrenders himself" (to God's will) During the Middle Ages the Moslems to their Christian enemies were commonly known as Saracens, a term which is still in use.

[2] The year 622, in which the Hegira occurred, marks the beginning of the Moslem era.

ligion has a sacred book, the *Koran*. It contains the speeches, prayers, and other utterances of Mohammed, at various times during his career. The doctrines found in the Koran show many adaptations from the Jewish and Christian religions. Like them, Islam emphasizes the unity of God and the immortality of the soul. Like them, also, Islam recognizes the existence of prophets, including Abraham, Moses, and Jesus (whom it regards as a prophet), but insists that Mohammed was the last and greatest of the prophets. The account of the creation and fall of man is taken, with variations, from the Old Testament. The descriptions of the resurrection of the dead and the last judgment, and the division of the future world into paradise and hell, the former for believers in Islam, the latter for those who have refused to accept it, were also largely borrowed from other religions.

Religious teachings of the Koran

The Koran imposes on the faithful Moslem five great obligations. First, he must recite, at least once in his life, aloud, correctly, and with full understanding, the short creed: "There is no god but God, and Mohammed is the prophet of God." Second, he must pray five times a day: at dawn, just after noon, before sunset, just after sunset, and at the end of the day. Before engaging in prayer the worshiper washes face, hands, and feet; during the prayer he turns toward Mecca and bows his head to the ground. Third, he must observe a strict fast, from morning to night, during every day of *Ramadan*, the ninth month of the Mohammedan year. Fourth, he must give alms to the poor. Fifth, he must, "if he is able," undertake at least one pilgrimage to Mecca. The annual visit of tens of thousands of pilgrims to the holy city helps to preserve the feeling of brotherhood among Moslems all over the world. These five obligations are the "pillars" of Islam.

Observances of Islam

As a religious system Islam is exceedingly simple. It does not provide any elaborate ceremonies of worship and permits no altars, pictures, or images in the mosque. Islam even lacks a priesthood. Every Moslem acts as his own priest. There is, however, an official who on Friday, the

Organization of Islam

Mohammedan Sabbath, offers up public prayers in the mosque and delivers a sermon to the assembled worshipers. All work is suspended during this service, but at its close secular activities are resumed.

The Koran furnishes a moral code for the adherents of Islam. It contains several noteworthy prohibitions. The Moslem is not to make images, to engage in games of chance, to eat pork, or to drink wine. The Koran also inculcates many active virtues, including reverence toward parents, protection of widows and orphans, charity toward the poor, kindness to slaves, and gentle treatment of the lower animals. On the whole, it must be admitted that the regulations of the Koran did much to restrain the vices of the Arabs and to provide them with higher standards of right and wrong. Islam marked a great advance over Arabian heathenism.

Moral teachings of the Koran

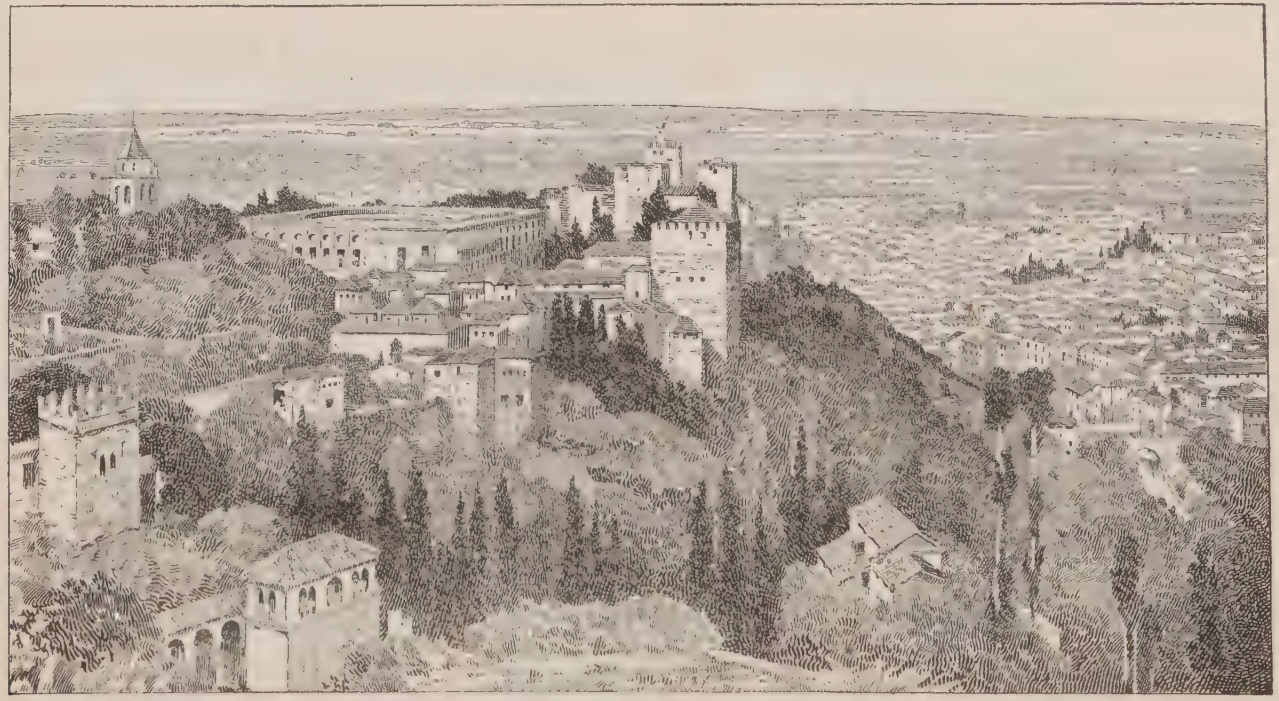
Islam was a conquering religion, for it proclaimed the righteousness of a "holy war" against unbelievers. Pride and greed also combined with fanaticism to draw the Arabs out of the desert upon a career of conquest. The map shows how large a part of the civilized world, from the Indus westward to the Pyrenees, came under their sway within about a century after the death of Mohammed. The Arabs failed, however, to capture Constantinople, which endured a desperate siege by the combined Moslem army and navy (716–717), and the Franks checked their farther advance into western Europe at the bloody battle of Tours (732). The Arabs treated their subjects with liberality. No massacres and no persecutions occurred. The conquered peoples were not compelled to accept Islam at the point of the sword. In course of time, however, many Christians in Syria and Egypt and most of the Zoroastrians[1] in Persia embraced the new religion, in order to avoid paying tribute and to acquire the privileges of Moslem citizenship.

Arab conquests

The title of caliph, meaning "successor" or "representative," had been first assumed by Mohammed's father-in-law, who was

[1] See page 54.

EXPANSION OF ISLAM
Arabia in the time of Mohammed 622 - 632 A. D.
Conquests under First Four Caliphs 632 - 661 A. D.
Conquests under the Ommiads 661 - 750 A. D.
643 Dates of Conquests
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500 600 700 800 900 1000
20° Longitude West 10°
30° Longitude 40° East from 50° Greenwich 60°
ATLANTIC OCEAN
ANGLO-SAXON KINGDOMS
KINGDOM OF THE FRANKS
Saxons
Slavic Peoples
Magyars
Khazars
Avars
Burgundians
Cologne
Paris
Tours
Lyons
Toulouse
ASTURIAS
Pyrenees
Saragossa
ANDALOS
711
Lisbon
Merida
Toledo
Seville
Cordova
Cadiz
Tangier
Gibraltar
Narbonne
Barcelona
CORSICA
SARDINIA
Milan
Pisa
Ravenna
LOMBARDS
Rome
Naples
Palermo
SICILY
Syracuse
MALTA
Adriatic Sea
Spalato
Ragusa
Durazzo
Danube R.
Black Sea
Caucasus
Constantinople
ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE EAST
Aegean Sea
Iconium
Tarsus
ARMENIA
Tiflis
Caspian Sea
Aral Sea
KHARESM
SOGD
Bokhara
Samarkand
Oxus R.
Mervo
KHORASAN
Herat
Cabul
Kandahar
SIND
Indus R.
HINDUSTAN
PERSIA
644
Ispahan
Mosul
Tigris
Bagdad
Euphrates R.
Basra
Persian Gulf
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
CRETE
RHODES
CYPRUS
648
Antioch
SYRIA
638
Damascus
Jerusalem
Cairo
Alexandria
EGYPT
640
Nile R.
Assuan
MAGRIB
667-699
Fez
Carthage
Tunis
Kairwan
AFRICA
TRIPOLI
Tripoli
644
Barca
BARCA
643
Berbers
TWAT
FEZZAN
SAHARA
HEDJAZ
Medina
NEDJED
632
Mecca
ARABIA
TROPIC OF CANCER
OMAN
Muscat
YEMEN
HADRAMAUT
RED SEA
ARABIAN SEA
INDIAN OCEAN
THE M.-N. WORKS



THE ALHAMBRA

A fortress and palace of the Moorish rulers of Granada. Built chiefly in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The outer walls are severely plain, but the interior, with its marble pillars and arches, walls paneled with painted tiles, fretted ceilings, and courts open to sun and wind, is a miracle of beauty.

chosen to succeed the Prophet as the political and religious head of Islam. Disputes between rival claimants to this office before long split up the Arabian Empire into two caliphates, one ruling at Bagdad over the Moslems in Asia, the other ruling at Cordova in Spain. A third caliphate, with its capital at Cairo in Egypt, afterward arose in North Africa. The dismemberment and consequent weakening of the Arabian Empire ended for a time the era of Moslem conquest.

The caliphate

The Arabs lacked the Roman genius for empire-building, but they rivaled the Romans as *absorbers* and *spreaders* of civilization. Their conquests brought them into contact with the highly civilized peoples of the Near East and along the shores of the Mediterranean. What they learned from Greeks, Syrians, Persians, Jews, and Hindus they improved upon, thus building up a culture which for several centuries far surpassed that of western Europe. The Arabs practiced farming in a scientific way, understood rotation of crops, employed fertilizers, and knew how to graft and produce new varieties of plants and fruits. Their manufactures, especially of textile fabrics, metal, leather, glass, and pottery, were celebrated for beauty of design and perfection of workmanship. They did much in mathematics, astronomy, chemistry, geography, and medicine, carrying further the old Greek investigations in these branches of science. Arab universities, libraries, and observatories, especially in Spain, were visited by Christian students, who became acquainted with Moslem learning and helped to introduce it into Italy, France, and other countries. Painting and sculpture owe little to the Arabs, but their architecture, based in part on Byzantine and Persian models, reached a high level of excellence. The influence of the Arabs upon our civilization is shown by the Arabic origin of such words as "muslin," "damask," "mattress," "cupola," "zenith," and "cipher," and especially of words beginning with the prefix *al* (the definite article in Arabic). In English these include "algebra," "alkali," "alcohol," "almanac," "alcove," "Aldebaran" (the star), and "alchemy" (whence "chemistry").

Arabian culture

The Arabian Empire in Asia was overrun during the eleventh

century by the Seljuk Turks, whose leader assumed in 1058 the caliph's political authority at Bagdad. The coming of the Seljuk Turks into the Near East was a very great misfortune, for these barbarians did nothing to preserve and extend Arabian culture. They did begin, however, a new era of Moslem conquest, and within a few years they had won almost all Asia Minor from the Byzantine Empire. The new Turkish menace to Christendom induced the emperor at Constantinople to call on the chivalry of western Europe for aid, thus inaugurating the crusades.

The Arabs and the Seljuk Turks

48. The Crusades, 1095-1291

The crusades, in their widest aspect, may be regarded as a renewal of the age-long contest between East and West, in which the struggle of Greeks and Persians and of Romans and Carthaginians formed the earlier episodes. The contest assumed a new character when Europe had become Christian and Asia, Mohammedan. It was not only two contrasting types of civilization, but also two rival world religions, which in the eighth century faced each other under the walls of Constantinople and on the battle-field of Tours. Now, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, they were to meet again. Throughout this period there was an almost continuous movement of crusaders to and from the Moslem possessions in Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt.

The crusades in history

The crusades were first and foremost a spiritual enterprise. They sprang from the pilgrimages which Christians had long been accustomed to make to the scenes of Christ's life on earth. Men considered it a wonderful privilege to visit the place where He was born, to kiss the spot where He died, and to kneel in prayer at His tomb. The eleventh century saw an increased zeal for pilgrimages, and from this time travelers to the Holy Land were very numerous. For greater security they often joined themselves in companies and marched under arms. It needed little to transform such pilgrims into crusaders. The Arab conquests had not interrupted the stream of pilgrims, for the early caliphs

The crusades and pilgrimages

were more tolerant of unbelievers than Christian rulers were of heretics. After the conquests of the Seljuk Turks pilgrimages became more difficult and dangerous. The stories which floated back to Europe of the outrages on Christian pilgrims and shrines awakened an intense desire to rescue the Holy Land from "infidels."

COMBAT BETWEEN CRUSADERS AND MOSLEMS
A picture in a twelfth-century window, formerly in the church of St. Denis, near Paris.

The crusades and the upper classes

But the crusades were not simply an expression of the simple faith of the Middle Ages. Something more than religious enthusiasm sent an unending procession of soldiers along the highways of Europe and over the trackless wastes of Asia Minor to Jerusalem. The crusades, in fact, appealed strongly to the warlike instincts of the feudal nobles. They saw in an expedition against the East an unequaled opportunity for acquiring fame, riches, lands, and power. The Normans were especially stirred by the prospect of adventure and plunder which the crusading movement opened up. By the end of the eleventh century they had established themselves in southern Italy and Sicily, from which they now looked across the Mediterranean for additional lands to conquer. Norman knights formed a very large element in several of the crusading armies.

The lower classes and the crusades

The crusades also attracted the lower classes. The misery of the common people in medieval Europe was so great that for them it seemed not a hardship, but rather a relief, to leave their homes in order to better themselves abroad. Famine and pestilence, poverty

and oppression, drove them to emigrate hopefully to the golden East.

The first crusade, which began in 1095, resulted in the capture of Jerusalem and the setting up of several small crusaders' states in Syria. These possessions were defended by two orders of fighting monks, known as the Hospitalers and the Templars. The Christians managed to keep Jerusalem for somewhat less than one hundred years. Acre, their last post in Syria, did not fall to the Moslems until 1291, an event commonly regarded as the end of the crusades. The Hospitalers still retained the islands of Cyprus and Rhodes, which long served as a barrier to Moslem expansion over the Mediterranean.

Course of the crusades

Effigy of a Knight Templar

Temple Church, London

Shows the kind of armor worn between 1190 and 1225.

The crusades, judged by what they set out to accomplish, must be accounted a failure. After two centuries of conflict, and after a great expenditure of wealth and human lives, the Holy Land remained in Moslem hands. The *indirect* results of the crusades were, nevertheless, important. For instance, they helped to undermine feudalism. Thousands of nobles mortgaged or sold their lands in order to raise money for a crusading expedition. Thousands more perished in Syria, and their estates, through failure of heirs, reverted to the crown. Moreover, feudal warfare, that curse of the Middle Ages, also tended to die out with the departure for the Holy Land of so many turbulent lords.

The crusades and feudalism

The crusades created a constant demand for the transportation of men and supplies, encouraged shipbuilding, and extended the market for eastern wares in Europe. The products of Damascus, Mosul, Alexandria, Cairo, and other great

cities were carried across the Mediterranean to the Italian seaports, whence they found their way into all European lands.

The crusades and Mediterranean commerce

The elegance of the Orient, with its silks, tapestries, precious stones, perfumes, spices, pearls, and ivory, was so enchanting that an enthusiastic crusader is said to have called it "the vestibule of Paradise."

The crusades also contributed to intellectual and social progress. They brought the inhabitants of western Europe into close relations with one another, with their fellow Christians of the Byzantine Empire, and with the natives of Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt. The intercourse between Christians and Moslems was particularly stimulating, because the East at this time surpassed the West in civilization. The crusaders enjoyed the advantages which come from travel in strange lands and among unfamiliar peoples. They went out from their castles or villages to see great cities, marble palaces, superb dresses, and elegant manners; they returned with finer tastes, broader ideas, and wider sympathies. The crusades opened up a new world.

The crusades and European culture

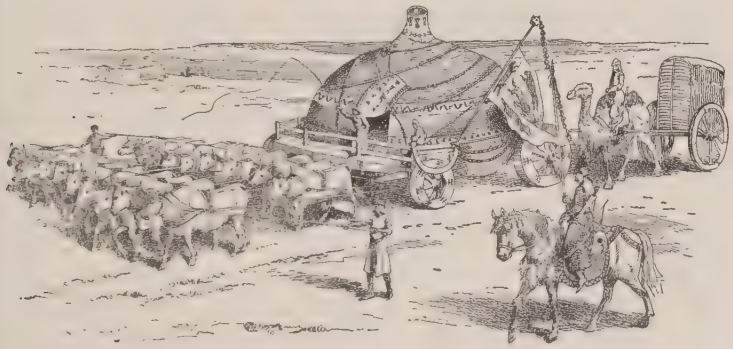
49. Mongolian Peoples in Europe to 1453

The extensive steppes of central Asia[1] have formed, for thousands of years, the abode of nomadic tribes belonging to the Mongolian or Yellow Race. They were ever on the move, with their horses, oxen, sheep, and cattle, from one pasturage to another. They dwelt in tents and hut-wagons. Severe simplicity was their rule of life, for property consisted of little more than flocks and herds, clothes, and weapons. Constant practice in riding and scouting inured them to fatigue and hardship, and the daily use of arms made every man a soldier. When population increased too rapidly, or when the steppes dried up and water failed, the inhabitants had no course open but to migrate farther and farther in search of food. Some of them overflowed into the fertile valleys of

Asiatic nomadism

[1] See the map between pages 28–29.

China, until at the close of the third century B. C. the Chinese rulers built the Great Wall, fifteen hundred miles in length, to keep them out. Others turned westward and entered Europe between the Caspian Sea and the Ural Mountains, where the Asiatic steppes merge into the plains of Russia.[1]



HUT-WAGON OF THE MONGOLS (RECONSTRUCTION)

On the wagon was placed a sort of hut or pavilion made of wands bound together with narrow thongs. The structure was then covered with felt or cloth and provided with latticed windows Hut-wagons, being very light, were sometimes of enormous size.

Huns

One such nomadic people were the Huns, whom we find north of the Black Sea during the fourth century A. D. Roman writers describe their olive skins, little, turned-up-noses, black, beady eyes, and generally ferocious character. They spent much of their time on horseback, sweeping over the country like a whirlwind and leaving destruction and death in their wake. It was the pressure of the Huns from behind which drove the Visigoths against the Roman frontiers, thus beginning the Germanic invasions. The Huns subsequently crossed the Carpathians and occupied the region now called after them Hungary. Their leader, Attila, built up a military power, obeyed by many barbarous tribes from the Black Sea to the Rhine. Attila devastated the lands of the eastern emperor almost to the walls of Constantinople and then invaded Gaul.

[1] See the map between pages 64–65.

In this hour of danger Gallo-Romans and Germans united their forces and at the famous battle of Châlons (451) saved western Europe from being submerged under a wave of Asiatic barbarism. Attila died soon afterward, his empire went to pieces, and the Huns themselves mingled with the peoples whom they had conquered.

The Bulgarians, who were akin to the Huns, made their appearance south of the lower Danube in the seventh century.

A Mongol
After a Chinese drawing.

Bulgarians For more than three hundred years these barbarians, fierce and cruel, formed a menace to the Byzantine Empire. They settled in the country which now bears their name, accepted Christianity from Constantinople, and adopted the speech and customs of the Slavs. Modern Bulgaria is essentially a Slavic state.

Magyars The Magyars entered central Europe toward the close of the ninth century. Again and again they swept into Germany, France, and northern Italy, ravaging far and wide. It was Otto the Great who stopped their raids. The Magyars now retired to their lands about the middle Danube, became Roman Catholic Christians, and founded the kingdom of Hungary. Modern Hungarians, except for their Asiatic language, are thoroughly Europeanized.

Mongols In the thirteenth century came the Mongols proper (or Tatars). Their original home seems to have been northern Mongolia. The genius of one of their leaders, Jenghiz Khan, united them into a vast, conquering host, which to ruthless cruelty and passion for plunder added extraordinary efficiency in warfare. It may be said with truth of Jenghiz Khan that he had the most victorious of military careers and that he constructed the most extensive empire

ASIA
UNDER THE MONGOLS
Christian Territory overrun by the Mongols
Moslem Territory overrun by the Mongols
Buddhist and Heathen Territory overrun by the Mongols
Timur's Dominions, 1369-1405 A.D.
Principal Land Routes
Principal Water Routes
Marco Polo's Route, 1271-1295 A.D.
Scale of Miles
0 200 400 600 800
Longitude 70° East from Greenwich 90
SIBERIA
ARCTIC CIRCLE
THE GOLDEN HORDE
NOVGOROD
RUSSIAN PRINCIPALITIES
LITHUANIA
POLAND
HUNGARY
BOSNIA
BULGARIA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
EGYPT
ARABIA
RED SEA
ARABIAN SEA
PERSIA
ARMENIA
TURKESTAN
TIBET
HIMALAYA MOUNTAINS
NEPAL
INDIA
BAY OF BENGAL
CEYLON
BURMA
SIAM
ANAM
COCHIN CHINA
CHINA
Cathay
MONGOLIA
Desert of Gobi
Altai Mts.
KOREA
JAPAN SEA
JAPAN
YELLOW SEA
CHINA SEA
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
FORMOSA
TROPIC OF CANCER
PACIFIC OCEAN
EQUATOR
BORNEO
Venice
Genoa
Liegnitz
Cracow
Novgorod
Kiev
Moscow
Nijni Novgorod
Kazan
Sarai
Azov
Astrakhan
Sibir
Constantinople
Angora
Trebizond
Antioch
Damascus
Aleppo
Acre
Jerusalem
Alexandria
Cairo
Medina
Mecca
Aden
Muscat
Erzerum
Tabriz
Mosul
Bagdad
Basra
Ispahan
Shiraz
Ormuz
Merv
Herat
Balkh
Kandahar
Kabul
Bokhara
Samarkand
Hindu Kush Mts.
Aral Sea
L. Balkash
L. Baikal
Kashgar
Yarkand
Turfan
Karakorum
Peking (Cambaluc)
Nanking
Zaitun
Canton
Hanoi
Tagong
Lhasa
Lahore
Delhi
Benares
Chittagong
Pulicat
Calicut
Marco Polo's Route
THE M. A. WORKS BUFFALO, N.Y.

known to history. The map shows what an enormous stretch of territory—Christian, Moslem, heathen, and Buddhist—was overrun by Jenghiz Khan and his immediate successors. The Mongol Empire was very loosely organized, however, and during the fourteenth century it fell apart into a number of independent states, or khanates.

Russia under the Mongols

The location of Russia exposed it to the full force of the Mongol attack. The cities of Moscow and Kiev fell in quick succession, and before long the greater part of the country became a part of the Golden Horde, as the western section of the Mongol realm was called. The Mongols are usually said to have Orientalized the Russian people. It seems clear, however, that they did not interfere with the language, religion, or laws of their subjects. The chief result of the Mongol conquest was to cut off Russia from the civilization of the rest of Europe for upwards of three centuries.

MOHAMMED II

A medal showing the strong face of the conqueror of Constantinople.

Ottoman Turks

In 1227, the year of Jenghiz Khan's death, a small Turkish horde, driven westward from central Asia by the Mongol advance, settled in Asia Minor. There they enjoyed the protection of their kinsmen, the Seljuk Turks, and accepted Islam. Their chieftain Othman (whence the name Ottoman) founded a new empire. During the first half of the fourteenth century the Ottoman Turks firmly established themselves in northwestern Asia Minor, along the beautiful shores washed by the Bosporus, the Sea of Marmora, and the Dardanelles. The second half of the same century found

them in Europe, wresting province after province from the feeble hands of the eastern emperors. All that remained of the Byzantine Empire was Constantinople and a small district in its vicinity.

Only a crusade, on a greater scale than any in the past, could have saved Constantinople. No crusade occurred, and in 1453 the city fell to Mohammed II. The capture of Constantinople is rightly regarded as an epoch-making event. It meant the end, once for all, of the empire which had served so long as the rearguard of Christian civilization, as the bulwark of the West against the East. Europe stood aghast at a calamity which she had done so little to prevent. The Christian powers have been paying dearly, even to our own age, for their failure to save Constantinople from Moslem hands.

Capture of Constantinople, 1453

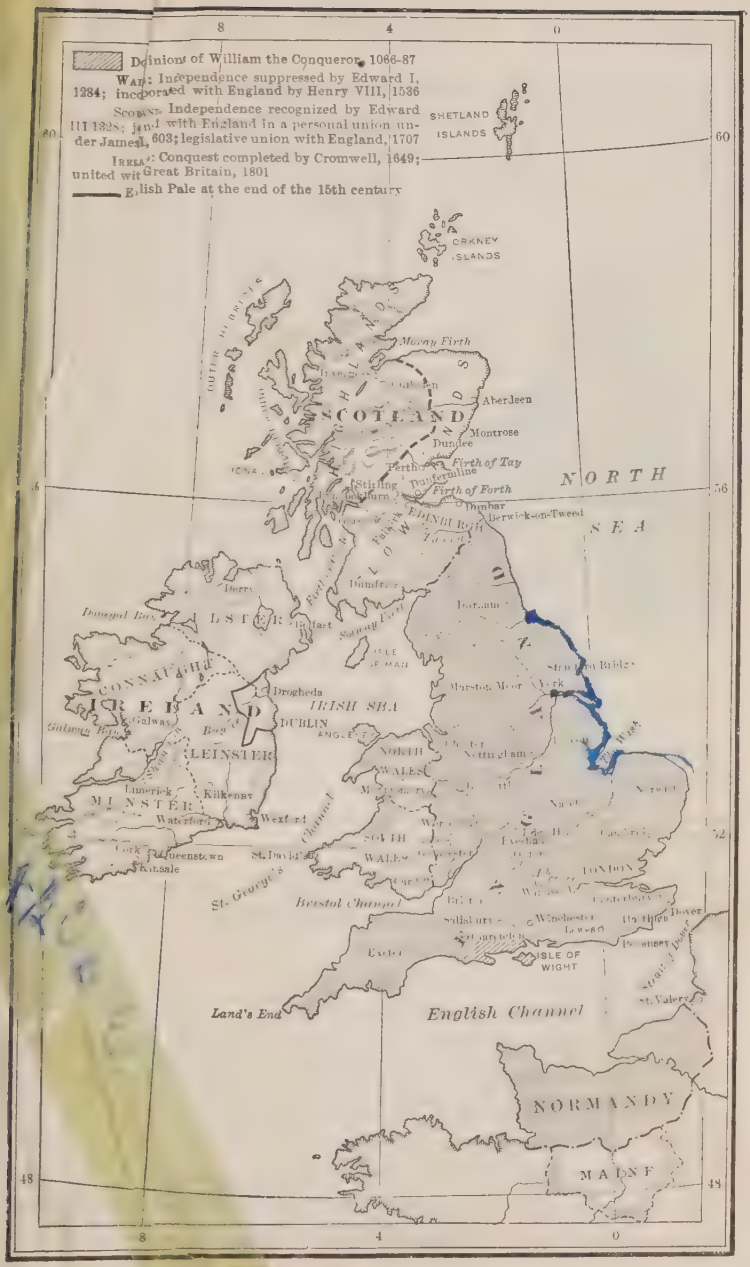
Unlike the Bulgarians and the Magyars, the Ottoman Turks never entered the European family of nations. Preserving their Asiatic language and Moslem faith, they remained in southeastern Europe, not a transitory scourge, but an abiding oppressor of Christian lands. The isolation of the Turks prevented them from assimilating the higher culture of the peoples whom they conquered. They never created anything in science, art, literature, commerce, or industry. Conquest was the Turks' one business in the world, and when they ceased conquering their decline set in. But it was not until the end of the seventeenth century that the Turkish Empire entered on that downward road which has now led to its practical extinction as a European power.

Southeastern Europe under the Ottoman Turks

50. National States during the Later Middle Ages

Europe in 1914 included twenty national states. More have been added as a result of the World War. Their present boundaries only in part coincide with those fixed by geography. The British Isles, it is true, constitute a single political unit, as nature seems to have intended, but Ireland has been a very unwilling member of the United Kingdom. The Iberian Peninsula, bounded on the

Geographical boundaries



THE BRITISH ISLES DURING THE MIDDLE AGES

north by the Pyrenees, seems to form another natural political unit, yet within the peninsula there are two independent states. On the whole, such great mountain ranges as the Alps, Carpathians, and Balkans, and such great rivers as the Rhine, Danube, and Vistula, have failed to provide permanent frontiers for European states.

CORONATION CHAIR, WESTMINSTER ABBEY

Every English ruler since Edward I has been crowned in this oak chair. Under the seat is the "Stone of Scone," said to have been once used by the patriarch Jacob. Edward I brought it to London in 1291, as a token of the subjection of Scotland.

It is still more difficult to trace racial boundaries in modern Europe. Peaceful migrations and invasions, beginning in prehistoric times and continuing to the present, have led to much mixture of peoples. Nor is every European state one in language. France includes the district of Brittany, where a Celtic speech prevails. Switzerland has French, German, and Italian speaking cantons. In the British Isles one may still hear Welsh, Gaelic (in the Highlands), and Irish. The possession of a common language undoubtedly tends to bring peoples together and keep them together, but it is not an indispensable condition of their unity.

Racial and linguistic boundaries

History, rather than geography, race, or even language, explains the present grouping of European states. When the Christian era opened, all the region between the North Sea and the Black Sea and from the Mediterranean to the Rhine and the Danube belonged to the Roman Empire. This Romanized Europe made a solid whole, with one government, one law, and one language. Five hundred years passed, and Europe under the influence of the Germanic invasions began to split up into a number of separate, independent

State-making

states. The process of state-making continued throughout the Middle Ages, as the result of renewed invasions (principally those of the Northmen, Slavs, Arabs, Bulgarians, Magyars, Mongols, and Turks). The three strongest states in Europe at the end of the medieval period were England, France, and Spain.

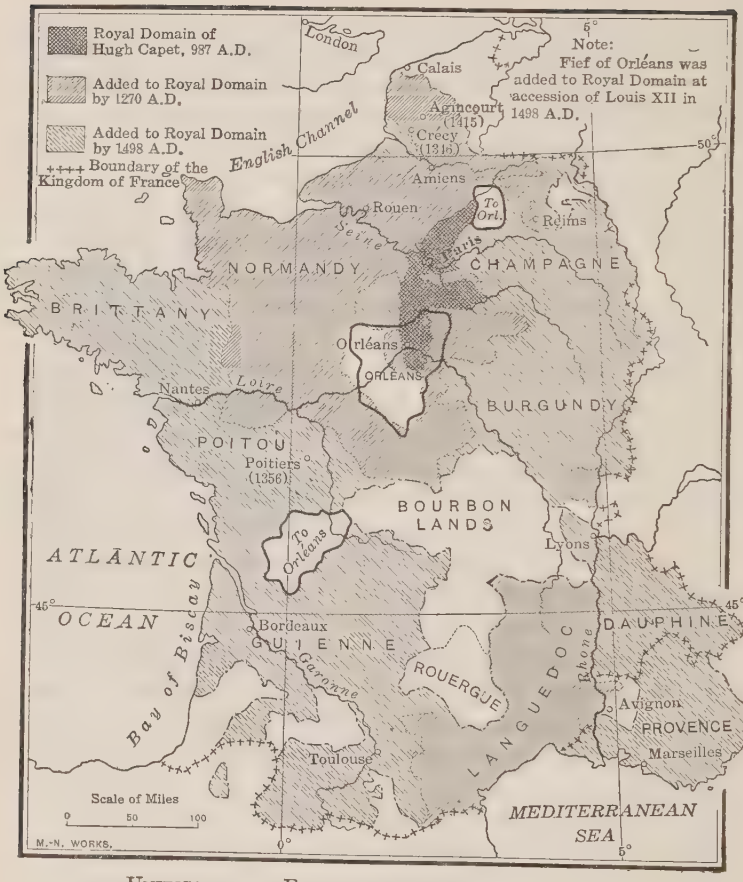
Expansion of England

The dominions which William the Conqueror and his Norman knights won by the sword in 1066 included neither Wales, Scotland, nor Ireland. Their inhabitants (except in the Scottish Lowlands) were Celtic-speaking peoples, whom the Anglo-Saxon invaders of England never attempted to subdue. It was almost inevitable, however, that in process of time the British Isles should come under a single government. Unification began with the conquest of Wales by Edward I, near the close of the thirteenth century. He also annexed Scotland, but his weakling son, whom the Scots had defeated in the battle of Bannockburn, abandoned all claims to the country. It remained independent for the remainder of the medieval period. The English first entered Ireland in the second half of the twelfth century, but for a long time held only a small district about Dublin, known as the Pale. Ireland by its situation could scarcely fail to become an appanage of Great Britain, but the dividing sea has combined with differences in race, language, and religion, and with English misgovernment, to prevent anything like a genuine union of the conquerors and the conquered.

Physical France

Nature seems to have intended that France should play a leading part in European affairs. The geographical unity of the country is obvious. Mountains and seas form its permanent boundaries, except on the northeast, where the frontier is not well defined. The western coast of France opens on the Atlantic, now the greatest highway of the world's commerce, while on the southeast France touches the Mediterranean, the home of classical civilization. This intermediate position between two seas helps us to understand why French history should form, as it were, a connecting link between ancient and modern times.

But the greatness of France has been due, in addition, to the



Unification of France during the Middle Ages

qualities of the French people. Many racial elements have contributed to the population. The blood of prehistoric men, whose monuments and grave mounds are scattered over the land, still flows in the veins of Frenchmen. At the opening of historic times France was chiefly occupied by the Gauls, whom Julius Cæsar found there and subdued. The Gauls, a Celtic-speaking people, formed in later ages the main stock of the French nation, but their language gave place

Racial France

to Latin after the Roman conquest. In the course of five hundred years the Gauls were so thoroughly Romanized that they may best be described as Gallo-Romans. The Burgundians, Franks, and Northmen afterward added a Teutonic element to the population, as well as some infusion of Teutonic laws and customs.

France, again, became a great nation because of the greatness of her rulers. The old line of French kings, descended from Charlemagne, died out in the tenth century, and a nobleman named Hugh Capet then founded a new dynasty. His accession took place in 987. The Capetian dynasty was long-lived, and for more than three centuries son followed father on the throne without a break in the succession. During this time the French sovereigns worked steadily to unite the feudal states of medieval France into a real nation under a common government.

The Capetian dynasty

Hugh Capet's duchy—the original France—included only a small stretch of inland country centering about Paris on the Seine and Orléans on the Loire. His election to the kingship did not increase his power over the great lords who ruled in Normandy, Brittany, Burgundy, and other parts of the country. They did homage to the king for their fiefs and performed the usual feudal services, but otherwise regarded themselves as independent. The accompanying map shows how the French rulers enlarged the royal domain, or territory under the king's control, until by the end of the fifteenth century the unification of France was almost complete.

Unification of France

Spain in historic times was conquered by the Carthaginians, who left few traces of their occupation; by the Romans, who thoroughly Romanized the country; by the Visigoths, who founded a Teutonic kingdom; and lastly by the Moors,[1] who introduced Arabian culture and the faith of Islam. The Moors never wholly overran a fringe of mountain territory in the extreme north of the peninsula. Here arose several Christian states, including León, Castile, Navarre, and

Unification of Spain

[1] The name Moor (derived from the Roman province of Mauretania) is applied to the Arab and Berber peoples who occupied North Africa and Spain.

Aragon. They fought steadily to enlarge their boundaries, with such success that by the close of the thirteenth century Moorish Spain had been reduced to the kingdom of Granada. Meanwhile, the separate states were coming together, and the mar-

UNIFICATION OF SPAIN DURING THE MIDDLE AGES

riage of Ferdinand of Aragon to Isabella of Castile completed the process. Ferdinand and Isabella captured Granada in 1492, thus ending Moorish rule in Spain. No effort was made by the Ottoman Turks, who shortly before had taken Constantinople, to defend this last stronghold of Islam in the West.

Feudalism and royalty

The complete establishment of feudalism in any country meant, as has been shown,[1] its division into numerous small communities, each with an army, law court, and treasury. A king often became little more than a figurehead, equaled or perhaps surpassed in power by some of his own vassals. The sovereigns, who saw themselves thus stripped of all but the semblance of authority, were naturally

[1] See page 170.

anti-feudal, and during the later Middle Ages they began to get the upper hand of their nobles. They formed permanent armies by insisting that all military service should be rendered to themselves and not to the feudal lords. They put down private warfare between the nobles and took over the administration of justice. They developed a revenue system, with the taxes collected by royal officers and deposited in the royal treasury. The sovereigns thus succeeded in creating a *unified, centralized* government, which all their subjects feared, respected, and obeyed.

The triumph of royalty over feudalism was in many ways a gain for civilization. Feudalism, though better than no government at all, did not meet the needs of a progressive society. Only strong-handed kings could keep the peace, punish crime, and foster industry and trade. The kings, of course, were generally despotic, repressing not only the privileges of the nobles but also popular liberties. Despotism never became so pronounced in England as on the Continent, because the English people during the Middle Ages developed a Parliament to represent them and the Common Law to protect them from royal oppression. They also compelled various sovereigns to issue charters, especially Magna Carta, which was secured from King John in 1215. This famous document, among other things, provided that henceforth no one might be arrested, imprisoned, or punished in any way, except after a trial by his equals and in accordance with the law of the land. Magna Carta contained the germ of legal principles upon which Englishmen ever afterward relied for protection against their rulers.

The new monarchies

The new monarchies, by breaking down feudalism, promoted the growth of national or patriotic sentiments. Loyalty to the sovereign and to the state which he represented gradually replaced allegiance to the feudal lord. Nobles, clergy, city folk, and peasants began to think of themselves as one people and to have for their "fatherland" the warmest feelings of patriotic devotion. This new nationalism was especially well developed in England, France, and Spain at the close of the Middle Ages.

The new nationalism

Studies

1. What happened in 622? in 732? in 800? in 843? in 962? in 1066? in 1095? in 1215? and in 1453? 2. "The Germans had stolen their way into the very citadel of the empire long before its distant outworks were stormed." Comment on this statement. 3. Set forth the conditions which hindered, and those which favored, the fusion of Germans and Romans. 4. On an outline map indicate the boundaries of Charlemagne's empire, distinguishing his hereditary possessions from those which he acquired by conquest. 5. Compare the invasions of the Northmen with those of the Germans as to (*a*) causes, (*b*) area covered, and (*c*) results. 6. "The real heirs of Charlemagne were from the first neither the kings of France nor those of Italy or Germany, but the feudal lords." Comment on this statement. 7. Contrast feudalism as a political system with (*a*) the classical city-states; (*b*) the Roman Empire; and (*c*) modern national states. 8. Explain the terms "Greek Empire," "Byzantine Empire," and "Roman Empire in the East." 9. Compare the respective areas in 800 of the Byzantine Empire and the empire of Charlemagne. 10. "The Byzantines were the teachers of the Slavs as the Romans were of the Germans." Comment on this statement. 11. On an outline map indicate the Arabian Empire at its greatest extent, together with ten important cities. 12. Show that Islam was an heir to the Hellenistic civilization of antiquity. 13. "From the eighth to the twelfth century the world knew but two civilizations, that of Byzantium and that of the Arabs." Comment on this statement. 14. "Mixture or at least contact of races, is essential to progress." How do the crusades illustrate this statement? 15. Were the crusades the only means by which western Europe was brought into contact with Arabian civilization? 16. What parts of Asia were not included in the Mongol Empire at its greatest extent? 17. Why were the invasions of the Mongols and Ottoman Turks more destructive to civilization than those of the Germans, the Arabs, and the Northmen? 18. "Good government in the Middle Ages was only another name for a public-spirited and powerful monarchy." Comment on this statement.

CHAPTER VI

MEDIEVAL CIVILIZATION [1]

51. The Church

The most important civilizing influence in western Europe during the Middle Ages was the Roman Church. The Church performed a double task. On the one hand, it gave the people religious instruction and watched over their morals; on the other hand, it took an important part in secular affairs. Priests and monks were almost the only persons of education; consequently, they controlled the schools, wrote the books, framed the laws, acted as royal ministers, and served as members of the Parliament or other national assembly. The Church thus directed the higher life of a medieval community.

The Church and medieval civilization

The Church held spiritual sway throughout western Europe. Italy and Sicily, the larger part of Spain, France, the Netherlands, Germany, Austria, Bohemia, Hungary, Poland, the British Isles, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Iceland yielded obedience to the pope of Rome.

Territorial extent of the Church

Membership in the Church was not a matter of free choice. All people, except Jews, were required to belong to it. A person joined the Church by baptism, a rite usually performed in infancy, and remained in it as long as he lived. Every one was expected to conform, at least outwardly, to the doctrines and practices of the Church, and any one attacking its authority was liable to punishment as a heretic.

The Church as universal

[1] Webster, *Readings in Medieval and Modern History*, chapter iii, "The Benedictine Rule"; chapter x, "Monastic Life in the Twelfth Century"; chapter xi, "St. Francis and the Franciscans"; chapter xvii, "Medieval Tales"; chapter xviii, "Three Medieval Epics."

The existence of one Church in the western world furnished a bond of union between European peoples. The Church took no heed of political boundaries, for men of all nationalities entered the ranks of the priesthood and joined the monastic orders. Priests and monks were subjects of no country, but were "citizens of heaven," as they sometimes called themselves. Even differences of language counted for little in the Church, since Latin was the universal speech of the educated classes. One must think, then, of the Church as a great international state, in form a monarchy, presided over by the pope, and with its capital at Rome.

The Church as international

The Church taught a belief in a personal God, all-wise, all-good, all-powerful, to know whom was the highest goal of life. The avenue to this knowledge lay through faith in the revelation of God, as found in the Scriptures. Since the unaided human reason could not properly interpret the Scriptures, it was necessary for the Church, through her officers, to declare their meaning. The Church thus appeared as the *repository* of religious knowledge, as the "gate of heaven." Salvation did not depend only on the acceptance of certain beliefs. There were also certain acts, called "sacraments," in which the faithful Christian must participate, if he was not to be cut off eternally from God. They formed channels of heavenly grace; they saved man from the consequences of his sinful nature and filled him with the "fullness of divine life." Baptism and the Eucharist (Lord's Supper) were the two most important sacraments. Since priests alone could administer them, the Church presented itself as the necessary *mediator* between God and man.

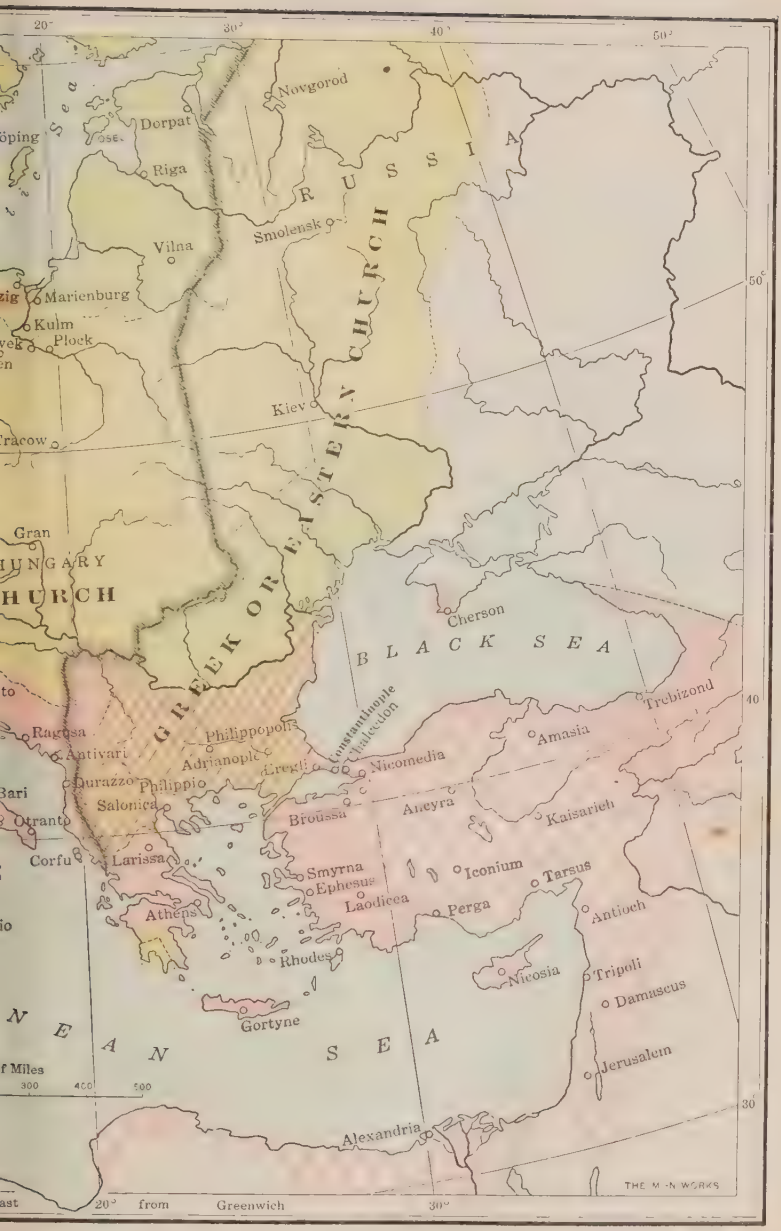
Doctrine

As soon as Christianity had triumphed in the Roman Empire, thus becoming the religion of the rich and powerful as well as of the poor and lowly, more attention was devoted to the conduct of worship. Magnificent church buildings were often erected. Their architects seem to have followed as models the basilicas, or public halls, which formed so familiar a sight in Roman cities. Church interiors were adorned with paintings, mosaic pictures, images of saints, and the figure of the

Worship

GROWTH OF CHRISTIANITY
FROM THE FIFTH TO THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

- Extent of Christianity about 400 A. D.
- Area Christianized 400-800 A. D.
- Area Christianized 800-1100 A. D.
- Area Christianized 1100-1300 A. D.
- Boundaries (in 622 A.D.) of the patriarchates of Rome, Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem and Alexandria
- Mohammedanism is shown by white bands
- Division between the Greek and Roman Churches



20°
30°
40°
50°
Novgorod
Dorpat
Riga
R U S S I A
Smolensk
Vilna
Marienburg
Kulm
Plock
Kiev
Cracow
Gran
HUNGARY
HURCH
GREEK OR EASTERN CHURCH
Cherson
B L A C K S E A
Trebizond
Amasia
Ragusa
Antivari
Philippopolis
Adrianople
Constantinople
Chalcedon
Eregli
Nicomedia
Durazzo
Philippi
Salonica
Bari
Otranto
Broussa
Ancyra
Kaisarieh
Corfu
Larissa
Smyrna
Ephesus
Iconium
Tarsus
Laodicea
Perga
Antioch
Athens
Rhodes
Nicosia
Tripoli
Damascus
Gortyne
N E A N S E A
Jerusalem
f Miles
300
400
500
Alexandria
THE M-N WORKS
ast
20°
from
Greenwich
30°

cross. Lighted candles on the altars and the burning of fragrant incense lent an additional impressiveness to worship. Beautiful prayers and hymns were composed. Organs and church bells also came into use during the Middle Ages.

Many cases, which to-day would be decided according to the civil or criminal law of the State, in the Middle Ages came before ecclesiastical courts. Since marriage was considered a sacrament, the Church took upon itself to decide what marriages were lawful. It forbade the union of first cousins, of second cousins, and of godparents and godchildren. It refused to sanction divorce, for whatever cause, if both parties at the time of marriage had been baptized Christians. The Church dealt with inheritance under wills, for a man could not make a legal will until he had confessed, and confession formed part of the sacrament of penance. All contracts made binding by oaths came under Church jurisdiction, because an oath was an appeal to God. The Church tried those who were charged with any sin against religion, including heresy, blasphemy, the taking of interest (usury), and the practice of witchcraft. Widows, orphans, and the families of pilgrims or crusaders also enjoyed the special protection of the Church.

Ecclesiastical courts

RELIGIOUS MUSIC

From a window of the cathedral of Bourges, a city in central France. Shows a pipe organ and chimes.

Disobedience to the regulations of the Church might be followed by excommunication. This was a coercive measure which cut off the offender from Christian fellowship. He could neither attend religious services nor enjoy the sacraments so necessary to salvation. If he died excommunicate, his body could not be buried in consecrated ground. By

Excommunication

the law of the State he lost all civil rights and forfeited all his property. No one might speak to him, feed him, or shelter him. Such a terrible penalty, it is well to point out, was usually imposed only after the sinner had received a fair trial and had spurned all entreaties to repent. Excommunication still retains an important place among the spiritual weapons of the Church.

We may now consider the attitude of the Church toward the social and economic problems of the Middle Ages. In regard to private warfare, the prevalence of which formed one of the greatest evils of the time, the Church, in general, cast its influence on the side of peace. It forbade attacks on all defenseless people, including priests, monks, pilgrims, merchants, peasants, and women. It also established a "Truce of God," which required all men to cease fighting from Wednesday evening to Monday morning of each week, in Lent, and on various holy days. The truce would have given western Europe peace for about two-thirds of the year, but it was never strictly observed, except in limited areas. The feudal lords could not be deterred from warring with one another, even though they were threatened with the torments of hell. The Church did not carry its pacific policy so far as to condemn warfare against heretics and infidels. Christians believed it a religious duty to exterminate these enemies of God.

The Church and warfare

The Church was distinguished for charitable work. It distributed large sums to the needy. It also multiplied hospitals, orphanages, and asylums. Medieval charity, however, was very often injudicious. The problem of removing the causes of poverty seems never to have been raised; and the indiscriminate giving multiplied, rather than reduced, the number of beggars.

The Church and charity

Neither slavery nor serfdom, into which slavery gradually passed, was ever pronounced unlawful by pope or Church council. The Church condemned slavery only when it was the servitude of a Christian in bondage to a Jew or an infidel. Abbots, bishops, and popes possessed slaves and serfs. The serfs of some wealthy monasteries were counted by thousands. The Church, nevertheless,

The Church and slavery and serfdom

encouraged the freeing of bondmen as a meritorious act and always preached the duty of kindness and forbearance toward them.

The Church also helped to promote the cause of human freedom by insisting on the natural equality of all men in the sight of God. "The Creator," wrote one of the popes, "distributes his gifts without regard to social classes. In his eyes there are neither nobles nor serfs." The Church gave practical expression to this attitude by opening the priesthood and monastic orders to every one, whether high-born or low-born, whether rich or poor. Naturally enough, the Church attracted to its service the keenest minds of the age.

Democracy of the Church

A Bishop Ordaining a Priest

From an English manuscript of the twelfth century. The bishop wears a miter and holds in his left hand the pastoral staff, or crosier. His right hand is extended in blessing over the priest's head.

52. The Clergy

Some one has said that in the Middle Ages there were just three classes of society: the nobles who fought; the peasants who worked; and the clergy who prayed. An account of the clergy naturally begins with the parish priest, who had charge of a parish, the smallest division of Christendom. He was the only Church officer who came continually into touch with the common people. He baptized, married, and buried his parishioners. He celebrated mass at least once a week, heard confessions, and imposed penance. He

Parish priests

watched over all their deeds on earth and prepared them for the life to come.

Bishops and archbishops

A group of parishes formed a diocese, over which a bishop presided. It was his business to look after the property belonging to the diocese, to hold the ecclesiastical courts, to visit the clergy, and to see that they did their duty. Since the Church held many estates on feudal tenure, the bishop was usually a territorial lord, owing a vassal's obligations to the king or to some powerful noble for his land, and himself ruling over vassals in different parts of the country. As symbols of his power and dignity, the bishop wore on his head the miter and carried the pastoral staff, or crosier. Above the bishop stood the archbishop. In England, for example, there were two archbishops, one residing at York and the other at Canterbury. The latter, as "Primate of All England," was the highest ecclesiastical dignitary in the country. A church which contained the official throne [1] of a bishop or archbishop was called a cathedral. It was ordinarily the largest and most magnificent church in the diocese.

Monks

The earlier monks were hermits. They devoted themselves, as they believed, to the service of God, by retiring to the desert for prayer, meditation, and bodily mortification. A life shut off from all contact with one's fellows is difficult and beyond the strength of ordinary men. The mere human need for social intercourse gradually brought the hermits together, at first in small groups and then in larger communities, or monasteries. The next step was to give the scattered monasteries a common organization and government. Those in western Christendom gradually adopted the regulations which St. Benedict (about 529) drew up for the guidance of his monastery at Monte Cassino in Italy.

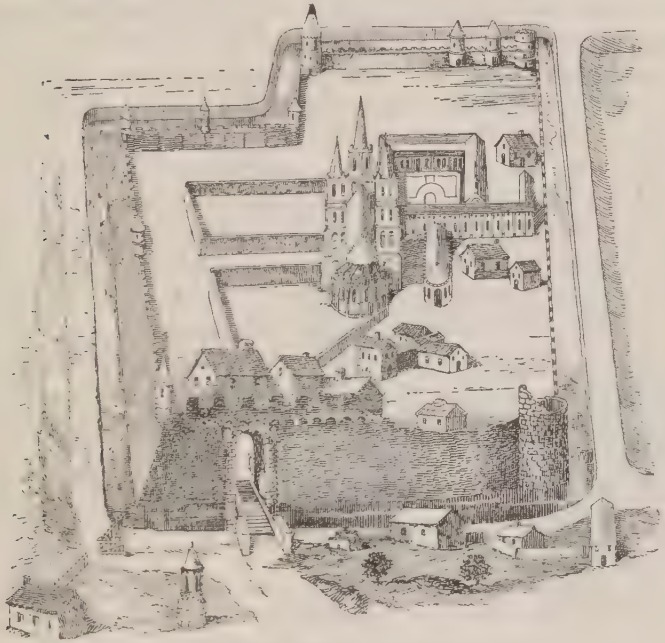
The Benedictine Rule

The monks obeying the Benedictine Rule formed a corporation, presided over by an abbot,[2] who held office for life. Every candidate for admission took the vow of obedience to the abbot. Any man, rich or poor, noble or peasant, might enter the monastery after a year's probation;

[1] Latin *cathedra*. [2] From a Syrian word, *abba*, meaning "father."

923 D

having once joined, however, he must remain a monk for the rest of his days. The monks lived under strict discipline. They could not own any property; they could not go beyond the monastery walls without the abbot's consent; and they



ABBEY OF SAINT-GERMAIN DES PRÉS, PARIS

This celebrated monastery was founded in the sixth century. Of the original buildings only the abbey church remains. The illustration shows the monastery as it was in 1361, with walls, towers, drawbridge, and moat. Adjoining the church were the cloister, the refectory, and the dormitory.

followed a regular round of worship, reading from the Bible, private prayer, and meditation. For most of the day, however, they worked hard with their hands, doing the necessary washing and cooking for the monastery, raising the necessary supplies of vegetables and grain, and performing all the other tasks required to maintain a large establishment. This emphasis on labor, as a religious duty, was a characteristic feature of western monasticism. "To labor is to pray" became its motto.

The civilizing influence of the Benedictine monks during the early Middle Ages can scarcely be over-emphasized. A monastery was often at once a model farm, an inn, a hospital, a school, and a library. By the careful cultivation of their lands the monks set an example of good farming wherever they settled. They entertained pilgrims and travelers at a period when western Europe was almost destitute of inns. They performed many works of charity, feeding the hungry, healing the sick who were brought to their doors, and distributing their medicines freely to those who needed them. In their schools they trained both boys who wished to become priests, and those who intended to lead active lives in the world. The monks, too, were the only scholars of the age. By copying the manuscripts of classical authors, they preserved valuable books that would otherwise have been lost. By keeping records of the most striking events of their time, they acted as chroniclers of medieval history. To all these services must be added the work of the monks as missionaries among the heathen.

The monks as civilizers

Yet even the Benedictine system had its limitations. The monks lived apart from their fellow-men and sought chiefly the salvation of their own souls. A new conception of the religious life arose early in the thirteenth century, with the coming of the friars.[1] Their aim was social service. They devoted themselves to the salvation of others. The foundation of the orders of friars was the work of two men, St. Francis in Italy and St. Dominic in Spain. The Franciscans and Dominicans resembled each other in many ways. They went on foot from place to place, and wore coarse robes tied round the waist with a rope. They possessed no property, but lived on the alms of the charitable. They were also preachers, who spoke to the people, not in Latin, but in the common language of each country which they visited. The Franciscans worked especially in the slums of the cities; the Dominicans addressed themselves rather to educated people and the upper classes. As time went on, both orders relaxed the rule of poverty

The friars

[1] Latin *frater*, "brother."

and became very wealthy. They still survive, scattered all over the world and engaged chiefly in teaching and missionary activity.

The friars by their preaching and ministrations did a great deal to call forth a religious revival in Europe during the thirteenth century. In particular, they helped to strengthen the papal authority. Both orders received the sanction of the pope; both enjoyed many privileges at his hands; and both looked to him for direction. The pope employed them to raise money, to preach crusades, and to impose excommunications. The Franciscans and Dominicans formed, in fact, the agents of the Papacy.

The friars and the papacy

A Monk Copyist

From a manuscript in the British Museum, London.

53. The Papacy

The claim of the Roman bishops to spiritual supremacy over the Christian world had a double basis. Certain passages in the New Testament, where St. Peter is represented as the rock on which the Church is built and the doorkeeper of the kingdom of heaven, appear to indicate that he was regarded by Christ as the chief of the Apostles. Furthermore, according to tradition St. Peter had been the founder of the Roman Church and its first bishop. It was then argued that he passed to his successors, the popes, all his rights and dignity. As St. Peter was the first among the Apostles, so the popes were to be the first among bishops. Such was the doctrine of the Petrine supremacy, expressed as far back as the second century, strongly asserted by many popes during the Middle Ages, and maintained to-day by the Roman Church.

The Petrine supremacy

The name "pope" [1] seems at first to have been applied to all priests as a title of respect and affection. The Greek Church still continues this use of the word. In the West it gradually came to be reserved to the bishop of Rome as his official title. The pope was addressed in speaking as "Your Holiness." His exalted position was further indicated by the tiara, or headdress with triple crowns, worn by him in processions. He went to solemn ceremonies sitting in a chair supported on the shoulders of his guard. He gave audience from an elevated throne, and all who approached him kissed his feet in reverence.

The pope's exalted position

The pope was the supreme lawgiver of the Church. His decrees might not be set aside by any other person. He made new laws in the form of "bulls" [2] and by his "dispensations" could in particular cases set aside old laws, such as those forbidding cousins to marry or monks to obtain release from their vows. The pope was also the supreme judge of the Church, for all appeals from the lower ecclesiastical courts came before him for decision. Finally, the pope was the supreme administrator of the Church. He confirmed the election of bishops, deposed them, when necessary, or transferred them from one diocese to another. The pope also exercised control over the monastic orders and called general councils of the Church.

The pope's authority

The authority of the pope was commonly exercised by the "legates," [3] whom he sent out as his representatives at the various European courts. These officers kept the pope in close touch with the condition of the Church in every part of western Europe. A similar function is performed in modern times by the papal ambassadors known as "nuncios."

The papal legates

For assistance in government the pope made use of the cardinals, [4] who formed a board, or "college." At first they were

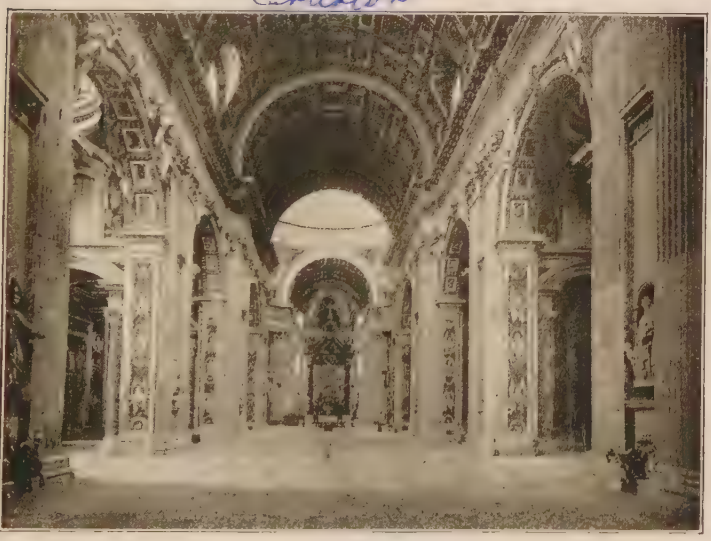
[1] Latin *papa*, "father."

[2] So called from the lead seal (Latin *bulla*) attached to papal documents.

[3] Latin *legatus*, "deputy."

[4] Latin *cardinalis*, "principal."

Exterior



Interior

ST. PETER'S, ROME

St. Peter's, begun in 1506 A.D., was completed in 1667, according to the designs of Bramante, Raphael, Michelangelo, and other celebrated architects. It is the largest church in the world. The central aisle, nave, and choir measure about 600 feet in length; the great dome, 140 feet in diameter, rises to a height of more than 400 feet. A double colonnade encircles the piazza in front of the church. The Vatican is seen to the right of St. Peter's.

chosen only from the clergy of Rome and the vicinity, but in course of time the pope opened the cardinalate to prominent churchmen in all countries. The number of cardinals is now fixed at seventy, but the college is never full, and there are always several "vacant hats," as the saying goes. The cardinals, in the eleventh century, received the right of choosing a new pope. A cardinal's dignity is indicated by the red hat and scarlet robe which he wears and by the title of "Eminence" applied to him.

Cardinals

The pope was a temporal sovereign, ruling over Rome and the States of the Church. These possessions included during the Middle Ages the greater part of central Italy. The pope did not lose them altogether until the formation of the present Italian Kingdom, in the second half of the nineteenth century.

States of the Church

To support the business of the Papacy and to maintain the splendor of the papal court required a large annual income. This came partly from the States of the Church, partly from the gifts of the faithful, and partly from the payments made by the abbots, bishops, and archbishops when the pope confirmed their election to office. Still another source of revenue consisted of "Peter's pence," a tax of a penny on each hearth. It was collected every year in England and in some Continental countries until the time of the Reformation. The modern "Peter's pence" is a voluntary contribution made each year by Roman Catholics in all parts of the world.

Income of the Papacy

Rome, the Eternal City, from which in ancient times the known world had been ruled, formed in the Middle Ages the capital of the Papacy. Few traces now remain of the medieval city. Old St. Peter's Church, where Charlemagne was crowned emperor, gave way in the sixteenth century to the world-famous structure that now occupies its site. The Lateran Palace, which for more than a thousand years served as the residence of the popes, has also disappeared, its place being taken by a new and smaller building. The popes now live in the splendid palace of the Vatican, adjoining St. Peter's.

The capital of the Papacy

54. Country Life

Civilization has always had its home in the city. Nothing marks more strongly the backwardness of the early Middle Ages than the absence of the flourishing cities which had filled western Europe under the Roman Empire.[1] The Teutonic invasions led to a gradual decay of manufacturing and commerce and hence of the cities in which those activities centered. As urban life declined, the mass of the

Decline of urban life

SULGRAVE MANOR

Sulgrave, in Northhamptonshire, was the ancestral home of the Washington family. The manor house, built by Lawrence Washington about the middle of the sixteenth century, bears the family coat-of-arms on the porch. This historic dwelling has been purchased by an English committee for preservation as a memorial of the friendship and blood-relationship between England and the United States.

population came to live more and more in isolated rural communities. This was the great economic feature of the early Middle Ages.

An estate in land, when owned by a lord and occupied by dependent peasants, was called a manor.[2] It naturally varied in size according to the wealth of its lord. Every noble had at least one manor; great nobles might have several manors, usually scattered throughout the country;

The manor

[1] See page 141.

[2] From the Old French *manoir*, "mansion" (Latin *manere*, "to dwell").

and even the king depended upon his many manors for the food supply of the court. England, during the period following the Norman Conquest, contained more than nine thousand of these manorial estates.

PLAN OF HITCHIN MANOR, HERTFORDSHIRE

Lord's demesne, diagonal lines.
Meadow and pasture lands, dotted areas.
Normal holding of a peasant, black strips.

The lord reserved for his own use a part of the arable land of the manor. This was his "demesne," or domain. The rest of the land he allotted to the peasants who were his tenants. They cultivated their holdings in common, according to the "open-field" system. A farmer, instead of having his land in one compact mass, had it split up into a large number of small strips (usually an acre or a half-acre) scattered over the manor, and separated, not by fences or hedges, but by banks of unplowed turf. The appearance of a manor, when under cultivation, has

Common cultivation of the arable land

been likened to a vast checkerboard or a patchwork quilt. The reason for the intermixture of strips seems to have been to make sure that each farmer had a portion both of the good land and of the bad. It is obvious that this arrangement compelled all the peasants to labor according to a common plan. A man had to sow the same kinds of crops as his neighbors, and to till and reap them at the same time. Agriculture, under such circumstances, could not fail to be unprogressive.

Farmers did not know how to enrich the soil by the use of fertilizers and a proper rotation of crops. Consequently, they divided all the arable land into three parts, one of which was sown with wheat or rye, and another with oats or barley, while the third was allowed to lie fallow (uncultivated) for a year, so that it might recover its fertility. Eight or nine bushels of grain represented the average yield of an acre. Farm animals were small, for scientific breeding had not yet begun. Farm implements, also, were few and clumsy. It took five men a day to reap and bind the harvest of two acres.

Farming methods

Besides his holding of arable land, which in England averaged about thirty acres, each peasant had certain rights over the non-arable land of the manor. He could cut a limited amount of hay from the meadow. He could turn so many farm animals—cattle, geese, swine—on the waste. He also enjoyed the privilege of taking so much wood from the forest for fuel and building purposes. A peasant's holding, which also included a house in the village, thus formed a complete outfit.

Common use of the non-arable land

The peasants on a manor lived close together in one or more villages. Their small, thatch-roofed, and one-roomed houses were grouped about an open space (the "green"), or on both sides of a single, narrow street. The only important buildings were the parish church, the parsonage, a mill, if a stream ran through the manor, and possibly a blacksmith's shop. The population of one of these communities often did not exceed one hundred souls.

Description of a village

A village in the Middle Ages had a regular staff of officials. First came the headman or reeve, who represented the peasants

in their dealings with the lord of the manor. Next came the constable or beadle, whose duty it was to carry messages around the village, summon the inhabitants to meetings, and enforce the orders of the reeve. Then there were the pound-keeper, who seized straying animals; the watchman, who guarded the flocks at night; and the village carpenter, blacksmith, and miller. These officials, in return for their services, received an allowance of land, which the villagers cultivated for them.

Village officials

Perhaps the most striking feature of a medieval village was its self-sufficiency. The inhabitants tried to produce at home everything they required, in order to avoid the uncertainty and expense of trade. The land gave them their food; the forest provided them with wood for houses and furniture. They made their own clothes of flax, wool, and leather. Their meal and flour were ground at the village mill, and at the village smithy their farm implements were manufactured. The chief articles which needed to be brought from some distant market included salt, used to salt down farm animals killed in autumn, iron for various tools, and millstones. Cattle, horses, and surplus grain also formed common objects of exchange between manors.

A village as self-sufficing

Life in a medieval village was rude and rough. The peasants labored from sunrise to sunset, ate coarse fare, lived in huts, and suffered from frequent pestilences. They were often the helpless prey of the feudal nobles. If their lord happened to be a quarrelsome man, given to fighting with his neighbors, they might see their land ravaged, their cattle driven off, and their village burned, and might themselves be slain. Even under peaceful conditions the narrow, shut-in life of the manor could not be otherwise than degrading.

Hard lot of the peasants

Yet there is another side to the picture. If the peasants had a just and generous lord, they probably led a fairly comfortable existence. Except when crops failed, they had an abundance of food, and possibly wine or cider to drink. They shared a common life in the work of the fields, in the sports of the village green, and in the services

Alleviations of the peasant's lot

FARM WORK IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

Plowing. Harrowing. Cutting Weeds. Reaping.

of the parish church. They enjoyed many holidays; it has been estimated that, besides Sundays, about eight weeks in every year were free from work. Festivities at Christmas, Easter, and May Day, at the end of ploughing and the completion of harvest, also relieved the monotony of labor.

55. Serfdom

A medieval village usually contained several classes of laborers. There might be a number of freemen, who paid a fixed rent, either in money or produce, for the use of their land. A few slaves might also be found in the lord's household or at work on his demesne. By this time, however, slavery had about died out in western Europe. Most of the peasants were serfs.

Freeman, slaves, and serfs

A slave belonged to his master; he was bought and sold like other chattels. A serf had a higher position, for he could not be sold apart from the land nor could his holding be taken from him. He was fixed to the soil. On the other hand, a serf ranked lower than a freeman, because he could not change his abode, nor marry outside the manor, nor bequeath his goods, without the permission of his lord.

Nature of serfdom

The serf did not receive his land as a gift; for the use of it he owed certain duties to his master. These took chiefly the form of personal services. He must labor on the lord's demesne for two or three days each week, and at specially busy seasons, such as ploughing and harvesting, he must do extra work. At least half his time was usually demanded by the lord. The serf had also to make certain payments, either in money or more often in grain, honey, eggs, or other produce. When he ground the wheat or pressed the grapes which grew on his land, he must use the lord's mill or the lord's wine-press, and pay the customary charge.

Obligations of the serf

Serfdom developed during the later centuries of the Roman Empire and in the early Middle Ages. Many serfs seem to have been descendants of the tenants, both free and servile, who had worked the great Roman estates in western Europe. The serf class was also recruited from the

Origin of serfdom

ranks of free Germans, whom the disturbed conditions of the time induced to seek the protection of a lord.

Serfdom, being a system of forced labor, was not very profitable to the lord, and it was irksome to his dependents. After the revival of trade and industry in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries had brought more money into circulation, the lord discovered how much better it was to hire men to work for him, instead of depending on serfs who shirked their tasks as far as possible. The latter, in turn, were glad to pay the lord a fixed sum (rent) for the use of the land, since now they could devote themselves entirely to its cultivation. Both parties gained by an arrangement which converted the manorial lord into a landlord and the serf into a free tenant-farmer.

Decline of serfdom

SERF WARMING HIS HANDS

After a medieval manuscript.

The emancipation of the peasantry was hastened, strangely enough, as the result of perhaps the most terrible calamity that has ever afflicted mankind. About the middle of the fourteenth century a pestilence of Asiatic origin, now known to have been the bubonic plague, reached the West. The Black Death, so called because among its symptoms were dark patches all over the body, moved steadily across Europe. The way for its ravages had been prepared by the unhealthful conditions of ventilation and drainage in villages and towns. After attacking Greece, Sicily, Italy, Spain, France, and Germany, the plague entered England in 1349, and within less than two years swept away probably half the population.

The Black Death

The pestilence in England, as in other countries, caused a great scarcity of labor. For want of hands to bring in the harvest, crops rotted on the ground, while sheep and cattle, with no one to care for them, strayed through the deserted fields. The free

peasants who survived demanded and received higher wages. Even the serfs, whose labor was now more valued, found themselves in a better position. The lord of a manor, in order to keep his laborers, would often allow them to substitute money payments for personal services. When the serfs secured no concessions, they frequently took to flight and hired themselves to the highest bidder. All this went on in spite of numerous statutes passed by Parliament ordering workmen to accept the old rate of wages and forbidding them to migrate in search of better employment.

Effects of the Black Death

The emancipation of the peasantry continued throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Serfdom by 1500 had virtually disappeared in Italy, in parts of France and Germany, and in England. Some less favored countries retained serfdom much longer. Prussian, Austrian, and Russian serfs did not secure freedom until the nineteenth century.

Extinction of serfdom

56. City Life

The great economic feature of the later Middle Ages was the growth of cities. Developing trade, commerce, and manufactures led to the increase of wealth, the growth of markets, and the substitution of money payments for those in produce or services. Flourishing cities arose, as in the days of the Roman Empire, freed themselves from the control of the nobles, and became the homes of liberty and democracy.

The civic revival

A number of medieval cities stood on the sites, and even within the walls, of Roman municipalities. Particularly in Italy, southern France, and Spain, and also in the Rhine and Danube regions, it seems that some ancient cities had never been entirely destroyed during the Teutonic invasions. They preserved their Roman names, their streets, aqueducts, amphitheaters, and churches, and possibly vestiges of their Roman institutions. Among them were such important centers as Milan, Florence, Venice, Lyons, Marseilles, Paris, Vienna, Cologne, London, and York.

Cities of Roman origin

Many medieval cities were new foundations. Some began as small communities which increased in size because of exceptional advantages of situation. A place where a river could be forded, where two roads met, or where a good harbor existed, would naturally become the resort of traders. Some, again, started as fortresses, behind whose ramparts the peasants took refuge when danger threatened. A third group of cities developed from villages on the manors. A thriving settlement was pretty sure to spring up near a monastery or castle, which offered both protection and employment to the common people.

Origin of other cities

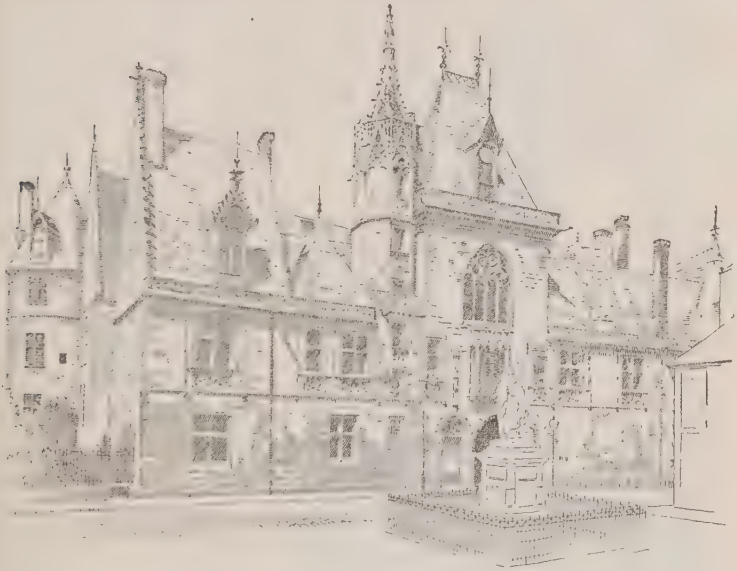
The city at first formed part of the feudal system. It arose upon the territory of a lord and owed obedience to him. The citizens ranked not much higher than serfs, though they were traders and artisans instead of farmers. They enjoyed no political rights, for their lord collected the taxes, appointed officials, kept order, and punished offenders. In short, the city was not free. As its inhabitants became more numerous and wealthy, they refused to submit to oppression. Sometimes they won their freedom by hard fighting; more often they purchased it, perhaps from some noble who needed money to go on a crusade. In France, England, and Spain, where the royal power was strong, the cities only obtained exemption from their feudal burdens. In Germany and Italy, on the other hand, the weakness of the central government permitted many cities to secure complete independence. One of them survives to this day as the little Italian republic of San Marino, and three others—Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck—entered the German Empire in the nineteenth century as separate commonwealths.

The city and feudalism

The free city had no room for either slaves or serfs. All servile conditions ceased inside its walls. The rule prevailed that any one who had lived in a city for the term of a year and a day could no longer be claimed by a lord as his serf. This rule found expression in the famous saying, "Town air renders free." The freedom of the cities naturally attracted many immigrants to them. There came into existence

Rise of the middle class

a middle class of city people, between the clergy and nobles on the one side and the peasants on the other side—what the French call the *bourgeoisie*.[1] Henceforth the middle class, or *bourgeoisie*, distinguished as it was for wealth, intelligence, and enterprise, exerted an ever greater influence on European affairs.



HOUSE OF JACQUES CŒUR, BOURGES

Built in the latter part of the fifteenth century by a very wealthy French merchant. It is an admirable example of Gothic domestic architecture.

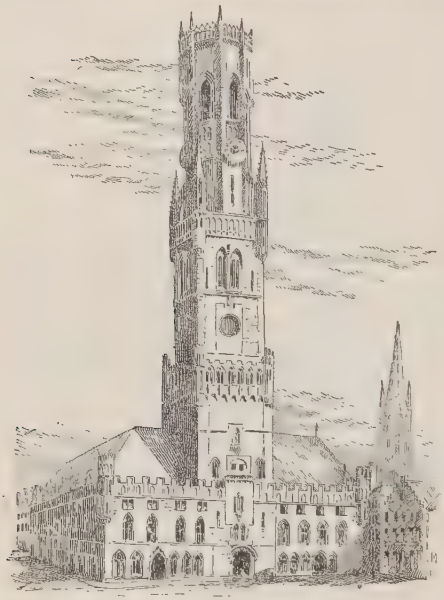
A city from without

The visitor approaching a medieval city through miles of open fields saw it clear in the sunlight, unobscured by coal smoke. It looked like a fortress from without, with walls, towers, gateways, drawbridges, and moat. Beyond the fortifications he would see, huddled together against the sky, the spires of the churches and the cathedral, the roofs of the larger houses, and the dark, frowning mass of the castle. The general impression was one of wealth and strength and beauty.

[1] From French *bourg*, "town."

The visitor would not find things so attractive within the walls. The streets were narrow, crooked, and ill-paved, dark during the day because of the overhanging houses, and without illumination at night. There were no open spaces or parks except a small market-place. The whole city was cramped by its walls, which shut out light, air, and view, and prevented expansion into the neighboring country. Medieval London, for instance, covered an area of less than one square mile.

A city from within



Belfry of Bruges

Bruges, the capital of West Flanders, contains many fine monuments of the Middle Ages. Among these is the belfry, which rises in the center of the facade of the market hall. It dates from the end of the thirteenth century. Its height is 352 feet. The belfry consists of three stories, the two lower ones square, and the upper one, octagonal.

A city in the Middle Ages lacked sanitary arrangements. The only water supply came from polluted streams and wells. Sewers and sidewalks were quite unknown. People piled up their refuse in the backyard or flung it into the street, to be devoured by the dogs and pigs which served as scavengers. The holes in the pavement collected all manner of filth, and the unpaved lanes, in wet weather, became quagmires. The living were crowded together in many-storied houses, airless and gloomy; the dead were buried close at hand in crowded churchyards. Such unsanitary conditions must have been responsible for much of the sickness that was prevalent. The high death rate could only be offset by a birth

Unsanitary conditions

rate correspondingly high, and by the constant influx of country people.

The inhabitants of the city took a just pride in their public buildings. The market-place, where traders assembled, often contained a beautiful cross and sometimes a market hall to shelter goods from the weather. Not far away rose the city hall for the transaction of public business and the holding of civic feasts. The hall might be crowned by a high belfry with an alarm bell to summon the citizens to mass meetings. There were also a number of churches and abbeys and, if the city was the capital of a bishop's diocese, an imposing cathedral. **Public buildings**

The small size of medieval cities—few included as many as ten thousand inhabitants—simplified the problem of governing them. The leading merchants usually formed a council presided over by a head magistrate, the burgomaster[1] or mayor,[2] who was assisted by aldermen.[3] In some places the guilds chose the officials and manged civic affairs. These associations had many functions and held a most important place in city life. It will be necessary, therefore, to describe them in some detail. **Municipal government**

57. Civic Industry

The Anglo-Saxon word "guild," which means "to pay," came to be applied to a club or society whose members made contributions for some common purpose. This form of association is very old. Some of the guilds of imperial Rome had been established in the age of the kings, while not a few of those which flourish to-day in China and India were founded before the Christian era. Guilds existed in Continental Europe as early as the time of Charlemagne, but they did not become prominent until after the crusades. **Guilds**

A guild of merchants grew up when those who bought and sold goods in any place united to protect their own interests.

[1] German *burgermeister*, from *burg*, "castle."
[2] French *maire*, from Latin *major*, "greater."
[3] Anglo-Saxon *ealdorman* (*eald* means "old").

The membership included many artisans, as well as professional traders, for in medieval times a man might sell in the front room of his shop the goods which he and his assistants made in the back rooms.

Merchant guilds

A German Merchant in the Fourteenth Century

After a miniature in an illuminated manuscript.

The chief duty of a merchant guild was to preserve to its own members the monopoly of trade within a town. Strangers and non-guildsmen could not buy or sell there except under conditions imposed by the guild. They must pay the town tolls, confine their dealings to guildsmen, and as a rule sell only at wholesale. They were forbidden to purchase wares which the townspeople wanted for themselves, or to set up shops for retail trade. They enjoyed more freedom at the numerous fairs, which were intended to attract outsiders.

Commercial monopoly

After a time the traders and artisans engaged in a particular occupation began to form associations of their own. Thus arose the craft guilds, composed of weavers, shoemakers, bakers, tailors, carpenters, and so on, until almost every form of industry had its separate organization. The names of the various occupations came to be used as the surnames of those engaged in them, so that to-day we have such common family names as Smith, Cooper, Fuller, Potter, Chandler, and many others. The number of craft guilds in an important city might be very large. London and Paris at one time

Craft guilds

each had more than one hundred, and Cologne in Germany had as many as eighty. The members of a particular guild usually lived in the same street or quarter of the city, not only for companionship, but also for better supervision of their labor.

Just as the merchant guilds regulated town trade, so the craft guilds had charge of town industry. No one could engage in any craft without becoming a member of the guild which controlled it and submitting to the guild regulations. A man's hours of labor and the prices at which he sold his goods were fixed for him by the guild. He might not work elsewhere than in his shop, because of the difficulty of supervising him, nor might he work by artificial light, lest he turn out badly finished goods. Everything made by him was carefully inspected to see if it contained shoddy materials or showed poor workmanship. Failure to meet the test meant a heavy fine or perhaps expulsion from the guild. The industrial monopoly possessed by the craft guild thus gave some protection to both producer and consumer.

Industrial monopoly

Full membership in a guild was reached only by degrees. A boy started as an apprentice, that is, a learner. He paid a sum of money to his master and agreed to serve him for a fixed period, usually seven years. The master, in turn, promised to provide the apprentice with food, lodging, and clothing, and to teach him all the secrets of the craft. At the end of his period of service the apprentice had to pass an examination by the guild. If he was found fit, he then became a journeyman and worked for daily wages. As soon as he had saved enough money, he might set up as a master in his own shop. A master was at once workman and employer, laborer and capitalist.

Organization of craft guilds

The guilds had their charitable and religious aspects. Each one raised large benefit funds for the relief of members or their widows and orphans. Each one had its private altar in the cathedral, or often its own chapel, where masses were said for the repose of the souls of deceased members, and where on the day of its patron saint religious services were held. The guild was also a social organiza-

Activities of craft guilds

tion, with frequent meetings for a feast in its hall or in some inn. The guilds in some cities entertained the people with an annual play or procession. It is clear that the members of a craft guild had common interests and shared a common life.

As the craft guilds prospered and increased in wealth, they tended to become exclusive organizations. Membership fees were raised so high that few could afford to pay them, while the number of apprentices that a master might take was strictly limited. It also became increasingly difficult for journeymen to rise to the station of masters; they often remained wage-earners for life. The mass of workmen could no longer participate in the benefits of the guild system. In the eighteenth century most of the guilds lost their monopoly of industry, and in the nineteenth century they gave way to trade unions.

Dissolution of craft guilds

58. Civic Trade

Nearly every town of any consequence had a weekly or semi-weekly market, which was held in the market-place or in the churchyard. Marketing often occurred on Sunday. Outsiders who brought cattle and produce for sale in the market were required to pay tolls, either to the town authorities or sometimes to a neighboring nobleman. These market dues survive in the *octroi* collected at the gates of some European cities.

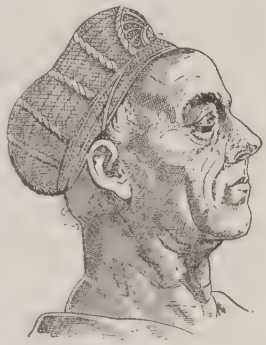
Markets

People in the Middle Ages did not believe in unrestricted competition. It was thought wrong for any one to purchase goods outside of the regular market ("forestalling") or to purchase them in larger quantities than necessary ("engrossing"). A man ought not to charge for a thing more than it was worth, or to buy a thing cheap and sell it dear. The idea prevailed that goods should be sold at their "just price," which was not determined by supply and demand, but by an estimate of the cost of the materials and the labor that went into their manufacture. Laws were often passed fixing this "just price," but it was as difficult then as now to prevent the "cornering of the market" by shrewd and unscrupulous traders.

"Just price"

Many towns also held fairs once or twice a year. The fairs often lasted for a month or more. They were especially necessary in medieval Europe, because merchants did not keep large quantities or many kinds of goods on their shelves, nor could intending purchasers afford to travel far in search of what they wanted. A fair at an English town, such as Stourbridge, Winchester, or St. Ives, might attract Venetians and Genoese with silk, pepper, and spices of the East, Flemings with fine cloths and linens, Spaniards with iron and wine, Norwegians with tar and pitch from their forests, and Baltic merchants with furs, amber, and salted fish. The fairs, by fostering commerce, helped to make the various European peoples better acquainted with one another.

Fairs



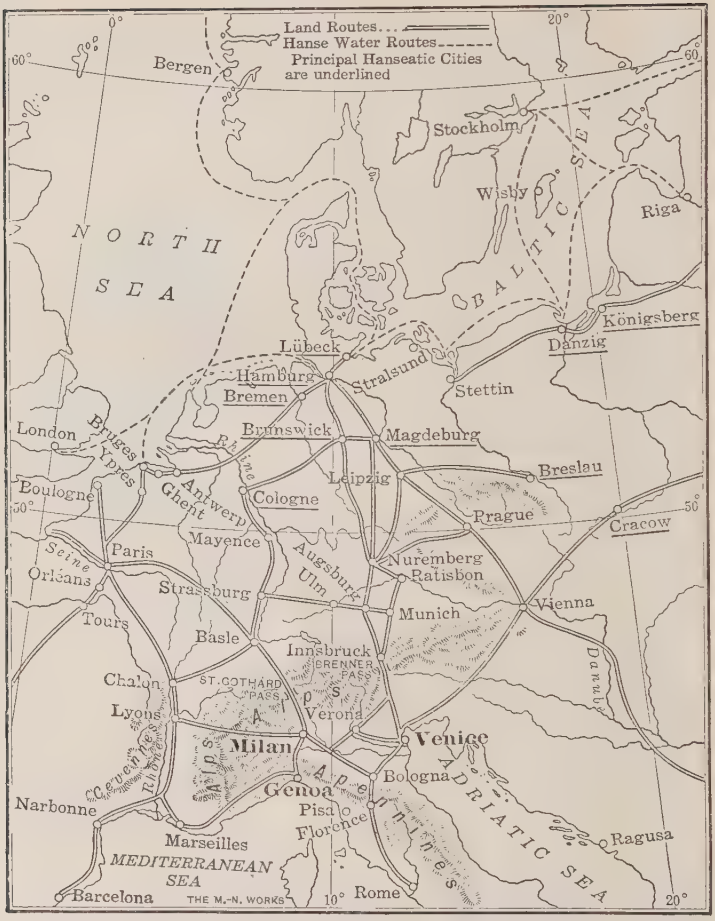
JACOB FUGGER

After a wood engraving. This merchant prince, a contemporary of Columbus, lived at Augsburg in Germany, where he amassed an enormous fortune.

Commerce in western Europe had almost disappeared as a result of the Teutonic invasions and the establishment of feudalism. What little commercial intercourse there was encountered many obstacles. A merchant who went by land from country to country might expect to find bad roads, few bridges, and poor inns. Goods were transported on pack-horses instead of wagons. Highway robbery was so common that travelers always carried arms and usually united in bands for better protection. The feudal lords, often themselves not much more than highwaymen, demanded tolls at every bridge and ford and on every road. If the merchant proceeded by water, he must face, in addition to the ordinary hazards of wind and wave, the danger from the ill-lighted coasts and from attacks by pirates. No wonder commerce languished in the early Middle Ages and for a long time lay chiefly in the hands of Byzantines and Arabs.

Decline of commerce in the early Middle Ages

Even during the dark centuries that followed the end of the



TRADE ROUTES BETWEEN NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN EUROPE IN THE 13TH AND 14TH CENTURIES

Commercial revival after the crusades

Roman Empire, some trade with the Orient had been carried on by the cities of Italy and southern France. The crusades, which brought East and West face to face, greatly increased this trade.[1] The Mediterranean lands first felt the stimulating effects of intercourse with

[1] See pages 189–190.

CAMPANILE AND DOGE'S PALACE, VENICE

The famous Campanile or bell tower of St. Mark's Cathedral collapsed in 1902. A new tower, faithfully copying the old monument, was completed nine years later. The Doge's Palace, a magnificent structure of brick and marble, is especially remarkable for the graceful arched colonnades forming the two lower stories. The blank walls of the upper story are broken by a few large and richly ornamented windows.

Reims

REIMS CATHEDRAL

The cathedral of Notre Dame at Reims in northwestern France stands on the site where Clovis was baptized by St. Remi. Here most of the French kings were consecrated with holy oil by the archbishops of Reims. Except the west front, which was built in the fourteenth century, the cathedral was completed by the end of the thirteenth century. The towers, 267 feet high, were originally designed to reach 394 feet. The façade, with its three arched portals, exquisite rose window, and "gallery of the kings," is justly celebrated. The cathedral — walls, roof, statues, and windows — was terribly damaged by the German bombardment during the late war.

the Orient, but before long the commercial revival extended to other parts of Europe.

Before the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope the spices, drugs, incense, carpets, tapestries, porcelains, and gems of India, China, and the East Indies reached the West by three main routes.[1] All had been used in ancient times. The central and most important route led up the Persian Gulf and Tigris River to Bagdad, from which city goods went by caravan to Antioch or Damascus. The southern route reached Cairo and Alexandria by way of the Red Sea and the Nile. By taking advantage of the monsoons, a merchant ship could make the voyage from India to Egypt in about three months. The northern route, entirely overland, led to ports on the Black Sea and thence to Constantinople. It traversed high mountain passes and long stretches of desert, and hence was profitably used only for the transport of valuable articles small in bulk. The conquests of the Ottoman Turks greatly interfered with the use of this route by Christians after the middle of the fifteenth century.

Asiatic trade routes

Oriental goods, upon reaching the Mediterranean, could be transported by water to northern Europe. Every year the Venetians sent a fleet loaded with eastern products to Bruges in Flanders, a city which was the most important depot of trade with Germany, England, and Scandinavia. Bruges also formed the terminus of the main overland route leading from Venice over the Alps and down the Rhine. Many other commercial highways also linked the Mediterranean with the North Sea and the Baltic.

European trade routes

59. Cathedrals and Universities

For several centuries after the barbarian invasions, architecture made little progress in western Europe, outside of Italy, which was subject to Byzantine influence, and Spain, which was a center of Arabian culture. The architectural revival dates from the time of Charlemagne, with

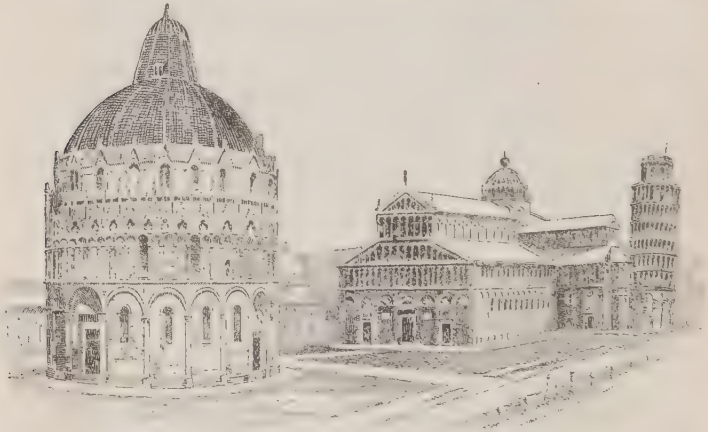
Romanesque architecture

[1] See the map facing page 192.

the adoption of the style of building called Romanesque, because it made use of vaulting, domes, and the round arch, as in Roman structures.[1]

The style of building called Gothic (after the Goths) prevailed during the later Middle Ages. It formed a natural development from Romanesque. The architects of a Gothic cathedral wished to retain the vaulted ceiling, but at the same time to do away with thick, solid walls, which had

Gothic architecture



BAPTISTERY, CATHEDRAL, AND "LEANING TOWER" OF PISA

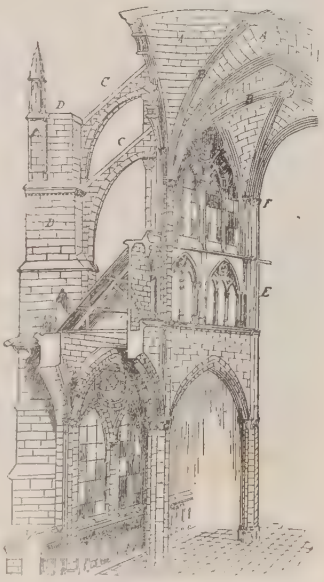
These three buildings in the piazza of Pisa form one of the most interesting architectural groups in Italy. The baptistery, completed in 1278, is a circular structure, 100 feet in diameter and covered with a high dome. The cathedral was consecrated in 1118. The finest part of the building is the west front with its four open arcades. The campanile, or bell tower, reaches a height of 179 feet. Owing to the sinking of the foundations, it leans from the perpendicular to a striking extent (now about 16½ feet).

so little window space as to leave the interior of the building dark and gloomy. They solved this problem, in the first place, by using a great number of stone ribs, which rested on columns and gathered up the weight of the ceiling. Ribbed vaulting made possible higher ceilings, spanning wider areas, than in Romanesque churches. In the second place, the columns supporting the ribs were themselves connected by means of flying buttresses

[1] See the illustrations on pages 232 and 260.

with stout piers of masonry outside the walls of the church. These walls, relieved from the pressure of the ceiling, now became a mere screen to keep out the weather. They could be built of light materials and filled with high and wide windows. Gothic builders also substituted for the Roman round arch the lighter and more graceful pointed arch, which had long been known and used by the Arabs.

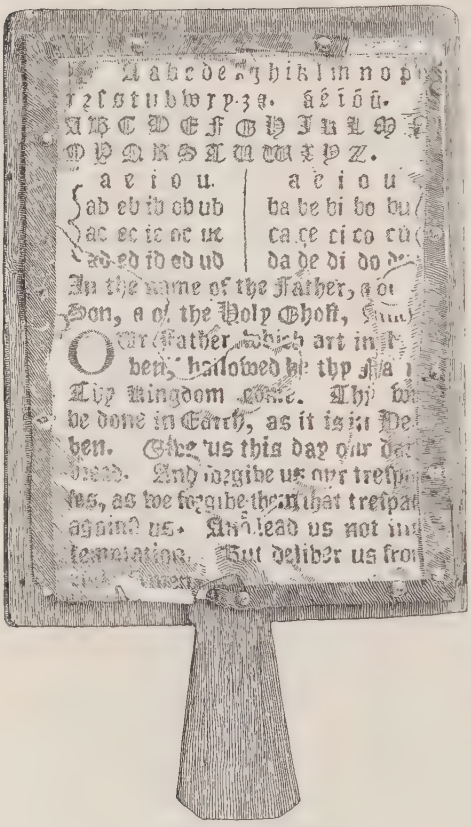
The labors of the Gothic architect were admirably seconded by those of other artists. **Gothic ornament** The sculptor cut figures of men, animals, and plants in the utmost profusion. The painter covered vacant wall spaces with brilliant frescoes. The woodcarver made exquisite choir stalls, pulpits, altars, and screens. Master workmen filled the stone tracery of the windows with stained glass unequaled in coloring by the finest modern work. The interior of a Gothic cathedral, with its vast nave rising in swelling arches to the vaulted roof, its clustered columns, its glowing windows, and infinite variety of ornamentation, forms the most awe-inspiring sanctuary ever raised by man.



Cross Section of Amiens Cathedral

A, vaulting; *B*, ribs; *C*, flying buttresses; *D*, buttresses; *E*, low windows; *F*, clerestory.

The universities developed from cathedral and monastic schools, where boys were trained to become priests or monks. The teaching, which lay entirely in the hands of the clergy, was elementary in character. **Elementary education** Pupils learned enough Latin grammar to read religious books, if not always to understand them, and enough music to follow the services of the Church. They also studied arithmetic by means of the awkward Roman notation, received a smattering of geometry



A Hornbook

A child's primer framed in wood and covered with a thin plate of transparent horn. It included the alphabet in small letters and in capitals, with vowel combinations and the Lord's Prayer in English. This particular example was found at Oxford and is now in the Bodleian Library.

and astronomy, and sometimes gained a little knowledge of such subjects as geography, law, and philosophy. Besides these Church schools, others were maintained by the guilds and also by private benefactors.

Rise of universities

There are about fifty European universities dating from the later Middle Ages. They arose, as it were, spontaneously. Western Europe in the eleventh and twelfth centuries felt the thrill of a great intellectual revival. It was stimulated by intercourse with the highly cultivated Arabs in Spain, Sicily, and the East, and with the Greek scholars of Constantinople during the crusades. The desire for instruction became so general that the elementary schools could not satisfy it. Other schools were then opened in the cities, and to them flocked eager learners from every quarter. Such was the origin of the University of Paris, which at one time had more than five thousand students. It furnished the model for

the English university of Oxford, as well as for the learned institutions of Scotland, Denmark, Sweden, and Germany. Those in Italy and Spain were modeled, more or less, upon the university of Bologna.

University organization

The word "university"[1] meant at first simply a union or association. In the Middle Ages all artisans belonged to guilds,[2] and when teachers and pupils associated themselves for study they naturally copied the guild form of organization. After passing part of his examination, a student (apprentice) became a "bachelor of arts" (journeyman) and might teach certain elementary subjects to those beneath him. Upon the completion of the full course — usually six years in length — the bachelor took his final examination and, if successful, received the coveted degree of "master of arts."

Tower of Magdalen College, Oxford

Magdalen (pronounced *Maudlin*) is perhaps the most beautiful college in Oxford. The bell tower stands on High Street, the principal thoroughfare of Oxford, and adjoins Magdalen Bridge, built across the Cherwell. Begun in 1492; completed in 1505. From its summit a Latin hymn is sung every year on the morning of May Day. This graceful tower has been several times imitated in American collegiate structures.

Colleges

The members of a university usually lived in a number of colleges. These seem to have been at first little more than lodging-houses, where poor students were cared for at the expense of some benefactor. As the colleges increased in wealth, through the gifts made to them, they became centers of instruction under the direction of masters. At Oxford and Cambridge, where the collegiate system has been retained to the present time, each college possesses separate buildings and enjoys the privilege of self-government.

A university of the Middle Ages did not need an expensive collection of libraries, laboratories, and museums. Its only

[1] Latin *universitas*. [2] See page 227.

necessary equipment consisted of lecture rooms for the professors. Not even benches or chairs were required, for students often sat on the straw-strewn floors. The high price of manuscripts compelled professors to give all instruction by lectures. This method of teaching has been retained in modern universities, because even the printed book is a poor substitute for a scholar's inspiring words.

Teaching

A University Lecture

After a fifteenth-century manuscript in the British Museum.

The studies in a medieval university were grouped under the four faculties of arts, theology, law, and medicine. The first-named faculty taught the "seven liberal arts," that is, grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy. Theology, law, and medicine then, as now, were professional studies, taken up after the completion of the Arts course. Owing to the constant movement of students from one university to another, each institution tended to specialize in one or more fields of learning. Thus, Paris came to be noted for theology, Montpellier, Padua, and Salerno for medicine, and Orléans, Bologna, and Salamanca for law.

Studies

60. National Languages during the Later Middle Ages

Latin continued to be an international language throughout the medieval period. The Roman Church used it for papal bulls and other documents. Prayers were recited, hymns were sung, and sometimes sermons were preached in Latin. It was also the language of men of culture

Latin as an international language

everywhere in Christendom. University professors lectured in Latin, students spoke Latin, lawyers addressed judges in Latin, and the merchants in different countries wrote Latin letters to one another. All learned books were composed in Latin until the close of the sixteenth century. This practice has not yet been entirely abandoned by scholars.

Each European country during the later Middle Ages had also its own national tongue. The Romance languages, including modern French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and Rumanian, were derived from the Latin spoken by the Romanized inhabitants of the lands now known as France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Rumania.[1] Their colloquial Latin naturally lacked the elegance of the literary Latin used by Cæsar, Cicero, and other ancient authors. The difference between the written and spoken forms of the language became more marked from the fifth century onward, in consequence of the barbarian invasions. Gradually in each country new and vigorous tongues arose, related to, yet different from, the old classical Latin in pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary.

The Romance languages

The popular Latin of the Gallo-Romans gave rise to two groups of languages in medieval France. The first was used in the southern part of the country; it was called Provençal (from Provence). The second was spoken in the north, particularly in the region about Paris. The unification of the French kingdom under Hugh Capet and his successors[2] gradually extended the speech of northern France over the entire country. Modern French contains less than a thousand words introduced by the German invaders of Gaul, while the words of Celtic origin are even fewer in number. Nearly all the rest are derived from Latin.

French

The Teutonic peoples who remained outside what had been the limits of the Roman world continued to use their native tongues during the Middle Ages. From them have come modern German, Dutch, Flemish, and the various Scandinavian languages (Danish, Norwegian, Swedish,

The Teutonic languages

[1] See page 146. [2] See page 199.

and Icelandic).[1] All these languages in their earliest known forms show unmistakable traces of a common origin.

Britain was the only Roman province in the west of Europe where a Teutonic language took root and maintained itself.

Anglo-Saxon

Here the rough, guttural speech of the Anglo-Saxons completely drove out the popular Latin. In course of time Anglo-Saxon underwent various changes. Christian missionaries, from the seventh century onward, introduced many new Latin terms for church offices, services, and observances. The Danes, besides contributing some place-names, gave us that most useful word *are*, and also the habit of using *to* before an infinitive. The coming of the Normans deeply affected Anglo-Saxon. Norman-French influence helped to make the language simpler, by ridding it of the cumbersome declensions and conjugations which it had in common with all Teutonic tongues. Many new Norman-French words also crept in, as the hostility of the English people toward their conquerors disappeared.

Anglo-Saxon, by the middle of the thirteenth century, had so far developed that it may now be called English. In the poems

English

of Chaucer (about 1340–1400), especially his *Canterbury Tales*, English wears quite a modern look, though the reader is sometimes troubled by the old spelling and by certain words not now in use. The changes in the grammar of the language have been so extremely slight since the end of the fifteenth century that any Englishman of ordinary education can read without difficulty a book written more than four hundred years ago. English has been, and still is, extremely hospitable to new words, so that its vocabulary has grown very fast by the adoption of terms from Latin, French, and other tongues. These have immensely increased the expressiveness of English, while giving it a position midway between the very different Romance and Teutonic languages.

Our survey of medieval civilization has been largely confined to the later Middle Ages—the period from about 1000 to about

[1] Icelandic is the oldest and purest form of Scandinavian. Danish and Norwegian are practically the same; in fact, their literary or book-language is one.

1500. When the Arabs had brought the culture of the Near East to Spain and Sicily, when the Northmen after their wonderful expansion had settled down in Normandy, England and other countries, and when the peoples of western Europe, whether as pilgrims or crusaders, had visited Constantinople and the Holy Land, men's minds received a wonderful stimulus. The intellectual life of Europe was "speeded up," and the way was prepared for the even more rapid advance of civilization in the sixteenth century, as the Middle Ages passed into the Renaissance.

Medieval civilization and the Renaissance

Studies

1. What parts of Europe were Christianized before 800, between 800–1100, and after 1100 (map between pages 204–205)? 2. "Medieval Europe was a camp with a church in the background." Comment on this statement. 3. Mention some respects in which the Roman Church during the Middle Ages differed from any religious society at the present day. 4. Distinguish between the *faith* of the Church, the *organization* of the Church, and the Church as a *force* in history. 5. "The monks and the friars were the militia of the Church." Comment on this statement. 6. Enumerate the principal benefits which the monastic system conferred on Europe. 7. Who is the present pope? When and by whom was he elected? In what city does he reside? What is his residence called? 8. Describe the agricultural processes and implements shown in the illustration on page 218. 9. Show that the serf was not a slave or a "hired man" or a tenant-farmer paying rent. 10. Why has the medieval city been called the "birthplace of modern democracy"? 11. Compare the merchant guild with the modern chamber of commerce, and craft guilds with modern trade unions. 12. Why was there no antagonism between labor and capital under the guild system? 13. Show that Venice in medieval times was the seaport nearest the heart of commercial Europe. 14. Trace on the map facing page 192 the chief land and water routes between Europe and Asia during the Middle Ages. 15. Distinguish between the Romanesque and Gothic styles of architecture. What is the origin of each term? 16. Contrast a Gothic cathedral with a Greek temple, particularly in regard to size, height, support of the roof, windows, and decorative features. 17. Compare medieval with modern universities, noting both resemblances and difference between them. 18. Show how Latin served as an international language in the Middle Ages. 19. Enumerate the most important contributions to civilization made during the Middle Ages.

CHAPTER VII

THE RENAISSANCE[1]

61. Revival of Learning and Art in Italy

THE French word *Renaissance* means Rebirth or Revival. It is a convenient term for all the changes in society, law, and government, in science, philosophy, and religion, and in literature and art which transformed medieval civilization into that of modern times. The Renaissance, just because of its transitional character, cannot be exactly dated. In general, it covers the sixteenth century. Many Renaissance movements, however, began much earlier. Among those which we have already noticed were the rise of strong national states, replacing feudalism as a system of government, the growth of cities, the decline and ultimate extinction of serfdom, and the commercial progress which attended and followed the crusades. The Renaissance thus appears as a *gradual* development out of the Middle Ages, not as a sudden revolution.

Transition to modern times

The name Renaissance applied, at first, only to the rebirth or revival of man's interest in the civilization of classical antiquity. Italy was the original home of this Renaissance. There it first appeared, there it found widest acceptance, and there it reached its highest development. From Italy the Renaissance spread beyond the Alps, until it had made the round of western Europe.

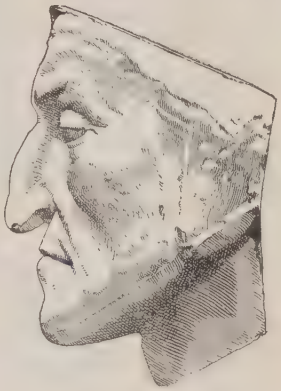
Original home of the Renaissance

Italy was a land particularly favorable to the growth of learning and the arts. The great cities of Milan, Pisa, Genoa,

[1] Webster, *Readings in Medieval and Modern History*, chapter xix, "A Scholar of the Renaissance"; chapter xx, "Renaissance Artists"; chapter xxi, "The Travels of Marco Polo"; chapter xxii, "The Aborigines of the New World"; chapter xxiii, "Martin Luther and the Beginning of the Reformation"; chapter xxiv, "England in the Age of Elizabeth."

Florence, Venice, and many others had early succeeded in throwing off their feudal burdens and had become independent, self-governing communities. Democracy flourished in them, as in the old Greek city-states. Noble birth counted for little: a man of ability and ambition might rise to any place. The fierce party conflicts within their walls stimulated mental activity and helped to make life full, varied, and intense. Their widespread trade and thriving manufactures made them prosperous. Wealth brought leisure, bred a taste for luxury and the refinements of life, and gave means for the gratification of that taste. People wanted to have about them beautiful pictures, statuary, furniture, palaces, and churches; and they rewarded richly the artists who could produce such things. It is not without significance that the birthplace of the Italian Renaissance was democratic, industrial, and wealthy Florence.

Italian cities of the Renaissance

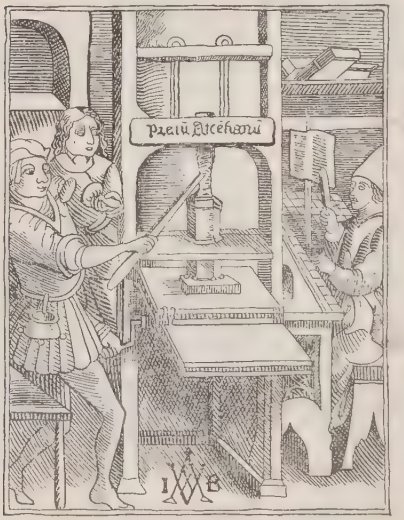


Mask of Dante

The literature of Rome did not entirely disappear in western Europe after the Teutonic invasions. The monastery and cathedral schools of the Middle Ages had nourished devoted students of ancient books. The Benedictine monks labored zealously in copying the works of pagan as well as Christian authors. The rise of universities made it possible for the student to pursue a fairly extended course in Latin literature at more than one institution of learning. Reverence for the classics finds constant expression in the writings of the Italian poet Dante (1265–1321), whose *Divine Comedy*, describing an imaginary visit to hell, purgatory, and paradise, ranks among the world's masterpieces of literature. Petrarch (1304–1374) did much to spread a knowledge of Latin authors. He traveled widely in Italy, France, and other countries, searching every-

Renewed interest in the classics

where for ancient manuscripts and employing copyists to transcribe those which he discovered or borrowed. Petrarch, however, knew almost no Greek. His copy of Homer, it is said, he often kissed, though he could not read it. Renewed interest in the literature of Greece dates from the fifteenth century, when the advance of the Ottoman Turks, culminating in the capture of Constantinople,[1] sent a stream of Greek exiles into Italy. Some of them were learned men, and their conversation and lectures greatly stimulated the study of Greek in the West.



An Early Printing Press

Enlarged from the printer's mark of I. B. Ascensius. Used on the title pages of books printed by him between 1507–1535.

The languages and literatures of ancient Greece and Rome opened up a new world of thought and fancy to scholars. They were delighted by the fresh, original, and liberal ideas which they discovered in the pages of Homer, Plato, Cicero, and other ancient writers.

Humanism

Humanism,[2] as the study of the classics was called, before long gained an entrance into university courses, displacing theology and philosophy as the chief subject of instruction. From the universities it descended to the lower schools, where Greek and especially Latin—the "humanities"—still hold a prominent place in the curriculum.

The revival of learning was immensely stimulated when books printed on linen paper by movable type made their

[1] See page 194.

[2] Latin *humanitas*, "literary culture."

appearance. Paper-making originated in China, and the Arabs introduced the art into Spain and Italy during the Middle Ages. A long time elapsed, however, before paper became abundant and cheap enough to serve as a substitute for papyrus and parchment. Movable type had been used for several centuries in the Far East, and in Europe several printers have been credited with its invention. A German, Johann Gutenberg of Mainz, seems to have set up the first practical printing press with movable type about 1450, and from it issued the first printed book. This was a Latin translation of the Bible. Printing met an especially warm welcome in Italy, where people felt so keen a desire for reading and instruction. By the end of the fifteenth century Venice alone had more than two hundred printing presses.

Printing

Printed books could be multiplied far more rapidly than manuscripts copied by hand. They could also be far more accurate than manuscripts, for, when an entire edition was printed from the same type, mistakes in the different copies were eliminated. Furthermore, the invention of printing destroyed the monopoly of learning possessed by the universities and people of wealth. Books were now the possession of the many, not the luxury of the few. Any one who could read had opened to him the gateway of knowledge; he became a citizen, henceforth, of the republic of letters. Printing, which made possible popular education, public libraries, and ultimately cheap newspapers, thus became a force *emancipating* mankind from bondage to ignorance.

Significance of printing

Gothic architecture, with its pointed arches, flying buttresses, and traceried windows, never struck deep roots in Italy. The architects of the Renaissance went back to Greek temples and Roman domed buildings for their models, just as the humanists went back to Greek and Latin literature. Long rows of Ionic or Corinthian columns, spanned by round arches, became again the prevailing architectural style. Perhaps the most important feature of Renaissance architecture was the use of the dome, instead of the vault, for the roofs of churches. The majestic cupola of St. Peter's at

Architecture

Rome has become the parent of many domed structures in the Old and in the New World.[1] Architects, however, did not limit themselves to churches. The magnificent palaces of Florence, as well as some of those in Venice, are monuments of the Renaissance era.

Sculpture

The development of architecture naturally stimulated other arts. Italian sculptors began to copy the ancient bas-reliefs and statues preserved in Rome and other cities. The greatest of Renaissance sculptors was Michelangelo (1475–1564). Though a Florentine by birth, he lived for most of his life in Rome. Michelangelo also won fame in architecture and painting. The dome of St. Peter's was finished after his designs, while the frescoes on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican display his genius as a painter.

Painting

Italian painting began in the service of the Church and long remained religious in character. Artists usually chose subjects from the Bible or the lives of the saints. They did not trouble themselves to secure correctness of costume, but painted ancient Jews, Greeks, and Romans in the garb of Italian gentlemen. Many of their pictures were frescoes, that is, the colors were mixed with water and applied to the plaster walls of churches and palaces. After the process of mixing oils with the colors was discovered, pictures on wood or canvas (easel paintings) became common. Italian painters excelled in portraiture. They were less successful with landscapes. A list of the "Old Masters" of Italian painting always includes the names of Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, and Titian.

Music

Another modern art, that of music, arose in Italy during the Renaissance. In the sixteenth century, the three-stringed rebeck received a fourth string and became the violin, the most expressive of all musical instruments. A forerunner of the pianoforte also appeared in the harpsichord. A papal organist and choir-master, Palestrina (1526–1594), was the first of the great composers. He gave music its fitting place in worship by composing melodious hymns and masses still

[1] For instance, the Invalides in Paris, St. Paul's in London, and the Capitol at Washington.

ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN — TITIAN

SISTINE MADONNA — RAPHAEL

THE LAST SUPPER — LEONARDO DA VINCI

MARRIAGE OF ST. CATHERINE
CORREGGIO

MONA LISA GIOCONDA
LEONARDO DA VINCI

ITALIAN PAINTINGS OF THE RENAISSANCE

sung in Roman Catholic churches. The oratorio, a religious drama set to music but without action, scenery, or costume, had its beginning at this time. The opera, however, was little developed until the eighteenth century.

62. Revival of Learning and Art beyond Italy

Italy had fostered the revival of learning by recovering the long-buried treasures of the classics and by providing means for their study. Scholars in Germany, France, and England, who now had the aid of the printing press, continued the intellectual movement and gave it widespread currency. The foremost of these scholars was Erasmus (1466–1536), a native of Rotterdam in Holland. His travels and extensive correspondence brought him in touch with many learned men of the day. The most important achievement of Erasmus was an edition of the New Testament in the original Greek, with a Latin version. This work led to a better understanding of the New Testament and also prepared the way for translations of the Scriptures into the vernacular tongues.

Spread of humanism in Europe

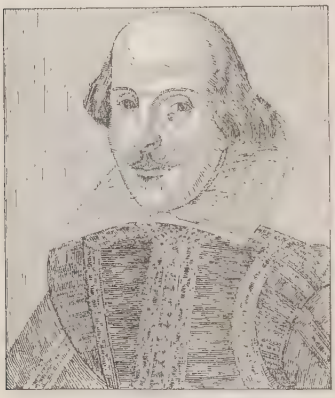
DESIDERIUS ERASMUS
Louvre, Paris

A portrait by the German artist, Hans Holbein the Younger (1497–1543). Probably an excellent likeness of Erasmus.

The renewed interest in classical studies for a while retarded the development of national languages and literatures in Europe. Humanists regarded only Latin and Greek as worthy of attention. But a return to the vernacular was bound to come. The common people, who understood little Latin and less Greek, had now learned to read and had the printing press. Before long many books composed

The vernacular tongues

in Italian, Spanish, French, English, and other national languages made their appearance. This revival of the vernacular meant that henceforth European literature would be more creative and original than was possible when writers merely imitated or translated the classics. The sixteenth century, we remember, was the age of the Spaniard, Cervantes, whose *Don Quixote* is still so popular, of the Frenchman, Montaigne, author of many essays delightful in style and full of wit and wisdom, and of the Englishman, William Shakespeare, whose genius transcended national boundaries and made him a citizen of the world.



WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

From the copper-plate engraved by Martin Droeshout as frontispiece to the First Folio edition of Shakespeare's works in 1623. In this engraving the head is far too large for the body, and the dress is out of perspective. The only other authentic likeness of Shakespeare is the bust over his grave in Holy Trinity Church, Stratford-on-Avon.

The artistic revival in Europe

Italian architects found a cordial reception in France, Spain, the Netherlands, and other countries, where they introduced Renaissance styles of building and ornamentation. The celebrated palace of the Louvre in Paris, which is used to-day as an art gallery and museum, dates from the sixteenth century.[1] At this time French nobles began to replace their somber feudal dwellings by elegant country houses. Renaissance sculpture also spread beyond Italy and throughout Europe. Painters in northern countries at first followed Italian models, but afterward produced masterpieces of their own.

Humanism and science

The Middle Ages were not by any means ignorant of science, but its study received a great impetus when the Renaissance brought before educated men all that the Greeks and Romans had done in mathematics, physics,

[1] See the illustration on page 443.

astronomy, medicine, and other subjects. The invention of printing also fostered the scientific revival by making it easy to spread knowledge abroad in every land. The pioneers of Renaissance science were Italians, but students in France, England, Germany, and other countries soon took up the work of enlightenment.

The Copernican theory

The first place among Renaissance scientists must be given to Copernicus (1473–1543), the founder of modern astronomy. He was a Pole, but lived for many years in Italy. Research and calculation led him to the conclusion that the earth turns upon its own axis, and, together with the planets, revolves around the sun. The book in which he announced this conclusion did not appear until the very end of his life. Astronomers before Copernicus generally accepted the doctrine, formulated by the Greek scientist Ptolemy in the second century, that the earth was the center of the universe. Some students had indeed suggested that the earth and planets might rotate about a central sun, but Copernicus first gave adequate reasons for such a belief. An Italian astronomer, Galileo, made one of the first telescopes—it was about as powerful as an opera glass—and turned it on the heavenly bodies with wonderful results. He found the sun moving unmistakably on its axis, Venus showing phases according to her position in relation to the sun, Jupiter accompanied by revolving moons, or satellites, and the Milky Way composed of a multitude of separate stars. Galileo rightly believed that these discoveries confirmed the theory of Copernicus.

The scientific method

Copernicus, Galileo, and their fellow workers built up the scientific method. Students in the Middle Ages had mostly been satisfied to accept what Aristotle and other philosophers had said, without trying to verify their statements. The new scientific method rested on observation and experiment. As Lord Bacon, one of Shakespeare's contemporaries, declared, "All depends on keeping the eye steadily fixed upon the facts of nature, and so receiving their images simply as they are, for God forbid that we should give out a dream of our own imagination for a pattern of the world."

Modern science, to which we owe so much, is a child of the Renaissance.

63. Geographical Discovery

There was also a geographical Renaissance. The revival of exploration brought about the discovery of ocean routes to the Far East and the Americas. In consequence, commerce was vastly stimulated, and two continents, hitherto unknown, were opened up to civilization. The geographical Renaissance thus coöperated with the other movements of the age in bringing about the transition from medieval to modern times.

Revival of exploration

The Greeks and Romans had become familiar with a large part of Europe and Asia,[1] but much of their learning was either forgotten or perverted during the early Middle Ages. Even the wonderful discoveries of the Northmen in the North Atlantic gradually faded from memory. The Arabs, whose conquests and commerce spread over so much of the Orient, far surpassed the Christian peoples of Europe in knowledge of the world.

Medieval ignorance of geography

The crusades first extended geographical knowledge by fostering pilgrimages and missions in Oriental lands. Numerous merchants also visited the East. Among them were the Venetians, Nicolo and Maffeo Polo, and Nicolo's son, Marco. The Polos made an adventurous journey through the heart of Asia to the court of Kublai Khan at Peking, or Cambaluc. The Mongol ruler, who seems to have been anxious to introduce Christianity and European culture among his people, received them in a friendly manner, and they amassed much wealth by trade. Marco entered the Khan's service and went on several expeditions to distant parts of the Mongol realm. Many years passed before Kublai would allow his useful guests to return to Europe. When they reached Venice after an absence of twenty-four years, their relatives were slow to recognize in them the long-lost Polos.[2]

The Polos in the East, 1271-1295

[1] See the footnote on page 109.

[2] For Marco Polo's route see the map facing page 192.

The story of the Polos, as written down at Marco's dictation, became one of the most popular works of the Middle Ages. In this book people read of far Cathay (China), with its wealth, its huge cities, and swarming population, of mysterious and secluded Tibet, of Burma, Siam, and Cochin-China, with their palaces and pagodas, of the East Indies, famed for spices, of Ceylon, abounding in pearls, and of India, little known since the days of Alexander the Great. Even Cipango (Japan) Marco described from hearsay as an island whose inhabitants were white, civilized, and so rich in gold that the royal palace was roofed and paved with that metal. The accounts of these countries naturally made Europeans more eager than ever to reach the East.

Marco Polo's book

The new knowledge concerning the land routes of Asia was accompanied by much progress in the art of ocean navigation. The most important invention was that of the mariner's compass. It enabled sailors to find their bearings even in murky weather and on starless nights. The astrolabe, which the Greeks had invented and used for astronomical purposes, seems to have been introduced into Europe through the Arabs. It was employed to calculate latitudes by observation of the height of the sun above the horizon. The charting of coasts became a science during the last centuries of the Middle Ages. Manuals were prepared to give information about the tides, currents, and other features of sea-routes. The increase in size of ships made navigation safer and permitted the storage of bulky cargoes. For long voyages the sailing vessel replaced the medieval galley rowed by oars. As the result of all these aids to exploration, sailors no longer found it necessary to keep close to shore, but could push out into the ocean.

Aids to exploration

The needs of commerce largely account for early exploring voyages. Eastern spices — cinnamon, pepper, cloves, nutmeg, and ginger — were used more freely in medieval times than now, when people lived on salt meat during the winter and salt fish during Lent. Even wine, ale, and medicines had a seasoning of spices. Besides spices, all kinds of precious stones, drugs, perfumes, gums, dyes,

Commercial motive for exploration

and fragrant woods came from the East. Since the time of the crusades these luxuries, after having been brought overland or by water to Mediterranean ports, had been distributed by

BEHAIM'S GLOBE

The ideas of European geographers in the period just preceding the discovery of America are represented on a map, or rather a globe, which dates from 1492. It was made by a German navigator, Martin Behaim, for his native city of Nuremberg, where it is still preserved. Behaim shows the mythical island of St. Brandan, lying in mid-ocean, and beyond it Cipango, the East Indies, and Cathay. The outlines of North America and South America here shown, do not appear, of course, on the original globe.

Venetian and Genoese merchants throughout Europe.[1] Two other European peoples—the Portuguese and Spaniards—now appeared as competitors for this Oriental trade. Their efforts to break through the monopoly enjoyed by the Italian cities

[1] See page 231.

led to the discovery of the sea-routes to the Indies. The Portuguese were first in the field.

Gradual exploration of the western coast of Africa and the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope in 1487 had convinced the Portuguese that the Indies could be reached by a maritime route. A daring mariner, Vasco da Gama, soon proved this true by sailing from Lisbon to Calicut on the southwestern coast of India. When Da Gama returned to Lisbon, he brought back a cargo which repaid sixty times the cost of the expedition. The Portuguese king received him with high honor and created him Admiral of the Indies.

Da Gama's voyage, 1497-1498

Six years before Vasco da Gama cast anchor in the harbor of Calicut, another intrepid sailor, seeking the Indies by a western route, accidentally discovered America. It does not detract from the glory of Columbus to show that the way for his discovery had been long in preparation. In the first place, the theory that the earth is round had been familiar to the Greeks and Romans, and to some learned men even in the darkest period of the Middle Ages. The awakening of interest in Greek science, as a result of the Renaissance, called renewed attention to the statements by ancient geographers. After the revival of Ptolemy's works in the fifteenth century, scholars very generally accepted the globular theory; and they even went so far as to calculate the circumference of the earth.

The globular theory

In the second place, men had long believed that west of Europe, beyond the strait of Gibralter, lay mysterious lands. This notion first appears in the writings of the Greek philosopher, Plato, who repeats an old tradition concerning Atlantis. According to Plato, Atlantis had been an island, continental in size, but thousands of years before his time it had sunk beneath the sea. A widespread legend of the Middle Ages also described the visit made by St. Brandan, an Irish monk, to the "promised land of the saints," an earthly paradise far out in the Atlantic. St. Brandan's Island was marked on early maps, and voyages in search of it were sometimes undertaken.

Atlantis and St. Brandan's Island

All know the story of the first voyage of Columbus. When he started out, he firmly believed that a journey of only four thousand miles would bring him to Cipango and the realms of the Great Khan of Cathay. The error was natural enough, for Ptolemy had reckoned the earth's circumference to be about one-sixth less than it is, and Marco Polo had given an exaggerated idea of the distance to which Asia extended toward the east. The name West Indies, applied to the islands discovered by Columbus, still remains as a testimony to this error.

First voyage of Columbus, 1492

THE "SANTA MARIA," FLAGSHIP OF COLUMBUS

After the model reproduced for the Columbian Exposition at Chicago, 1893.

Shortly after the return of Columbus from his first voyage, Pope Alexander VI, in response to a request by Ferdinand and Isabella, issued a bull granting these sovereigns exclusive rights over the newly discovered lands. In order that the Spanish possessions should be clearly marked off from those of the Portuguese, the pope laid down an imaginary line of demarcation in the Atlantic, three hundred miles west of the Azores. All new discoveries west of the line were to belong to Spain and all those east of it, to Portugal.[1] But this arrangement, which excluded France, England, and other European countries from the New World, could not be long maintained.

The demarcation line, 1493

The demarcation line had a good deal to do in bringing about the first voyage around the globe. So far no one had yet realized

[1] In 1494 the demarcation line was shifted about eight hundred miles farther to the west. Six years later, when the Portuguese discovered Brazil, that country was found to lie within their sphere of influence. See the map between pages 254–255.

the dream of Columbus to reach the lands of spice and silk by sailing westward. Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese in the service of Spain, believed that the Spice Islands lay within the Spanish sphere of influence and that a route to them could be found through some strait at the southern end of South America. The Spanish ruler, Charles V, grandson of the Isabella who had supported Columbus, looked with favor upon Magellan's ideas and provided a fleet of five vessels for the undertaking. After exploring the eastern coast of South America, Magellan came at length to the strait which now bears his name. He sailed boldly through this strait into an ocean called by him the Pacific, because of its peaceful aspect. A voyage of ninety-eight days across the Pacific brought him to the Ladrone or Marianas Islands. Magellan then proceeded to the Philippines, where he was killed in a fight with the natives. His men, however, managed to reach the Spice Islands. A single ship, the *Victoria*, subsequently carried back to Spain the few sailors who had survived the hardships of a journey lasting nearly three years. Magellan's voyage forms a landmark of geographical discovery. It proved that America, at least on the south, had no connection with Asia; it showed the enormous extent of the Pacific Ocean; and it led to the discovery of many large islands in the East Indies. Henceforth men knew of a certainty that the earth is round and in the distance covered by Magellan they had a rough estimate of its size. The circumnavigation of the globe ranks with the discovery of the sea-routes to the Indies and to America among the most significant events of history.

Circumnavigation of the globe, 1519-1522

64. Colonial Empires

After Da Gama's voyage the Portuguese made haste to appropriate the wealth of the Indies. By the middle of the sixteenth century they had acquired almost complete ascendancy throughout southern Asia and the adjacent islands. Their colonial empire included many trading coasts in Africa, Ormuz at the entrance to the Persian Gulf, the western coast of India, Ceylon, Malacca

Portuguese ascendancy in the East

at the end of the Malay Peninsula, and various possessions in the Malay Archipelago.

Portuguese trade monopoly

The Portuguese came to the East as the successors of the Arabs, who for centuries had conducted an extensive trade on the Indian Ocean. Having dispossessed the Arabs, the Portuguese took care to shut out all European competitors. Only their own merchants were allowed to bring goods from the Indies to Europe by the Cape route. Lisbon, the capital of Portugal, formed the chief depot for spices and other eastern commodities. The French, English, and Dutch came there to buy them and took the place of Italian merchants in distributing them throughout Europe.

Collapse of the Portuguese power

The triumph of Portugal was short-lived. This small country, with a population of not more than a million, lacked the strength to defend her claims to a monopoly of the Oriental trade. During the seventeenth century the French and English broke the power of the Portuguese in India, while the Dutch drove them from Ceylon and the East Indies.

Spanish ascendancy in the West

The discoverers of the New World were naturally the pioneers in its exploration. The adventures of Ponce de León, who discovered Florida in 1513, of Balboa, who sighted the Pacific in the same year, of Cortés, who overthrew the Aztec power in Mexico, of Pizarro, who conquered the Incas of Peru, of De Soto, and of Coronado are familiar to every reader of American history. These men laid the foundations of the Spanish colonial empire. It included Florida, New Mexico, California, Mexico, Central America, the West Indies, and all South America except Brazil.[1] The rule of Spain over these dominions lasted nearly three hundred years. During this time she gave her language, her government, and her religion to half the New World.

The government of Spain administered its colonial dominions in the spirit of monopoly. As far as possible, it excluded

[1] The Philippines, which Magellan discovered in 1521, also belonged to Spain, though by the demarcation line these islands lay within the Portuguese sphere of influence.

80°
100°
120°
140°
160°
180°
160°
140°
120°
60°
40°
20°
0°
20°
40°
60°
A S I A
EAST
INDIES
P A C I F I C
O C E A N
AUSTRALIA
Macao
PHILIPPINE IS.
LADRONE IS.
Malacca
BORNEO
SPICE IS. (MOLUCCAS)
SUMATRA
CELEBES
NEW GUINEA
JAVA
Tropic of Cancer
Sir Francis Drake, 1579
Spanish Trade Route to the Philippines
Drake's Bay
Equator
Magellan, 1521
Tropic of Capricorn
Pope Alexander VI's demarcation line, 1493
PORTUGUESE AND SP
COLONIAL EMPI
IN THE SIXTEENTH CE
Portuguese
Spanish
Longitude
W

80° 60° 40° 20° 0° 20° 40° 60° 80°
Arctic Circle
ATLANTIC
EUROPE
ASIA
AFRICA
INDIA
INDIAN OCEAN
SOUTH AMERICA
NDIES
OCEAN
John Cabot, 1497
NEWFOUNDLAND
John Cabot, 1498
Plymouth
Lisbon
Cadiz
1st Voyage, 1492-93
Columbus
Spanish Trade Route
Ormuz
Diu
Cannanor
Calicut
Goa
SOCOTRA
Cochin
Mombasa
Pernambuco
Bahia
Mozambique
Trade Route
MADAGASCAR
Vasco da Gama, 1497
Congo R.
Portug.
Drake, 1580
Elcano in Magellan's ship "Victoria" 1522
1577
Drake
TIERRA DEL FUEGO
Pope Alexander VI's demarcation line, 1493
Scale of Miles
0 500 1000 2000 3000 4000 5000
THE M.-N. WORKS, BUFFALO, N. Y. 10-15
80° Greenwich 60° 40° 20° 0° Longitude 20° East 40° from 60° Greenwich 80°

French, English, and other foreigners from trading with Spanish America. It also discouraged ship-building, manufacturing, and even the cultivation of the vine and the olive, lest the colonists should compete with home industries. The colonies were regarded only as a work-shop for the production of the precious metals and raw materials. This unwise policy partly accounts for the economic backwardness of Mexico, Peru, and other Spanish-American countries.

Spanish colonial policy

65. The Old World and the New

The New World contained two virgin continents, rich in natural resources and capable of extensive colonization. The native peoples, comparatively few in number and barbarian in culture, could not offer much resistance to the explorers, missionaries, traders, and colonists from the Old World. The Spanish and Portuguese in the sixteenth century, followed by the French, English, and Dutch in the seventeenth century, repeopled America and brought to it European civilization. Europe expanded into a Greater Europe beyond the ocean.

Expansion of Europe

In the Middle Ages the Mediterranean and the Baltic had been the principal highways of commerce. The discovery of America, followed immediately by the opening of the Cape route to the Indies, shifted commercial activity from these inclosed seas to the Atlantic Ocean. Venice, Genoa, Hamburg, Lübeck, and Bruges gradually gave way, as trading centers, to Lisbon and Cadiz, Bordeaux and Cherbourg, Antwerp and Amsterdam, London and Liverpool. One may say, therefore, that the year 1492 inaugurated the Atlantic period of European history.

Shifting of trade routes

The discovery of America revealed to Europeans a new source of the precious metals. The Spaniards soon secured large quantities of gold by plundering the Indians of Mexico and Peru of their stored-up wealth. The output of silver much exceeded that of gold, as soon as the Spaniards began to work the wonderfully rich silver mines of Potosí in Bolivia. It is estimated that, by

Increased production of the precious metals

the end of the sixteenth century, the American mines had produced at least three times as much gold and silver as had been current in Europe at the beginning of the century.

The Spaniards could not keep this new treasure. Having few industries themselves, they were obliged to send it out, as fast as they received it, in payment for their imports of European goods. Spain acted as a huge sieve through which the gold and silver of America entered all the countries of Europe. Money, now more plentiful, purchased far less than in former times; in other words, the prices of all commodities rose, wages advanced, and manufacturers and traders had additional capital to use in their undertakings. The Middle Ages suffered from the lack of sufficient money with which to do business; from the beginning of modern times the world has been better supplied with the indispensable medium of exchange.

Consequences of the enlarged money supply

But America was much more than a treasury of the precious metals. Many commodities, hitherto unknown, soon found their way from the New World to the Old. Among these were maize, the potato, which, when cultivated in Europe, became the "bread of the poor," chocolate and cocoa made from the seeds of the cacao tree, Peruvian bark, or quinine, so useful in malarial fevers, cochineal, the dye-woods of Brazil, and the mahogany of the West Indies. America also sent to Europe large supplies of cane-sugar, molasses, fish, whale-oil, and furs. These new American products became common articles of consumption and so raised the standard of living in European countries.

New commodities imported

To the economic effects of the discoveries must be added their effects on politics. The Atlantic Ocean now formed, not only the commercial, but also the political center of the world. The Atlantic-facing countries, first Portugal and Spain, then Holland, France, and England, became the great powers of Europe. Their trade rivalries and contests for colonial possessions have been potent causes of European wars for the last four hundred years.

Political effects of the discoveries

The sixteenth century in Europe was the age of that revolt

against the Roman Church called the Protestant Reformation. During this period, however, the Church won her victories over the American aborigines. What she lost of territory, wealth, and influence in Europe was offset by what she gained in America. Furthermore, the region now occupied by the United States furnished in the seventeenth century an asylum from religious persecution, as was proved when Puritans settled in New England, Roman Catholics in Maryland, and Quakers in Pennsylvania. The vacant spaces of America offered plenty of room for all who would worship God in their own way. The New World became a refuge from the intolerance of the Old.

Effects of the discoveries upon religion

66. The Protestant Reformation

The Reformation has a place beside the revival of literature, art, and science, the development of invention, and the progress of geographical discovery, among the great movements ushering in the modern world. It involved, as we shall learn, a decisive break with both the teachings of the Church and the authority of the Papacy.

Nature of the Reformation

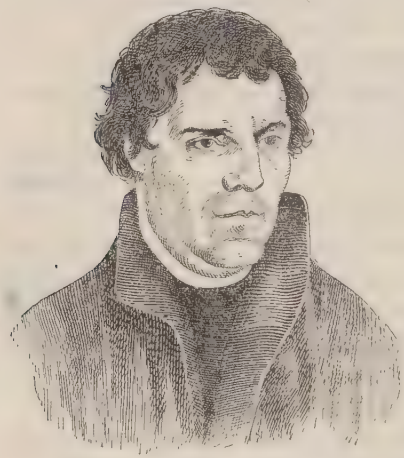
There were several causes of the Reformation. Politically, it expressed the opposition of European sovereigns to the secular authority wielded by the Church.[1] Having triumphed over feudalism, the sovereigns wished to bring the Church, as well, within their jurisdiction. They tried to restrict the privileges of ecclesiastical courts, to impose taxes on the clergy, as on their own subjects, and to dictate the appointment of bishops and abbots to office. The result was constant friction between Church and State in one European country after another. Economically, the Reformation voiced a protest, on the part of both upper and lower classes, against the increasing luxury and extravagance of the papal court.[2] The protest rang loudest in Germany, when there was no strong king to prohibit the drainage of money to Rome, as French and English rulers had done.

Political and economic causes of the Reformation

[1] See page 205. [2] See page 213.

The political and economic causes of the Reformation combined with those strictly religious in character. Thoughtful men in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries had criticized the worldliness of the Church, as reflected in the lives of many of its officers, and had urged that even popes, cardinals, and bishops should imitate the poverty of the Apostles. Some reformers, such as John Wycliffe in England and John Huss in Bohemia, went much further and demanded wholesale changes in Catholic belief and worship. The views of Wycliffe and Huss were now to be expressed in Germany during the sixteenth century by the real founder of the Reformation, Martin Luther.

Religious causes of the Reformation



MARTIN LUTHER

A portrait by Lucas Cranach the Elder of Luther in 1526. Now in the possession of Richard von Kaufmann, Berlin.

Luther was the son of a German peasant, who, by industry and frugality, had gained a small competence. Thanks to his father's self-sacrifice, Luther received a good education in theology and philosophy at the University of Erfurt. He took the degrees of bachelor and master of arts and then began to study law, but an acute sense of his sinfulness and a desire to save his soul soon drove him into a monastery. A few years later Luther visited Rome, only to be shocked by the general laxity of life in the capital of the Papacy. After returning to Germany he became a professor of theology in the University of Wittenberg, where his sermons and lectures attracted large audiences.

Martin Luther

Luther's reforming career began with an attack upon the indulgence system as found in Germany. An indulgence is a

letter of pardon relieving a truly penitent sinner from some or all of the penances (punishments) which the Church would otherwise impose upon him. Its benefits are also applied to the souls of the dead in purgatory. During the Middle Ages the pope granted indulgences to crusaders, pilgrims, and to those who contributed money for a pious object, such as the erection of a church or a convent. Many German princes opposed this method of raising funds for the Church, because it took so much money out of their dominions. Luther condemned it on religious grounds, pointing out that common people, who could not understand the Latin in which indulgences were written, often thought that they wiped away the penalties of sin, even without true repentance. Luther also denied the efficacy of indulgences for souls in purgatory. These and other criticisms were set forth by him in ninety-five theses or propositions, which he offered to defend against all opponents. In accordance with the custom of medieval scholars, Luther posted the theses on the door of the church at Wittenberg, where all might see them. They were composed in Latin, but were at once translated into German, printed, and spread broadcast over Germany. Their effect was so great that before long the granting of indulgences in that country almost ceased.

The Ninety-five Theses

The pope, at first, had paid little attention to the controversy about indulgences, declaring it a "mere squabble of monks," but he now issued a bull against Luther, ordering him to recant within sixty days or be excommunicated. The papal bull did not frighten Luther or withdraw from him popular support. He burnt it in the market square of Wittenberg, in the presence of a concourse of students and townsfolk. This dramatic action deeply stirred all Germany. The pope then urged the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, to put Luther under the ban of the empire. Charles was willing to comply, but the German princes insisted that Luther must not be condemned unheard. Accordingly, Luther was summoned before a great assembly (Diet) of princes and ecclesiastical dignitaries at Worms. Here he refused to retract anything he had written, unless his statements could be shown to contradict the

Diet of Worms, 1521

Bible. "It is neither right nor safe to act against conscience," Luther said. "God help me. Amen."

The Diet of Worms proclaimed Luther a heretic and outlaw, but his friends spirited him away to the castle of the Wartburg.

Luther's leadership

He remained in seclusion for many months, engaged upon a translation of the Bible. Though still under the ban of the empire, Luther now returned to Witten-

Worms Cathedral

The old German city of Worms possesses in the Cathedral of SS. Peter and Paul one of the finest Romanesque structures in Europe. The exterior, with its four round towers, two large domes, and a choir at each end, is particularly imposing. The cathedral was mainly built in the twelfth century.

berg and devoted himself to the reformatory movement. His translation of the Bible, simple, forcible, and easy to understand, enjoyed wide popularity and helped to fix for Germans the form of their literary language. Luther also composed many fine hymns and a catechism, flooded the country with pamphlets, and wrote innumerable letters to his adherents. He became in this way the leader of the German Reformation.

The Reformation in Germany made a wide appeal. To patriotic Germans it seemed a revolt against a foreign power—the Italian Papacy. To men of pious mind it offered the attractions of a simple faith based directly on the Bible. Worldly-minded princes saw in it an opportunity to despoil the Church of lands and revenues. Luther's teachings, accordingly, found acceptance among many people. Priests married, monks left their monasteries, and the "Reformed Religion" took the place of Roman Catholicism in most parts of northern and central Germany. South Germany, however, did not fall away from the pope and has remained Roman Catholic to the present time.

The "Reformed Religion"

Luther's doctrines also spread into Scandinavian lands. The rulers of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden closed the monasteries and compelled the Roman Catholic bishops to surrender ecclesiastical property to the Crown. Lutheranism became henceforth the official religion of these three countries.

Lutheranism in Scandinavia

The Reformation in Switzerland began with Huldreich Zwingli. He was the contemporary, but not the disciple, of Luther. From his pulpit in the cathedral of Zurich, Zwingli proclaimed the Scriptures as the sole guide of faith and denied the supremacy of the pope. Many of the Swiss cantons accepted his teaching and broke away from obedience to Rome.

Huldreich Zwingli

Another founder of Protestantism was the Frenchman, John Calvin. His *Institutes of the Christian Religion* set forth in orderly, logical manner the main principles of Protestant theology. He also translated the Bible into French and wrote commentaries on nearly all the Scriptural books. Calvin passed most of his life at Geneva. The men whom he trained there, and on whom he set the stamp of his stern, earnest, God-fearing character, spread Calvinism over a great part of Europe. In Holland and Scotland it became the prevailing type of Protestantism, and in France and in England it deeply affected the national life. During the seventeenth century the Puritans carried Calvinism across the sea to

John Calvin

New England, where it formed the dominant faith in colonial times.

Beginning of the English Reformation

The Reformation in Germany and Switzerland started as a national and popular movement; in England it began as the act of a despotic sovereign, Henry VIII, the second king of the Tudor dynasty. He broke with the pope because the latter would not consent to his divorce from his queen, Catherine of Aragon, who was the aunt of the Holy Roman Emperor and Spanish monarch, Charles V. Henry VIII finally obtained the desired divorce from an English court, and in defiance of the papal bull of excommunication married a pretty maid-in-waiting, named Anne Boleyn. The king's next step was to secure from his subservient Parliament a series of laws abolishing the pope's authority in England. An Act of Supremacy (1534) declared the English king to be "the only supreme head on earth of the Church of England," with power to appoint all ecclesiastical officers and dispose of the papal revenues. The suppression of the monasteries and the appropriation of their wealth for himself and his favorites soon followed this legislation. While Henry VIII thus separated England from the control of the Papacy, he remained Roman Catholic in belief to the day of his death.

Completion of the English Reformation

The Reformation made rapid progress in England during the reign of Henry's son and successor, Edward VI. The young king's guardian allowed reformers from the Continent to come to England, and the doctrines of Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin were freely preached there. In order that religious services might be conducted in the language of the people, Archbishop Cranmer and his co-workers prepared the *Book of Common Prayer*. It consisted of translations into noble English of various parts of the old Latin service books. With some changes, it is still used in the Church of England and the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States. The short reign of Mary Tudor, daughter of Catherine of Aragon, was marked by a temporary setback to the Protestant cause. The queen prevailed on Parliament to secure a reconciliation with Rome. She also

married her Roman Catholic cousin, Philip II of Spain, the son of Charles V. Mary now began a severe persecution of the Protestants. Many eminent reformers perished, among them Cranmer, the former archbishop. Mary died childless, after ruling about five years, and the crown passed to Anne Boleyn's daughter, Elizabeth. Under Elizabeth Anglicanism again replaced Roman Catholicism as the religion of England.

67. The Protestant Sects

The Reformation was practically completed before the close of the sixteenth century. In 1500 the Roman Church embraced all Europe west of Russia and the Balkan Peninsula. By 1600 nearly half of its former subjects had renounced their allegiance. The greater part of Germany and Switzerland and all of Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Holland, England, Wales, and Scotland became independent of the Papacy. The unity of western Christendom, which had been preserved throughout the Middle Ages, thus disappeared and has not since been revived.

Extent of Protestantism

The reformers agreed in substituting for the authority of popes and church councils the authority of the Bible. They went back fifteen hundred years to the time of the Apostles and tried to restore what they believed to be apostolic Christianity. Hence they rejected such doctrines and practices as were supposed to have developed during the Middle Ages. These included belief in purgatory, veneration of relics, invocation of saints, devotion to the Virgin, indulgences, pilgrimages, and the greater number of the sacraments. The Reformation also abolished the monastic system and priestly celibacy. The sharp distinction between clergy and laity disappeared; for priests married, lived among the people, and no longer formed a separate class. In general, Protestantism affirmed the ability of every man to find salvation without the aid of ecclesiastics. The Church was no longer the only "gate of heaven." [1]

Common features of Protestantism

[1] See page 204.

EXTENT OF THE REFORMATION, 1524–1572 A.D.

But the Protestant idea of authority led inevitably to differences of opinion among the reformers. There were various ways of interpreting that Bible to which they appealed as the rule of faith and conduct. Consequently, Protestantism split up into many sects or denominations, and these have gone on multiplying to the present day. Nearly all, however, are offshoots from the three main varieties of Protestantism which appeared in the sixteenth century.

Divisions among Protestants

Lutheranism and Anglicanism presented some features in common. Both were state churches, supported by the government; and both recog-

nized the sacraments of baptism, the Eucharist, and confirmation. The Church of England also kept the sacrament of ordination. The Lutheran churches in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, as well as the Church of England, likewise retained the episcopate.

Lutheranism and Anglicanism

Calvinism departed much more widely from Roman Catholicism. It did away with the episcopate and had only one order of clergy — the presbyters.[1] It provided for a very simple form of worship. In a Calvinistic church the service consisted of Bible reading, a sermon, extemporaneous prayers, and hymns sung by the congregation. The Calvinists kept only two sacraments, baptism and the Eucharist. They regarded the first, however, as a simple undertaking to bring up the child in a Christian manner, and the second as merely a commemoration of the Last Supper.

Calvinism

The break with Rome did not introduce religious liberty into Europe. Nothing was further from the mind of Luther, Calvin, and other reformers than the toleration of beliefs unlike their own. The early Protestant sects punished dissenters as zealously as the Roman Church punished heretics. Lutherans persecuted followers of Zwingli in Germany, Calvinists put non-Calvinists to death, and the English government, in the time of Henry VIII and Elizabeth, executed many Roman Catholics. Complete freedom of conscience and the right of private judgment in religion have been secured in most countries of Europe only within the last hundred years.

The Reformation and freedom of thought

The Reformation, however, did deepen the moral life of European peoples. The faithful Protestant or Roman Catholic tried to show by his conduct that his particular form of belief made for better living than any other faith. The impulse to higher standards of morality, which we owe to the Reformation, is still felt at the present day.

The Reformation and morals

[1] Churches governed by assemblies of presbyters were called Presbyterian; those which allowed each congregation to rule itself were called Congregational.

68. The Catholic Counter Reformation

The rapid spread of Protestantism soon brought about a Catholic Counter Reformation in those parts of Europe which remained faithful to Rome. The popes now turned from the cultivation of Renaissance art and literature to the defense of their threatened faith. They made needed changes in the papal court and appointed to ecclesiastical offices men distinguished for virtue and learning. This reform of the Papacy dates from the time of Paul III, who became pope in 1534. Still more important was his support of the Society of Jesus, which had been established in the year of his accession to the papal throne.

The reforming popes

ST. IGNATIUS LOYOLA

After the painting by Sanchez de Coello in the House of the Society of Jesus at Madrid. No authentic portrait of Loyola has been preserved. Coello's picture was made with the aid of a wax cast of the saint's features taken after death.

The founder of the new society was a Spanish nobleman, Ignatius Loyola. He had seen a good deal of service in the wars of Charles V against the French. While in a hospital recovering from a wound, Loyola read devotional books, and these produced a profound change within him. He now donned a beggar's robe, practiced all the kinds of asceticism which his books described, and went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Still later he became a student of theology at Paris, where he met the six devout and talented men who became the first members of his society. They intended to work as missionaries among the Moslems, but, when this plan fell through, they visited Rome and placed their energy and enthusiasm at the disposal of the pope.

St. Ignatius Loyola

Loyola's military training deeply affected the character of the new order. The Jesuits, as their Protestant opponents

styled them, were to form an army of spiritual soldiers, living under the strictest obedience to their head, or general. Like soldiers, again, they were to remain in the world and there fight manfully for the Church and against heretics. The society grew rapidly; before Loyola's death it included over a thousand members; and in the seventeenth century it became the most influential of all the religious orders. The activity of the Jesuits as preachers, confessors, teachers, and missionaries did much to roll back the rising tide of Protestantism in Europe.

The Society of Jesus

The Jesuits gave special attention to education, for they realized the importance of winning over the young people to the Church. Their schools were so good that even Protestant children often attended them. The popularity of Jesuit teachers arose partly from the fact that they always tried to lead, not drive, their pupils. Light punishments, short lessons, many holidays, and a liberal use of prizes and other distinctions formed some of the attractive features of their system of training. It is not surprising that the Jesuits became the instructors of the Roman Catholic world. They called their colleges the "fortresses of the faith."

Jesuit schools

The missions of the Jesuits were not less important than their schools. The Jesuits worked in Poland, Hungary, Bohemia, and other countries where Protestantism threatened to become dominant. Then they invaded all the lands which the great maritime discoveries had laid open to European enterprise. In India, China, the East Indies, Japan, the Philippines, Africa, and the two Americas their converts from heathenism were numbered by hundreds of thousands.

Jesuit missionaries

Another agency in the Counter Reformation was the great Church Council summoned by Pope Paul III. The council met at Trent, on the borders of Germany and Italy. It continued, with intermissions, for nearly twenty years. The Protestants, though invited to participate, did not attend, and hence nothing could be done to bring them back within the Roman Catholic fold. This was

Council of Trent, 1545-1563

the last general council of the Church for more than three hundred years.[1]

Work of the council

The Council of Trent made no essential changes in Roman Catholic doctrines, which remained as theologians had set them forth in the Middle Ages. It declared that the tradition of the Church possessed equal authority with the Bible and reaffirmed the supremacy of the pope over Christendom. The council also passed decrees forbidding the sale of ecclesiastical offices and requiring bishops and other prelates to attend strictly to their duties. Since the Council of Trent the Roman Church has been distinctly a religious organization, instead of both a secular and a religious body, as was the Church in the Middle Ages.

The Index

The council, before adjourning, authorized the pope to draw up a list of works which Roman Catholics might not read. This action did not form an innovation. The Church from an early day had condemned heretical writings. However, the invention of printing, by giving greater currency to new and dangerous ideas, seemed to increase the necessity for the regulation of thought. The "Index of Prohibited Books" still exists, and additions to the list are made from time to time. It was matched by the strict censorship of printing long maintained in Protestant countries.

The Inquisition

Still another agency of the Counter Reformation consisted of the Inquisition. This was a system of church courts for the discovery and punishment of heretics. Such courts had been set up in the Middle Ages. After the Council of Trent they redoubled their activity, especially in Italy, the Netherlands, and Spain. The Inquisition probably contributed to the disappearance of Protestantism in Italy. In the Netherlands, where it worked with great severity, it only aroused exasperation and hatred and helped to provoke a successful revolt of the Dutch people. The Spaniards, on the

[1] Until the Vatican Council (1869–1870), which promulgated the dogma of papal infallibility. The dogma means that when the pope speaks *ex cathedra*, that is, by virtue of his apostolic authority, on matters of faith and morals, he cannot err. His decisions, therefore, bind the whole Church.

other hand, approved of the methods of the Inquisition and welcomed its extermination of heretics. The Spanish Inquisition was not abolished until the nineteenth century.

69. The Religious Wars

The young man who as Holy Roman Emperor presided at the Diet of Worms had assumed the imperial crown only two years previously. A namesake of Charlemagne, Charles V held sway over dominions even more extensive than those which had belonged to the Frankish king. Through his mother, a daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, he inherited Spain, Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, and the Spanish possessions in the New World. Through his father, he received the Netherlands and the extensive possessions of the Hapsburgs in central Europe. Charles V, as a devout Roman Catholic, felt no sympathy with Lutheranism and might easily have extinguished it, had he undertaken the task promptly. A revolt in Spain and wars with the French and the Ottoman Turks led, however, to his long absence from Germany and kept him from proceeding effectively against the Lutherans until it was too late. The emperor, finally, brought Spanish troops into Germany, but the Lutheran princes were now too strong for him. Civil war raged until 1555, when both sides agreed to the Peace of Augsburg. It was a compromise. The ruler of each state—Germany then contained over three hundred states—was to decide whether his subjects should be Lutherans or Catholics. The peace by no means established religious toleration, since all Germans had to believe as their prince believed. However, it recognized Lutheranism as a legal religion and ended the attempts to crush the German Reformation.

Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor, 1519–1556

Soon after the peace of Augsburg, Charles V determined to abdicate his many crowns and seek the repose of a monastery. The plan was duly carried into effect. His brother, Ferdinand I, succeeded to the title of Holy Roman Emperor and the Austrian territories, while his son, Philip II, received the Spanish possessions in Italy, Sicily, the Netherlands, and America. There were now

Philip II, king of Spain, 1556–1598

two branches of the Hapsburg family—one in Austria and one in Spain. Philip II, the new king of Spain, aimed to make his country the foremost state in the world and to secure the triumph of Roman Catholicism over Protestantism. Though he had vast possessions, enormous revenues, mighty fleets, and armies reputed the best of the age, he could not dominate western Europe. His first defeat was in the Netherlands.

Protestantism in the Netherlands

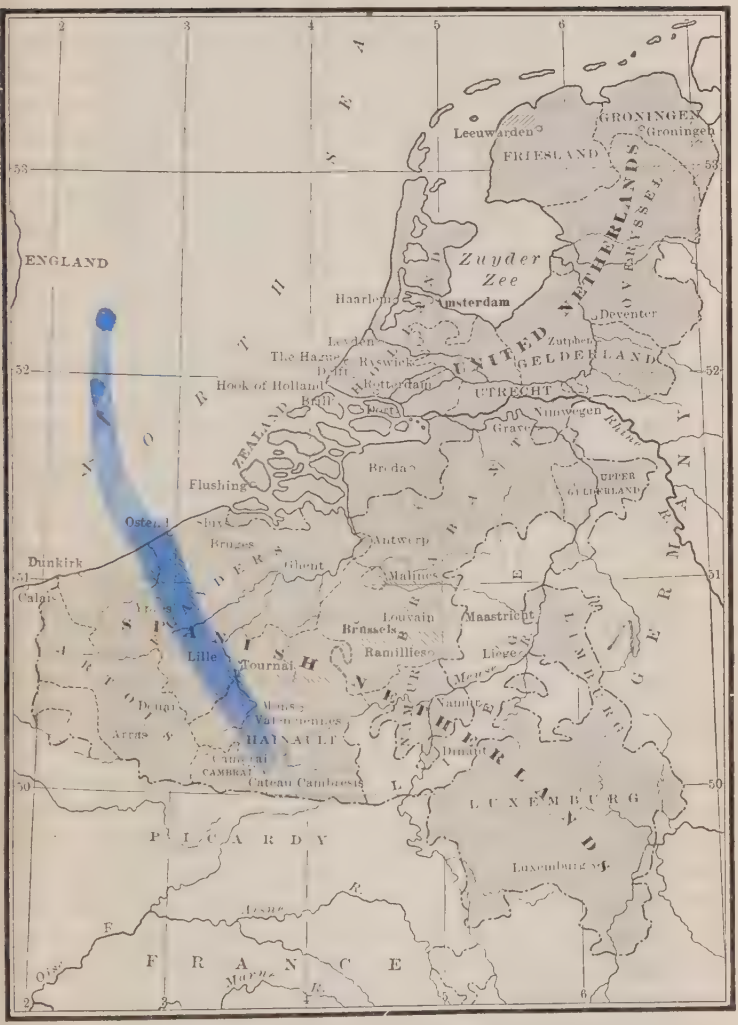
The Netherlands were too near Germany not to be affected by the Reformation. Lutheranism soon appeared there, only to encounter the hostility of Charles V, who introduced the terrors of the Inquisition. Many heretics were burned at the stake, or beheaded, or buried alive. But there is no seed like martyrs' blood. The number of Protestants swelled, rather than lessened, especially after Calvinism entered the Netherlands.

Philip II and the Netherlands

In spite of the cruel treatment of heretics by Charles V, the Netherlanders remained loyal to the emperor, because he had been born and reared among them and always considered their country as his own. Philip II, a Spaniard by birth and sympathies, seemed to them, however, only a foreign master. The new ruler did nothing to conciliate the people, but governed them despotically through Spanish officials supported by Spanish garrisons. Arbitrary taxes were levied, cities and nobles were deprived of their cherished privileges, and the activity of the Inquisition was redoubled. Philip intended to exercise in the Netherlands the same absolute power enjoyed by him in Spain. His policies soon produced a revolt of both Roman Catholics and Protestants against Spanish oppression.

Separation of the Netherlands

The southern provinces of the Netherlands, mainly Roman Catholic in population, did not long continue their resistance. They effected a reconciliation with Philip and continued for over two centuries to remain in Hapsburg hands. Modern Belgium has grown out of them. The seven northern provinces, where Dutch was the language and Protestantism the religion, came together in 1579 in the Union of Utrecht. Two years later they declared



THE NETHERLANDS AT THE TRUCE OF 1609 A.D.

their independence of Spain. In this way the Dutch Republic of the United Netherlands, or simply "Holland," took its place among European nations.

Holland and Spain

The struggle of Holland against Spain forms one of the notable episodes in history. The Dutch, under a resourceful leader, William, Prince of Orange, better known as William the Silent, fought stubbornly behind the walls of their cities and on more than one occasion repelled the enemy by cutting the dikes and letting in the sea. Philip's successor consented in 1609 to a twelve years' truce with the revolted provinces, but their freedom was not recognized officially by Spain until many years later.

The Dutch Republic

The long struggle bound the Dutch together and made them one nation. During the seventeenth century they took a prominent part in European affairs. The republic which they founded ought to be of special interest to Americans. Holland had the earliest system of common schools supported by taxation, early adopted the principles of religious toleration and freedom of the press, and in the Union of Utrecht gave to the world the first written constitution of a modern state. The Dutch, indeed, were pioneers of modern democracy.

Philip II and Queen Elizabeth

The attempt of Philip II to conquer England, a stronghold of Protestantism under Queen Elizabeth,[1] likewise ended disastrously. It must be admitted that Philip could plead strong justification for his hostility. Elizabeth allowed English "sea-dogs," such as Sir Francis Drake, to plunder Spanish colonies and seize Spanish vessels laden with the treasures of the New World. Moreover, she aided the rebellious Dutch, at first secretly and at length openly, in their struggle against Spain. Philip put up with these aggressions for many years, but finally came to the conclusion that he could never subdue the Netherlands or end the piracy and smuggling in Spanish America without first conquering England. Philip seems to have believed that, as soon as a Spanish army landed on the island, the Roman Catholics there would rally to his cause. But the Spanish king never had a chance to verify his belief; the decisive battle took place on the sea.

[1] See page 263.

PHILIP II

After the paint'ng by Titian in the Prado Museum, Madrid

QUEEN ELIZABETH

After the painting by Zucchero

Philip had not completed his preparations before Sir Francis Drake sailed into Cadiz harbor and destroyed a vast amount of naval stores and shipping. This exploit, which Drake called "singeing the king of Spain's beard," delayed the expedition for a year. The "Invincible Armada" [1] set out at last in 1588. The Spanish vessels, though somewhat larger than those of the English, were inferior in

The "Invincible Armada," 1588

THE SPANISH ARMADA IN THE ENGLISH CHANNEL

One of a series of engravings of a tapestry (now destroyed) in the House of Lords. In the left foreground Drake's ship is shown cutting out a Spanish man-of-war.

number, speed, and gunnery to their adversaries, while the Spanish officers, mostly unused to the sea, were no match for men like Drake, Frobisher, and Raleigh, the best mariners of the age. The Armada suffered severely in a nine-days' fight in the Channel, and many vessels which escaped the English guns met shipwreck off the Scotch and Irish coasts. Less than half of the Armada returned in safety to Spain.

England in the later Middle Ages had been an important naval power. During the sixteenth century, however, she was over-matched by Spain, especially after the annexation of

[1] Armada was a Spanish name for any armed fleet.

Portugal, by Philip II, added the naval forces of that country to the Spanish fleets.[1] The defeat of the Armada showed that a new people had arisen to claim the supremacy of the ocean. Henceforth the English began to build up what was to be a sea-power greater than any other known to history.

English sea-power

HENRY IV

After an old engraving. The king wears a hat with plumes and an aigrette, a ruff, and an embroidered cloak. On his breast is the order of Saint Esprit.

The French Protestants, or Huguenots, naturally accepted the doctrines of Calvin, who was himself a Frenchman and whose books were written in the French language. Though bitterly persecuted, the Huguenots gained a large following, especially among the prosperous middle class of the towns. Many nobles also became Huguenots, sometimes because of religious conviction, but often because the new movement offered them an opportunity to recover their feudal independence and to plunder the estates of the Church. In France, as well as in Germany, the Reformation had its worldly side.

The Huguenots

During most of the second half of the sixteenth century, fierce conflicts raged in France between the Roman Catholics and the Huguenots. Philip II aided the former, and Queen Elizabeth gave some assistance to the latter.

The Huguenot wars

[1] Portugal separated from Spain in 1640 and has since remained an independent state.

France suffered terribly in the struggle, not only from the constant fighting, but also from the pillage, burnings, and other barbarities in which both sides indulged. The Huguenot wars ended during the reign of Henry IV, the first of the Bourbon kings. Though originally a Protestant, he became a Roman Catholic, in order to conciliate the great majority of his subjects.

King Henry did not break with the Huguenots, however. He now issued in their interest the celebrated Edict of Nantes. The Huguenots henceforth were to enjoy freedom of private worship everywhere in France, and freedom to worship publicly in a large number of villages and towns. Only Roman Catholic services, however, might be held in Paris and at the royal court. Though the edict did not grant complete religious liberty, it marked an important step in that direction. A great European state had recognized for the first time the principle that two rival faiths might exist peaceably side by side within its borders.

Edict of Nantes, 1598

The Peace of Augsburg gave repose to Germany for more than sixty years, but it did not form a complete settlement of the religious question in that country. There was still room for bitter disputes, especially over the ownership of Church property which had been secularized in the course of the Reformation. Furthermore, the peace recognized only Roman Catholics and Lutherans and allowed no rights whatever to the large body of Calvinists. The failure of Lutherans and Calvinists to coöperate weakened German Protestantism just at the period when the Counter Reformation inspired Roman Catholicism with fresh energy and enthusiasm.

Religious antagonism in Germany

Politics, as well as religion, also made for dissension. The Roman Catholic party relied for support on the Hapsburg emperors, who wished to unite the German states under their control, thus restoring the Holy Roman Empire to its former proud position in the affairs of Europe. The Protestant princes, on the other hand, wanted to become independent sovereigns. Hence they resented all efforts to extend the imperial authority over them.

Political friction in Germany

Religious antagonism and political friction together produced the Thirty Years' War. It was not so much a single conflict in Germany as a series of conflicts, which ultimately involved nearly all western Europe. At one time Sweden took a prominent part in the struggle, under her heroic king, Gustavus Adolphus, who came to the aid of the Protestant princes against the Holy Roman Emperor. After the death of Gustavus Adolphus in battle, the German Protestants found an ally, strangely enough, in Cardinal Richelieu, the all-powerful minister of the French king. Richelieu entered the struggle in order to humble the Austrian Hapsburgs and extend the boundaries of France toward the Rhine. Since the Spanish Hapsburgs were aiding their Austrian kinsmen, Richelieu naturally fought against Spain also. The Holy Roman Emperor had to yield at last and consented to the treaties of peace signed at two cities in the province of Westphalia.

Thirty Years' War, 1618–1648

HENRY VIII

After a portrait by Hans Holbein the Younger.

The Peace of Westphalia ended the long series of wars which followed the Reformation. It practically settled the religious question, for it put Roman Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists in Germany all on the same footing.

Peace of Westphalia

Henceforth the idea that religious differences should be settled by force gradually passed away from the minds of men. The territorial readjustments made at this time have deeply affected the subsequent history of Europe. France received from the Holy Roman Empire a large part of Alsace, in this way obtaining a foothold on the upper Rhine. She also secured the recognition of her claims to the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun in Lorraine. Sweden gained the western half of Pomerania and the bishopric of Bremen. These possessions enabled her to control the mouths of the rivers Oder, Elbe, and Weser, which were important arteries of German commerce. Brandenburg—the future kingdom of Prussia—acquired eastern Pomerania and several bishoprics, thus becoming the leading state in North Germany. The independence of Switzerland and of the United Netherlands was also recognized.

During the Thirty Years' War Germany had seen most of the fighting. She suffered from it to the point of exhaustion. The population dwindled from about sixteen millions to one-half, or, as some believe, to one-third that number. The loss of life was partly due to fearful epidemics, such as typhus fever and the bubonic plague, which spread over the land in the wake of the invading armies. A great many villages were destroyed or were abandoned by their inhabitants. Much of the soil went out of cultivation, while trade and manufacturing nearly disappeared. Added to all this was the decline of education, literature, and art, and the brutalizing of the people in mind and morals. It took Germany at least one hundred years to recover from the injury inflicted by the Thirty Years' War; complete recovery, indeed, came only in the nineteenth century.

Condition of Germany

The savagery displayed by all participants in this long contest naturally impressed thinking men with the necessity of formulating rules to protect non-combatants, to care for prisoners, and to do away with pillage and massacre. The worst horrors of the war had not taken place before a Dutch jurist, named Hugo Grotius, published at Paris in 1625 a work *On the Laws of War and Peace*. It may be said to have

Rise of international law

founded international law. The success of the book was remarkable. Gustavus Adolphus carried a copy about with him during his campaigns, and its leading doctrines were recognized and acted upon in the Peace of Westphalia. Since the time of Grotius, the field of international law has widened, and now not only the regulation of warfare, but also the preservation of peace has become the ideal of statesmen, publicists, and all lovers of mankind.

HUGO GROTIUS

After the portrait by Miervelt of Grotius at the age of forty-nine.

70. The European State System

Balance of power

After the Peace of Westphalia statesmen generally agreed that the various European nations unequal in size, population, and resources, ought to form a sort of federal community in which the security of all was ensured. If any nation became so powerful as to overshadow the others, then they must combine against it and endeavor to hold it in check. The maintenance of such a *balance of power* has been a leading object of European diplomacy from the time of the Thirty Years' War to the present day.

But the balance of power remained only a weak ideal, in an age when diplomacy was corrupt and international immorality was universal. The strong countries often robbed their weaker neighbors with impunity. The result was that the vanity, selfishness, or ambition of individual rulers and dynasties plunged Europe into one war after another. Henceforth, *national aggrandizement* began to replace religious dissension as the main cause of European strife.

National aggrandizement

EUROPE
at the End of the
Thirty Years' War, 1648 A.D.
Spanish Dominions
Austrian Dominions
Brandenburg-Prussia
Swedish Dominions
Church Lands
Boundary of the Empire
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
ADRIATIC SEA
AEGEAN SEA
BLACK SEA
SCOTLAND
Edinburgh
IRELAND
Belfast
Dublin
Cork
ENGLAND
WALES
Oxford
Bristol
London
Plymouth
Portsmouth
CHANNEL IS.
Amsterdam
DENMARK
Christiania
SWEDEN
Stockholm
Gothenburg
HALLAND
Copenhagen
FINLAND
CARELIA
INGRIA
ESTHONIA
Reval
LIVONIA
Riga
COURLAND
Königsberg
LITHUANIA
POLAND
Warsaw
Posen
Cracow
VOLHYNIA
Kiev
Lemberg
PODOLIA
Dnieper
RUSSIA
Moscow
Volga
KHANATE OF THE CRIMEA
Hamburg
Bremen
Hanover
Berlin
Magdeburg
Lützen
Leipzig
Dresden
Prague
SILESIA
Cologne
Frankfort
Mainz
Metz
Strassburg
Munich
Vienna
Pressburg
HUNGARY
Budapest
TRANSYLVANIA
MOLDAVIA
Jassy
WALLACHIA
Bucharest
Danube
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
BOSNIA
Belgrade
SERBIA
Adrianople
Constantinople
Scutari
Salonica
Smyrna
GREECE
MOREA
Corinth
CERIGO
CRETE (Venice)
RHODES
CYPRUS
CORFU
IONIAN IS. (Venice)
FRANCE
Paris
Havre
Rouen
Reims
Brest
Orleans
Nantes
La Rochelle
Lyons
Bordeaux
Bayonne
Toulouse
LANGUEDOC
Avignon
Marseilles
Milan
Parma
Modena
Genoa
Bologna
Florence
PAPAL STATES
Venice
Rome
Tiber
Naples
KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES (Spain)
Palermo
SICILY
CORSICA (Genoa)
SARDINIA (Spain)
BALEARIC ISLES
SPAIN
Madrid
Saragossa
Ebro
Douro
Tagus
Guadiana
Guadalquivir
Cordova
Seville
Granada
Cadiz
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
THE M.-N. WORKS
10° Longitude 5° West 0° Longitude 5° East from 10 Greenwich 15° 20

The map of western Europe in 1648 was very much the same as now. The British Isles had a common ruler, but Scotland continued to be a separate kingdom and Ireland was only loosely joined to England. The Iberian Peninsula included the two kingdoms of Spain and Portugal. Both were declining in wealth, population, and political importance. France had nearly her existing boundaries, except on the east and northeast toward the Rhine. Switzerland and the United Netherlands (Holland) were independent confederations. The Spanish Netherlands (Belgium) remained, however, a province of Spain.

Western Europe

The map of central Europe in 1648 was very unlike what it is to-day. Most of Germany was then divided into more than three hundred states and feudal domains. Many of them were free to coin money, raise armies, make war, and negotiate treaties without consulting the Holy Roman Emperor. The imperial title and dignity were now hereditary in the Austrian Hapsburg family. If they meant little, the Hapsburg ruler, as archduke of Austria, king of Bohemia, king of Hungary, and lord of many smaller territories, held, nevertheless, a proud position in Europe. Italy, like Germany, presented a picture of disunion. The northern part of the peninsula contained the independent duchy of Savoy, the duchy of Milan (a Spanish possession), the republics of Venice and Genoa, and the little states of Parma, Modena, and Lucca. Central Italy included the duchy of Tuscany and the States of the Church. The kingdom of the Two Sicilies belonged to Spain.

Central Europe

In 1648 there were only two Scandinavian kingdoms, for Norway was joined to Denmark. Sweden, then a first-class power, held sway over Finland and adjacent territories. The duchy of East Prussia belonged to the Elector of Brandenburg. The huge kingdom of Poland, which had united with the grand duchy of Lithuania in the preceding century, stretched from the Baltic almost to the Black Sea. Farther east lay Russia, so backward in civilization as to be scarcely a European country.

Northern and eastern Europe

The Ottoman Turks in 1648 ruled in southeastern Europe.

Southeastern Europe

They occupied Greece, all the Balkan Peninsula except Montenegro, most of Hungary, and the territory now included in Rumania and part of southern Russia. Never had the shadow of the crescent loomed more darkly over Europe.

Studies

1. Distinguish and define the three terms, "Renaissance," "Revival of Learning," and "Humanism." 2. "Next to the discovery of the New World, the recovery of the ancient world is the second landmark that divides us from the Middle Ages and marks the transition to modern life." Comment on this statement. 3. Why did the Renaissance begin as an "Italian event"? 4. Why was the revival of Greek more important in the history of civilization than the revival of Latin? 5. Show that printing was an "emancipating force." 6. Why did the classical scholar come to be regarded as the only educated man? 7. Why has Marco Polo been called the "Columbus of the East Indies"? 8. Explain this statement: "The American isthmus was discovered because an Asiatic one existed; in trying to avoid Suez the early mariners ran afoul of Darien." 9. On an outline map indicate the voyages of discovery of Vasco da Gama, Columbus (first voyage), and Magellan. 10. How did Lisbon in the sixteenth century become the commercial successor of Venice? 11. Show that the three words "gospel, glory, and gold" sum up the principal motives of European colonization in the sixteenth century. 12. Compare the motives which led to the colonization of the New World with those which led to Greek colonization. 13. "The opening-up of the Atlantic to continuous exploration is the most momentous step in the history of man's occupation of the earth." Does this statement seem to be justified? 14. Identify the following dates: 1517, 1555, 1588, 1598, and 1648. 15. On the map, page 264, trace the geographical extent of the Reformation in the sixteenth century. 16. Why did the reformers in each country take special pains to translate the Bible into the vernacular? 17. Why is the Council of Trent generally considered the most important Church council since that of Nicæa? 18. On an outline map indicate the European countries ruled by Charles V. 19. Compare the Edict of Nantes with the Peace of Augsburg. 20. Show that political, as well as religious, motives affected the revolt of the Netherlands, the Huguenot wars, and the Thirty Years' War.

CHAPTER VIII

THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES IN EUROPE[1]

71. Absolutism and the Divine Right of Kings

Most European states in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were absolute monarchies. The rulers of Europe, having triumphed over the feudal nobility of the Middle Ages, proclaimed themselves to be the sole source of authority. Absolutism prevailed everywhere on the Continent, except in such small states as Holland, Switzerland, and Venice, where aristocracies held the reins of power. Democracy was non-existent. The middle and lower classes had no real part in law-making, no representative assemblies, and no constitutional safeguards against arbitrary authority. The kings were everything; their subjects, nothing.

Absolutism

Absolutism was supported by divine right. The kings declared that they held their power, not from the choice or consent of their subjects, but by the "grace of God." This theory of divine right first took shape during the Middle Ages, out of the controversies between the Papacy and the secular rulers of Europe. The popes tried to enforce a claim to the obedience of all Christians, as well in temporal as in spiritual matters. Emperors and kings, resenting what they regarded as papal interference in politics, then set up a counter-claim for the divine origin of the imperial and royal power. During the Reformation Luther and his followers also exalted the authority of the State against

Divine right

[1] Webster, *Readings in Medieval and Modern History*, chapter xxv, "Characters and Episodes of the Great Rebellion"; chapter xxvi, "Oliver Cromwell"; chapter xxvii, "English Life and Manners under the Restoration"; chapter xxviii, "Louis XIV and His Court." Webster, *Historical Source Book*, No. 4, "Petition of Right, 1628"; No. 6, "Instrument of Government, 1653"; No. 7, "Habeas Corpus Act, 1679"; No. 8, "Bill of Rights, 1689"; No. 9, "Act of Settlement, 1701."

the authority of the Church, which they condemned and rejected. Providence, they argued, had never sanctioned the Papacy, but Providence had really ordained the State and had placed over it a ruler whom it was a religious duty to obey. Lutherans, therefore, defended the theory of divine right. The same may be said of Anglicans, for the Church of England from the first was a religion of the State.

Popular sovereignty

A very different theory found acceptance in those parts of Europe where Calvinism prevailed. In his *Institutes*, one of the most widely read books of the age, Calvin declares that magistrates and parliaments are the guardians of popular liberty "by the ordinance of God." [1] Calvin's adherents, amplifying this statement, argued that rulers derive their authority from the people and that those who abuse it may be deposed by the will of the people. The Christian duty of resistance to royal tyranny became a cardinal principle of Calvinism among the French Huguenots, the Dutch, the Scotch, and most of the American colonists of the seventeenth century. We shall now see how influential it was in seventeenth-century England.

72. The Struggle against Stuart Absolutism in England, 1603–1660

Tudor absolutism

Absolutism in England dated from the time of the Tudors. Henry VII humbled the nobles, while Henry VIII and Elizabeth brought the Church into dependence on the Crown. These three sovereigns, though despotic, were excellent rulers and were popular with the influential middle class in town and country. The Tudors gave England order and prosperity, if not political liberty.

Parliament under the Tudors

The English Parliament in the thirteenth century had become a body representative of the different estates of the realm, and in the fourteenth century it had separated into the two houses of Lords and Commons. Parliament enjoyed considerable authority at this time. The kings, who were in continual need of money,

[1] *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, IV, xx, 31.

often summoned it, sought its advice upon important questions, and readily listened to its requests. The despotic Tudors, on the other hand, made Parliament their servant. Henry VII called it together on only five occasions during his reign; Henry VIII persuaded or frightened it into doing anything he pleased; and Elizabeth consulted it as infrequently as possible. Parliament under the Tudors did not abandon its old claims to a share in the government, but it had little chance to exercise them.

The death of Elizabeth in 1603 ended the Tudor dynasty and placed James I,[1] the first of the Stuarts, on the English throne. England and Scotland were now joined in a personal union, though each country retained its own Parliament, laws, and established Church. The new king was well described by a contemporary as the "wisest fool in Christendom." He had a good mind and abundant learning, but throughout his reign he showed an utter inability to win either the esteem or the affection of his subjects. This was a misfortune, for the English had now grown weary of despotism and wanted freedom. They were not prepared to tolerate in James, an alien, many things which they had overlooked in "Good Queen Bess."

James I, king, 1603–1625

The manifest purpose of James to rule as an absolute monarch aroused much opposition in Parliament. That body felt little sympathy for a king who proclaimed himself the source of all law. When James, always extravagant and a poor financier, came before it for money, Parliament insisted on its right to withhold supplies until grievances were redressed. James would not yield, and got along as best he could by levying customs duties, selling titles of nobility, and imposing excessive fines, in spite of the protests of Parliament.

Parliament and James I

A religious controversy helped to embitter the dispute between James and Parliament. The king, who was a devout Anglican, made himself very unpopular with the Puritans, as the reformers within the Church of England were called. The

[1] James VI of Scotland (1567–1625). His mother, Mary Queen of Scots, was a granddaughter of Henry VII, the first of the Tudors.

Puritans had at first no intention of separating from the national or established Church, but they wished to "purify" it of certain customs which they described as "Romish." Among these were the use of the surplice, of the ring in the marriage service, and of the sign of the cross in baptism. Some Puritans wanted to get rid of the *Book of Common Prayer* altogether. Since the Puritans had a large majority in the House of Commons, it was inevitable that the parliamentary struggle against Stuart absolutism should assume in part a religious character.

Puritanism

A Puritan Family

Illustration in an edition of the *Psalms* published in 1563.

The political and religious difficulties which marked the reign of James I did not disappear when his son, Charles I, came to the throne. Charles was a true Stuart in his devotion to absolutism and divine right. Almost immediately he began to quarrel with Parliament. When that body withheld supplies, Charles resorted to forced loans from the wealthy and even imprisoned a number of persons who refused to contribute. Such arbitrary acts showed plainly that Charles would play the tyrant if he could.

Charles I, king, 1625–1649

The king's attitude at last led Parliament to a bold assertion of its authority. It now presented to Charles the celebrated Petition of Right. One of the most important clauses provided that loans without parliamentary sanction should be considered illegal. Another clause declared that no one should be arrested or imprisoned except according to the law of the land. The Petition thus repeated and reinforced some of the leading principles of Magna Carta.[1]

Petition of Right, 1628

[1] See page 201.

The people of England, speaking this time through their elected representatives, asserted once more their right to limit the power of kings.

Charles signed the Petition, as the only means of securing parliamentary consent to taxation; but he had no intention of observing it. For the next eleven years he managed to get along without calling Parliament in session. One of his devices to fill his treasury was the levying of "ship-money." According to an old custom, seaboard towns and counties had been required to provide ships or money for the royal navy. Charles revived this custom and extended it to towns and counties lying inland. It seemed clear that the king meant to impose a permanent tax on all England without the assent of Parliament. The demand for "ship-money" aroused much opposition, and John Hampden, a wealthy squire of Buckinghamshire, refused to pay the twenty shillings levied on his estate. Hampden was tried before a court of the royal judges and was convicted by a bare majority. He became, however, a popular hero.

John Hampden and "ship-money"

Archbishop Laud, the king's chief agent in ecclesiastical matters, detested Puritanism and aimed to root it out from the Anglican Church. He put no Puritans to death, but he sanctioned cruel punishments of those who would not conform to the established religion. While the restrictions on Puritans were increased, those affecting Roman Catholics were relaxed. Many people thought that Charles, through Laud and the bishops, was preparing to lead the Church of England back to Rome. They therefore opposed the king on religious grounds, as well as for political reasons.

Laud's ecclesiastical policy

But the personal rule of Charles was now drawing to an end. When the king tried to introduce a modified form of the English prayer book into Scotland, the Scotch Calvinists drew up a national oath, or Covenant, by which they bound themselves to resist any attempt to change their religion. Rebellion quickly passed into open war, and the Covenanters invaded northern England. Charles was then obliged to summon Parliament in session. It met in 1640

The Long Parliament, 1640

and did not formally dissolve until twenty years later. Hence it came to be known as the Long Parliament. This body at once assumed the conduct of government. Under the leadership of John Hampden, John Pym, and Oliver Cromwell, it proceeded to abolish the royal courts which had tried cases arbitrarily without a jury. It forbade the imposition of "ship-money" and other irregular taxes. It also took away the king's right of dissolving Parliament at his pleasure and ordered that at least one parliamentary session should be held every three years. These measures stripped the Crown of the despotic powers acquired by the Tudors and the Stuarts.

The Long Parliament thus far had acted along the line of reformation rather than revolution. Had Charles been content to accept the new arrangements, there would have been little more trouble. But the proud and imperious king was only watching his chance to strike a blow at Parliament. Taking advantage of some differences of opinion among its members, Charles summoned his soldiers, marched to Westminster, and demanded the surrender of five leaders, including Pym and Hampden. Warned in time, they made their escape, and Charles did not find them in the chamber of the Commons. "Well, I see all the birds are flown," he exclaimed, and walked out baffled. The king's attempt to intimidate the Commons was a grave blunder. It showed beyond doubt that he would resort to force, rather than bend his neck to Parliament. Both Charles and Parliament now began to gather troops and prepare for the inevitable conflict.

Outbreak of the Great Rebellion, 1642

The opposing parties seemed to be very evenly matched. Around the king rallied nearly all the nobles, the Anglican clergy, the Roman Catholics, a majority of the "squires," or country gentry, and the members of the universities. The royalists received the name of "Cavaliers." The parliamentarians, or "Roundheads," [1] were mostly recruited from the trading classes in the

"Cavaliers" and "Roundheads"

[1] So called, because some of them wore closely cropped hair, in contrast to the flowing locks of the "Cavaliers."

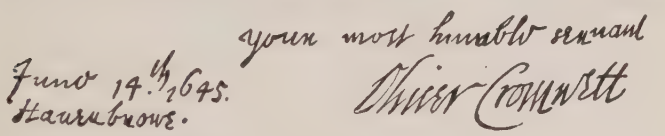
OLIVER CROMWELL

After the painting by Sir Peter Lely in 1653.
Pitti Gallery, Florence.

towns and the small landowners in the country. The working people remained as a rule indifferent and took little part in the struggle.

Both Pym and Hampden died in the second year of the war, and henceforth the leadership of the parliamentarians fell to Oliver Cromwell. He was a country gentleman from the east of England, and Hampden's cousin. Cromwell represented the university of Cambridge in the Long Parliament and displayed there great audacity in opposing the government. An unfriendly critic at this time describes "his countenance swollen and reddish, his voice sharp and untuneable, and his eloquence full of fervor." Though a zealous Puritan, who believed himself to be the chosen agent of the Lord, Cromwell was not an ascetic. He hunted,

Oliver Cromwell



SPECIMEN OF CROMWELL'S HANDWRITING

hawked, played bowls and other games, had an ear for music, and valued art and learning. In public life he showed himself a statesman of much insight and a military genius.

Fortune favored the royalists, until Cromwell assumed command of the parliamentary forces. To him was due the formation of a cavalry regiment of "honest, sober Christians," whose watchwords were texts from Scripture and who charged in battle singing psalms. These "Ironsides," as Cromwell said, "had the fear of God before them and made some conscience of what they did." They were so successful that Parliament permitted Cromwell to reorganize a large part of the army into the "New Model," a body of professional, highly disciplined soldiers. The "New Model" defeated Charles decisively at the battle of Naseby, near the center of England (1645). Charles then surrendered to the Scotch, who soon turned him over to Parliament.

The "Ironsides" and the "New Model"

The surrender of the king ended the Great Rebellion, but left the political situation in doubt. The Puritans by this time had divided into two rival sects. The Presbyterians wished to make the Church of England, like that of Scotland, Presbyterian [1] in faith and worship. Through their control of Parliament, they were able to pass acts doing away with bishops, forbidding the use of the *Book of Common Prayer*, and requiring every one to accept Presbyterian doctrines. The other Puritan sect, known as Independents,[2] felt that religious beliefs should not be a matter of compulsion. They rejected both Anglicanism and Presbyterianism and desired to set up churches of their own, where they might worship as seemed to them right. The Independents had the powerful backing of Cromwell and the "New Model," so that the stage was set for a quarrel between Parliament and the army.

Presbyterians and Independents

King Charles, though a prisoner in the power of his enemies, hoped to profit by their divisions. The Presbyterian majority in the House of Commons was willing to restore the king, provided he would give his assent to the establishment of Presbyterianism in England. But the army wanted no reconciliation with the captive monarch and at length took matters into its own hand. A party of soldiers, under the command of a Colonel Pride, excluded the Presbyterian members from the floor of the House, leaving the Independents alone to conduct the government. This action is known as "Pride's Purge." Cromwell approved of it, and from this time he became the real ruler of England.

"Pride's Purge," 1648

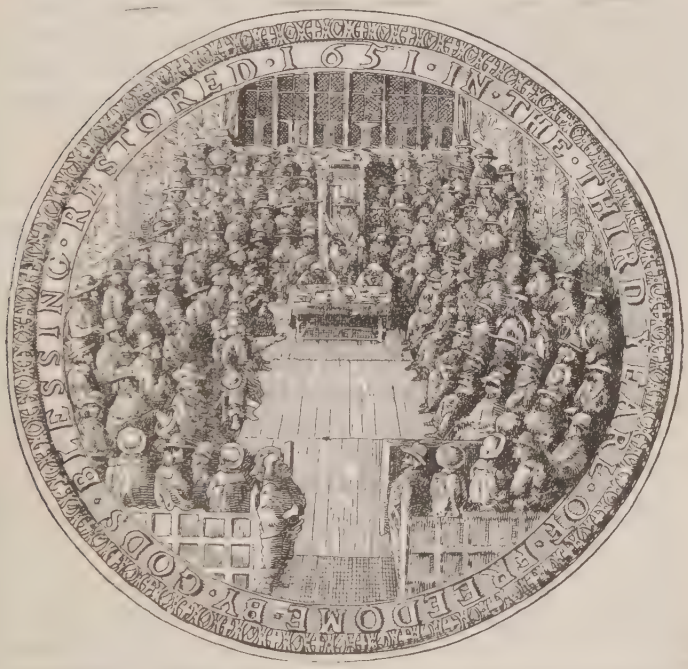
The "Rump," as the remnant of the House of Commons was contemptuously called, immediately brought the king before a High Court of Justice composed of his bitterest enemies. He refused to acknowledge the right of the court to try him and made no defense whatever. Charles was speedily convicted and sentenced to be beheaded, "as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and

Execution of Charles I, 1649

[1] See page 265, note 1.

[2] Also called Separatists, and later known as Congregationalists.

public enemy to the good of the people." He met death with quiet dignity and courage on a scaffold erected in front of Whitehall Palace in London. The king's execution went far beyond the wishes of most Englishmen; "cruel necessity" formed its only justification; but it established once for all in England the principle that rulers are responsible to their subjects.



GREAT SEAL OF ENGLAND UNDER THE COMMONWEALTH (REDUCED)
The reverse represents the House of Commons in session.

The "Rump" also abolished the House of Lords and the office of king. It named a Council of State, most of whose members were chosen from the House of Commons, to carry on the government. England now became a national republic, or Commonwealth, the first in the history of the world.[1] The new republic was clearly the creation

The Commonwealth

[1] The Swiss Confederation (1291) and the United Netherlands (1581) were federative republics.

of a minority. Anglicans, Presbyterians, and Roman Catholics were ready to restore the monarchy, but as long as the power lay with the army, the small sect of Independents could impose its will on the great majority of the English people.

Meanwhile, the "Rump" had become more and more unpopular. Cromwell at length dissolved it by force. Another Parliament, made up of "God-fearing men," proved equally incapable and after a few months resigned its authority into Cromwell's hands. His reluctance to play the autocrat led him to accept a so-called Instrument of Government drawn up by some of his officers, and notable as the only written constitution which England has ever had. It is also of extreme interest as the first example of a constitution which attempts to draw a sharp dividing line between the powers of the legislative and executive departments. The Instrument of Government vested supreme power in a single person styled the Lord Protector, holding office for life. He was to be assisted, and to some extent controlled, by a council and a parliament. The Protectorate, which thus supplanted the Commonwealth, really formed a limited or constitutional monarchy in all but name.

The Protectorate

The Lord Protector governed England for five years. His successful conduct of foreign affairs gave to that country an importance in European politics which it had not enjoyed since the time of Elizabeth. He died in 1658, leaving the army without a master and the country without a settled government. Two years later the nation, now grown weary of military rule, called the eldest son of Charles I to the throne.

Cromwell as Lord Protector, 1653–1658

It seemed, indeed, as if the Puritan Revolution had been a complete failure. But this was hardly true. The revolution arrested the growth of absolutism and divine right in England. It created among Englishmen a lasting hostility to despotic rule, whether exercised by King, Parliament, Protector, or army. Furthermore, it sent forth into the world ideas of popular sovereignty, which, during the eighteenth century, helped to produce the American and French revolutions.

The Puritan Revolution

73. The Restoration and the "Glorious Revolution," 1660–1714

Charles II pledged himself to maintain Magna Carta, the Petition of Right, and various statutes limiting the royal power. The people of England wished to have a king, but they also wished their king to govern by the advice of Parliament. Charles, less obstinate and more astute than his father, recognized this fact, and, when a conflict threatened with his ministers or Parliament, always avoided it by timely concessions. Whatever happened, he used to say, he was resolved "never to set out on his travels again." Charles's charm of manner, wit, and genial humor made him a popular monarch, in spite of his grave faults of character. He was a king who "never said a foolish thing and never did a wise one."

Charles II, king, 1660–1685

The Restoration brought back the Church of England, together with the Stuarts. Parliament, more intolerant than the king, made the use of the *Book of Common Prayer* compulsory and required ministers to express their consent to everything contained in it. Rather than do so, nearly two thousand clergymen resigned their positions. Among them were found Presbyterians, Independents (or Congregationalists), Baptists, and Quakers. The members of these sects, since they refused to accept the national Church, were henceforth classed as Dissenters.[1] They might not hold meetings for worship, or teach in schools, or hold any public office. Thus Dissenters, as well as Roman Catholics, had to endure persecution.

The Dissenters

One of the most important events belonging to the reign of Charles II was the passage by Parliament of the Habeas Corpus Act. The writ of *habeas corpus*[2] is an order, issued by a judge, requiring a person held in custody to be brought before the court. If upon examination good reason is shown

[1] Or Nonconformists. This name is still applied to English Protestants not members of the Anglican Church.

[2] A Latin phase meaning "You may have the body."

for keeping the prisoner, he is to be remanded for trial; otherwise he must either be freed or released on bail. This writ had been long used in England, and one of the clauses of Magna Carta expressly provided against arbitrary imprisonment. It had always been possible, however, for the king or his ministers to order the arrest of a person considered dangerous to the state, without making any formal charge against him. The Habeas Corpus Act established the principle that every man, not charged with or convicted of a known crime, is entitled to his liberty. Most of the British possessions where the Common Law prevails have accepted the act, and it has been adopted by the United States.

Habeas Corpus Act, 1679

The reign of Charles II also saw the beginning of the modern party system in Parliament. Two opposing parties took shape, very largely out of a religious controversy. The king, from his long life in France, was partial to Roman Catholicism, though he did not formally embrace that faith until the moment of death. His brother James, the heir to the throne, became an avowed Roman Catholic, much to the disgust of many members of Parliament. A bill was now brought forward to exclude Prince James from the succession, because of his conversion. Its supporters received the nickname of Whigs, while those who opposed it were called Tories. The former were successors of the old "Roundheads," the latter, of the "Cavaliers."[1] The bill did not pass the House of Lords, but the two parties in Parliament continued to divide on other questions. They survive to-day as the Liberals and the Conservatives, though the latter are still often referred to as Tories.

Whigs and Tories

James II lacked the attractive personality which had made his brother a popular ruler; moreover, he was a staunch believer in the divine right of kings. He soon quarreled with Parliament and further antagonized his Protestant subjects by "suspending" the laws against Roman Catholics and by appointing them to positions

James II, king, 1685–1688

[1] See page 286 and note 1.

of authority and influence. Englishmen might have tolerated James to the end of his reign (he was then nearing sixty), in the hope that he would be succeeded by his Protestant daughter Mary. But the birth in 1688 of a son to his Roman Catholic second wife changed the whole situation by opening up the prospect of a Roman Catholic succession to the throne. At last a number of Whig and Tory leaders invited William, prince of Orange, stadholder or governor-general of Holland, to rescue England from Stuart despotism.[1]

William landed in England with a small army and marched unopposed to London. James II, deserted by his retainers and soldiers, soon found himself alone. He fled to France, where he lived the remainder of his days as a pensioner at the French court. Parliament granted the throne conjointly to William and Mary, William to rule during his lifetime and Mary to have the succession if she survived him.[2] Should they have no children, the throne was to go to Mary's sister Anne.

Accession of William and Mary

At the same time Parliament took care to perpetuate its own authority and the Protestant religion by enacting the Bill of Rights, which has a place by the side of Magna Carta and the Petition of Right among the great documents of English constitutional history. This act decreed that the sovereign must henceforth be a member of the Anglican Church. It forbade him to "suspend" the operation of the laws, or to levy money or maintain a standing army except by consent of Parliament. It also declared that election of members of Parliament should be free, that they should enjoy freedom of speech and action within the two Houses; and that excessive bail should not be required, or excessive fines imposed, or cruel and unusual punishments inflicted. Finally, it affirmed the right of subjects to petition the sovereign and ordered the holding of frequent Parliaments. These were not new principles of political liberty, but now the English people were

The Bill of Rights, 1689

[1] William was Mary's husband. See the genealogical table, page 295, note 1.

[2] Mary, however, died in 1694.

strong enough to give them the binding form of laws. They reappear in the first ten amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

The Toleration Act, 1689

Parliament also passed a Toleration Act, conceding to Dissenters the right of public worship, though not the right of holding any civil or military office. The Dissenters might now worship as they pleased, without fear of persecution. Unitarians and Roman Catholics, as well as Jews, were expressly excluded from the benefits of the act. The passage of this measure did much to remove religion from English politics as a vital issue.

The "Glorious Revolution"

The Revolution of 1688–1689 struck a final blow at absolutism and divine right in England. An English king became henceforth the servant of Parliament, holding office only on good behavior. An act of Parliament had made him and an act of Parliament might depose him. It is well to remember, however, that the Revolution did not form a popular movement. It was a successful struggle for parliamentary supremacy on the part of the upper classes. The government of England still remained far removed from democracy.

Act of Settlement, 1701

The supremacy won by Parliament was safeguarded, a few years later, by the passage of the Act of Settlement. It provided that in case William III or his sister-in-law Anne died without heirs, the crown should pass to Sophia, electress of Hanover, and her descendants. She was the granddaughter of James I and a Protestant. This arrangement deliberately excluded a number of nearer representatives of the Stuart house from the succession, because they were Roman Catholics. Parliament thus asserted in the strongest way the right of the English people to choose their own rulers.

The Hanoverian dynasty, 1714

Queen Anne died in 1714, and in accordance with the Act of Settlement, George I, the son of Sophia of Hanover, ascended the throne. He was the first member of the Hanoverian dynasty, which has since continued to reign in Great Britain. In 1917, however,

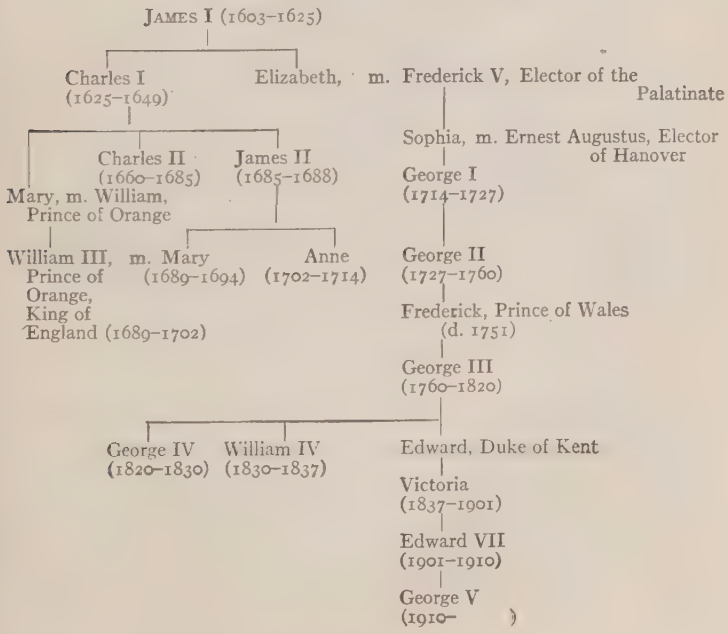
the official name of the English ruling family was changed to "House of Windsor." [1]

74. Absolutism of Louis XIV in France, 1643–1715

France in the seventeenth century furnished the best example of an absolute monarchy, during the reign of Louis XIV. He was a man of handsome presence, slightly below the middle height, with a prominent nose and abundant hair, which he allowed to fall over his shoulders. In manner he was dignified, reserved, courteous, and as majestic, it is said, in his dressing-gown as in his robes of state. A contemporary wrote that he would have been every inch a king, "even if he had been born under the roof of a beggar." Louis possessed much natural intelligence, a retentive memory, and great capacity for work. It must be added, however, that his

Louis XIV, the man

[1] STUART AND HANOVERIAN DYNASTIES.



general education had been neglected, and that throughout his life he remained ignorant and superstitious. Vanity formed a striking trait in the character of Louis. He accepted the most fulsome compliments and delighted to be known as the "Grand Monarch" and the "Sun-king."

HÔTEL DES INVALIDES, PARIS

Built by Louis XIV as a home for infirm or disabled soldiers. Napoleon Bonaparte is entombed here.

Louis XIV, the king

The famous saying, "I am the State," [1] though not uttered by Louis, accurately expressed his conviction that in him were embodied the power and greatness of France. Few monarchs have tried harder to justify their despotic rule. He was fond of gayety and sport, but he never permitted himself to be turned away from the punctual dis-

[1] *L'État, c'est moi.*

charge of his royal duties. Until the close of his reign — one of the longest in the annals of Europe — Louis devoted from five to nine hours a day to what he called the "trade of a king."

Louis gathered around him a magnificent court at Versailles, near Paris. Here a whole royal city, with palaces, parks, groves, terraces, and fountains, sprang into being at his order. The gilded salons and mirrored corridors of Versailles were soon crowded with members of the nobility. They now spent little time on their estates, preferring to remain at Versailles in attendance on the king, to whose favor they owed offices, pensions, and honors. The splendor of the French court cast its spell upon Europe. Every king and prince looked to Louis as the model of what a ruler should be and tried to imitate him. During this period the French language, manners, dress, art, and literature became the accepted standards of polite society in all civilized lands.

The French court

How unwise it may be to concentrate authority in the hands of one man is shown by the melancholy record of the wars of Louis XIV. To make France powerful and gain fame for himself, Louis plunged his country into a series of struggles from which it emerged completely exhausted. He dreamed of dominating all western Europe, but his aggressions provoked against him a constantly increasing number of allies, who in the end proved to be too strong even for the king's able generals and fine armies.

French militarism

Of the four great wars which filled a large part of Louis's reign, all but the last were designed to extend the dominions of France on the east and northeast as far as the Rhine. That river in ancient times had separated Gaul and Germany, and Louis regarded it as a "natural boundary" of France. Some expansion in this direction had already been made by the Peace of Westphalia, when France gained much of Alsace and secured the recognition of her old claims to the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun in Lorraine. A treaty negotiated with Spain in 1659 also gave to France possessions in Artois and Flanders. Louis thus had a good basis for operations in the Rhinelands.

The Rhine boundary

Three wars for the Rhine

The French king began his aggressions by an effort to annex the Belgian or Spanish Netherlands, which then belonged to Spain. A triple alliance of Holland, England, and Sweden forced him to relinquish all his conquests, except some territory in Flanders (1668). Louis blamed the Dutch for his setback and determined to

Acquisitions of Louis XIV and Louis XV

punish them. Moreover, the Dutch represented everything to which he was opposed, for Holland was a republic, the keen rival of France in trade, and Protestant in religion. By skillful diplomacy he persuaded England and Sweden to stand aloof, while his armies entered Holland and drew near to Amsterdam.

At this critical moment William, prince of Orange,[1] became the Dutch leader. He was a descendant of that William the Silent, who, a century before, had saved the Dutch out of the hands of Spain. By William's orders the Dutch cut the dikes and interposed a watery barrier to further advance by the French. William then formed another Continental coalition, which carried on the war till Louis signified his desire for peace. The Dutch did not lose a foot of territory, but Spain was obliged to cede to France the important province of Franche-Comté (1678). A few years later Louis sought additional territory in the Rhinelands, but again an alliance of Spain, Holland, Austria, and England compelled him to sue for terms (1697).

The treaty of peace concluding the third war for the Rhine confirmed the French king in the possession of Strasbourg, together with other cities and districts of Alsace which he had previously annexed. Alsace was now completely joined to France, except for some territories of small extent which were acquired about a century later. The Alsatians, though mainly of Teutonic extraction, in process of time considered themselves French and lost all desire for union with any of the German states. The greater part of Lorraine was not added to France until 1766, during the reign of Louis's successor. The Lorrainers, likewise, became thoroughly French in feeling.

Alsace and Lorraine

The European balance of power had thus far been preserved, but it was now threatened in another direction. The king of Spain lay dying, and as he was without children or brothers to succeed him, all Europe wondered what would be the fate of his vast possessions in Europe and America. Louis had married one of his sisters, and the Holy Roman Emperor another, so both the Bourbons and the Austrian Hapsburgs could put forth claims to the Spanish throne. When the king died, it was found that he had left his entire dominions to one of Louis's grandsons, in the hope that the French might be strong enough to keep them undivided. Though Louis knew that acceptance of the inheritance would

The Spanish succession

[1] Subsequently William III of England. See page 293.

involve a war with Austria and probably with England, whose ruler, William III, was Louis's old foe, ambition triumphed over fear and the desire for glory over consideration for the welfare of France. Louis proudly presented his grandson to the court at Versailles, saying, "Gentlemen, behold the king of Spain."

In the War of the Spanish Succession France and Spain faced the Grand Alliance, which included England, Holland, Austria, several of the German states, and Portugal. Europe had never known a war that concerned so many countries and peoples. William III died shortly after the outbreak of hostilities, leaving the continuance of the contest as a legacy to his sister-in-law, Queen Anne. England supplied the coalition with funds, a fleet, and also with the ablest commander of the age, the duke of Marlborough. In Eugène, prince of Savoy, the Allies had another skillful and daring general. Their great victory at Blenheim in 1704 was the first of a series of successes which finally drove the French out of Germany and Italy and opened the road to Paris. But dissensions among the Allies and the heroic resistance of France and Spain enabled Louis to hold his enemies at bay, until the exhaustion of both sides led to the conclusion of the Peace of Utrecht.

War of the Spanish Succession, 1701–1713

MARLBOROUGH

A miniature in the possession of the duke of Buccleugh.

This peace ranks among the most important diplomatic arrangements of modern times. First, Louis's grandson was recognized as king of Spain and her colonies, on condition that the Spanish and French crowns should never be united. Since

EUROPE
after the Peace of Utrecht, 1713 A.D.
Hapsburg Dominions
Prussia
Piedmont (House of Savoy)
Hanover (House of Brunswick)
Boundary of the Empire
Scale of Miles
0 50 100 200 300
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BLACK SEA
ADRIATIC SEA
THE EMPIRE
SCOTLAND
Edinburgh
Belfast
Dublin
IRELAND
WALES
ENGLAND
London
Amsterdam
Utrecht
NETHERLANDS
DENMARK
SWEDEN
Copenhagen
Stralsund
WESTERN POMERANIA
PRUSSIA
Konigsberg
Bremen
Hanover
Berlin
SAXONY
Dresden
Prague
BOHEMIA
SILESIA
Warsaw
POLAND
RUSSIA
Vistula
Dnieper R.
Cracow
Brussels
Cologne
Fontenoy
Paris
Versailles
Verdun
Metz
LORRAINE
ALSACE
Belfort
Neufchatel
Blenheim
Rastadt
BAVARIA
Munich
AUSTRIA
Vienna
MORAVIA
Buda
Pesth
HUNGARY
TRANSYLVANIA
Temesvar
TYROL
SWITZERLAND
FRANCE
Loire
Lyons
Bordeaux
Garonne
Avignon
Orange
Rhone
SAVOY
Milan
Turin
PIEDMONT
Genoa
Lucca
Florence
TUSCANY
Venice
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Constantinople
Ragusa
Cattaro
Danube
Douro
Ebro
Madrid
Lisbon
Tagus
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
Guadiana
Guadalquivir
Seville
Gibraltar (To England)
Barcelona
CORSICA
Rome
Naples
NAPLES
SARDINIA
(To Austria 1713, exchanged for Sicily 1720)
Palermo
Messina
SICILY
(To Savoy 1713, exchanged for Sardinia 1720)
BALEARIC ISLES
MINORCA
(To England)
MAJORCA
IVICA
MOREA
CRETE
AFRICA
THE M.-N. WORKS
10° Longitude 5° West 0° Longitude 5 East from 10° Greenwich 15 20° 25°

GIBRALTAR

Though not an island, Gibraltar is connected with the Spanish mainland only by a flat strip of sandy ground. The rock, which is about 2½ miles in length, rises to a height of 1400 feet. At the base and on the summit are powerful batteries, while the sides are pierced with loopholes and galleries for cannon. There is also an inclosed harbor in which a fleet can safely anchor. Gibraltar has remained in British hands since 1704.

this time Bourbon sovereigns have continued to rule in Spain. Next, the Austrian Hapsburgs gained the Spanish dominions in Italy, that is, Milan and Naples, the island of Sardinia, and the Belgian or Spanish Netherlands (thenceforth for a century called the Austrian Netherlands). Finally, England obtained from France extensive possessions in North America, and from Spain, Minorca and the rock of Gibraltar, commanding the narrow entrance to the Mediterranean.

Peace of Utrecht, 1713

Two of the smaller members of the Grand Alliance likewise profited by the Peace of Utrecht. The right of the elector of Brandenburg to hold the title of king of Prussia was acknowledged. This formed an important step in the fortunes of the Hohenzollern dynasty. The duchy of Savoy also became a kingdom and received the island of Sicily (shortly afterwards exchanged for Sardinia). The house of Savoy in the nineteenth century provided Italy with its present reigning family.

Brandenburg-Prussia and Savoy

France lost far less by the war than at one time seemed probable. Louis gave up his dream of dominating Europe, but he kept all the Continental acquisitions made earlier in his reign. Yet the price of the king's warlike policy had been a heavy one. France paid it in the shape of famine and pestilence, excessive taxes, huge debts, and the impoverishment of the people. Louis, now a very old man, survived the Peace of Utrecht only two years. As he lay dying, he turned to his little heir [1] and said, "Try to keep peace with your neighbors. I have been too fond of war; do not imitate me in that, nor in my too great expenditure."

Position of France

75. Russia under Peter the Great, 1689–1725

The Russians at the opening of modern times seemed to be rather an Asiatic than a European people. Three hundred years of Mongol rule had isolated them from their Slavic neighbors and had interrupted the stream of civilizing in-

[1] His great-grandson, then a child of five years. The reign of Louis XV covered the period 1715–1774.

LOUIS XIV

After the painting by Hyacinthe Rigaud, Louvre, Paris

PETER THE GREAT

After the painting by Karel de Moor

fluences which in earlier days flowed into Russia from Scandinavia and from the Byzantine Empire.[1] The absence of seaports discouraged foreign commerce, through which European ideas and customs might have entered Russia, while at the same time the nature of the country made agriculture rather than industry the principal occupation. Most of the Russians were ignorant, superstitious peasants, who led secluded lives in small farming villages scattered over the plains and throughout the forests. Even the inhabitants of the towns lacked the education and enlightened manners of the

The Russians

[1] For Russian history during the Middle Ages see pages 167 and 193.

western peoples, whose ways they disliked and whose religion, whether Protestantism or Catholicism, they condemned as heretical. Russia, in short, needed to be restored to Europe, and Europe needed to be introduced to Russia.

Russian expansion in Europe

Russia under Ivan the Great (1462–1505), the tsar who expelled the Mongols, was still an inland state. The natural increase of her people, their migratory habits, and the desire for civilizing intercourse with other nations, impelled her expansion seawards. By the annexation of Novgorod and its possessions, Ivan carried Russian territory to the Arctic. Wars of his successors with the Tatars gave Russia command of the Volga from source to mouth and brought her to the Caspian. Russian emigrants also occupied the border country called the Ukraine,[1] which lay on both sides of the lower Dnieper. Russia continued, however, to be shut out from the Baltic by the Swedes and Poles and from the Black Sea by the Turks.

Accession of the Romanov dynasty, 1613

The family of tsars, descended from the Northman Ruric in the ninth century, became extinct seven hundred years later, and disputes over the succession led to civil wars and foreign invasions. The Russians then proceeded to select a new tsar, and for this purpose a general assembly of nobles and delegates from the towns met at Moscow. Their choice fell upon one of their own number, Michael Romanov by name, whose family was related to the old royal line. He proved to be an excellent ruler in troublous times. His grandson was the celebrated Peter the Great.

Tsar Peter

Peter became sole tsar of Russia when only seventeen years of age. His character almost defies analysis. An English contemporary, who knew him well, described him as "a man of a very hot temper, soon inflamed, and very brutal in his passion." Deeds of fiendish cruelty were congenial to him. After a mutiny of his bodyguard he edified the court by himself slicing off the heads of the culprits. In order to quell opposition in his family, he had his wife whipped

[1] Russian *krai*, "frontier." See the map on page 303.

by the knout and ordered his own son to be tortured and executed. He was coarse, gluttonous, and utterly without personal dignity. The companions of his youth were profligates; his banquets were orgies of dissipation. Yet Peter could be often frank and good-humored, and to his friends he was as loyal as he was treacherous to his foes. Whatever his weaknesses, few men have done more than Peter to change the course of history, and few have better deserved the appellation of "the Great."

Soon after becoming tsar Peter sent fifty young Russians of the best families to England, Holland, and Venice, to absorb all they could of European ideas. Afterwards he came himself, traveling incognito as "Peter Mikhailov." He spent two years abroad, particularly in Holland and England, where he studied ship-building and navigation. He also collected miners, mechanics, engineers, architects, and experts of every sort for the roads and bridges, the ships and palaces, the schools and hospitals which were to arise in Russia.

Peter in western Europe

Many of Peter's reforms were intended to introduce the customs of western Europe into Russia. The long Asiatic robes of Russian nobles had to give way to short German jackets and hose. Long beards, which the people considered sacred, had to be shaved, or else a tax paid for the privilege of wearing one. Women, previously kept in seclusion, were permitted to appear in public without veils and to mingle at dances and entertainments with men. A Russian order of chivalry was founded. The Bible was translated into the vernacular and sold at popular prices. Peter adopted the "Julian calendar," in place of the old Russian calendar, which began the year on the first of September, supposed to be the date of the creation. He also improved the Russian alphabet by omitting some of its cumbersome letters and by simplifying others.

Europeanization of Russia

Peter found in Russia no regular army; he organized one after the German fashion. The soldiers (except the mounted warriors known as Cossacks) were uniformed and armed like

European troops. He found no fleet; he built one, modeled upon that of Holland. He opened mines, cut canals, laid out roads, introduced sheep breeding, and fostered by protective tariffs the growth of silk and woolen manufactures. He instituted a police system and a postal service. He established schools of medicine, engineering, and navigation, as well as those of lower grade. He also framed a code of laws based upon the legal systems of western Europe.

Reconstruction of Russia

Very different views have been expressed as to the value of Peter's work. It is said, on the one side, that Russia could only be made over by such measures as he used; that the Russian people had to be dragged from their old paths and pushed on the broad road of progress. On the other side, it is argued that Peter's reforms were too sudden, too radical, and too little suited to the Slavic national character. The upper classes acquired only a veneer of western civilization, and with it many vices. The nobles continued to be indolent, corrupt, and indifferent to the public welfare. The clergy became merely the tools of the tsar. The common people remained as ignorant and oppressed as ever and without any opportunity of self-government. Whatever may be the truth as to these two views, no one disputes the fact that in a single reign, by the action of one man, Russia began to pass from semi-barbarism to civilization.

Value of Peter's work

The remaking of Russia according to European models formed only a half of Peter's program. His foreign policy was equally ambitious. He realized that Russia needed readier access to the sea than could be found through the Arctic port of Archangel. Peter made little headway against the Turks, who controlled the Black Sea, but twenty years of intermittent warfare with the Swedes enabled him to acquire the Swedish provinces on the eastern shore of the Baltic. Here in the swamps of the river Neva, not far from the Gulf of Finland, Peter built a new and splendid capital, giving it the German name of (St.) Petersburg.[1] He had at

St. Petersburg

[1] In 1914 the name was changed to the Slavic equivalent, Petrograd.

last realized his long-cherished dream of opening a "window" through which the Russian people might look into Europe.

76. Russia under Catherine II, 1762–1796

Shortly after the death of Peter the Great, at the early age of fifty-three, the male line of the Romanov dynasty became extinct. The succession now passed to women, who intermarried with German princes and thus increased the German influence in Russia. It was a German princess, Catherine II, who completed Peter's work of remaking Russia into a European state. She, also, has been called "the Great," a title possibly merited by her achievements, though not by her character. Catherine came to Russia as the wife of the heir-apparent. Once in her adopted country, she proceeded to make herself in all ways a Russian, learning the language and even conforming, at least outwardly, to the Orthodox (or Russian) Church. Her husband was a weakling, and Catherine managed to get rid of him after he had reigned only six months. She then mounted the throne and for thirty-four years ruled Russia with a firm hand.

Tsarina Catherine

CATHERINE II
After a painting by Van Wilk.

The defeat of Sweden left Poland and Turkey as the two countries which still blocked the path of Russia toward the sea. Catherine warred against them throughout her reign. She took the lion's share of Poland, when that unfortunate kingdom, as we shall shortly learn, was divided among Russia, Austria, and Prussia.

Catherine's foreign policy

Catherine also secured from the Turks an outlet for Russia on the Black Sea, though she never realized her dream of expelling them from European soil.

Growth of the Ottoman power to 1683

When Constantinople fell to the Turks in 1453, their European dominions already included a considerable part of the Balkan Peninsula. The two centuries following witnessed the steady progress of the Ottoman arms, until, of all the Balkan states, only tiny Montenegro preserved its independence. Pressing northward, the Turks conquered part of Hungary and made the rest of that country a dependency. They overran the Crimea and bestowed it upon a Mongol khan as a tributary province. They annexed Egypt, Syria, Armenia, Mesopotamia, and the coast of northern Africa. The Black Sea and the eastern Mediterranean became Turkish lakes.

The Cross and the Crescent

Two dramatic events showed that the Christian soldiery of Europe could still oppose a successful resistance to the Moslem warriors. The first was the crippling of Turkish sea-power by the combined fleets of Venice, Genoa, and Spain at a naval battle in the Gulf of Lepanto, off the western coast of Greece (1571). The second was the defeat suffered by the Turks under the walls of Vienna (1683). They marched on the Austrian capital, two hundred thousand strong, laid siege to it, and would have taken it but for the timely appearance of a relieving army commanded by the Polish king, John Sobieski. Poland at that time saved Austria from destruction and definitely stopped the land advance of the Turks in Europe.

Decline of the Ottoman power after 1683

After 1683 the boundaries of European Turkey gradually receded. The Hapsburgs won back most of Hungary by the close of the seventeenth century and during the eighteenth century further enlarged their possessions at the expense of the sultan. Catherine II, as the result of two wars with the Turks, secured the Crimea and the northern coast of the Black Sea. Russian merchant ships also received the right of free navigation in the Black Sea and of access through the Bosporus and

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE To 1683 A. D.
Scale of Miles
Ottoman Lands in 1307 A.D.
Acquisitions, 1307-1451 A.D.
Acquisitions, 1451-1566 A.D.
Acquisitions, 1566-1683 A.D.
Longitude East from Greenwich
THE M.-N.WORKS
POLAND
RUSSIA
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
TRANSYLVANIA
MOLDAVIA
BESSARABIA
JEDISAN
WALLACHIA
BOSNIA
SERBIA
BULGARIA
RUMELIA
DOBRUDJA
CRIMEA
CRIM TARTARY
ITALY
SICILY
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
ANATOLIA
CARAMANIA
TREBIZOND
ARMENIA
GEORGIA
DAGHISTAN
KURDISTAN
MESOPOTAMIA
SYRIA
EGYPT
SINAI
BARKA
TRIPOLI
PERSIA
EL HASA
ALGIERS
TUNIS
Adriatic Sea
Vienna
Venice
Budapest
Temesvar
Belgrade
Berlad
Bukharest
Nish
Sofia
Varna
Adrianople
Ragusa
Salonika
Larissa
Constantinople
Sinope
Kastamuni
Angora
Sivas
Trebizond
Erzerum
Batum
Kutais
Tiflis
Derbend
Kaffa
Azov
Sea of Azov
Caucasus Mts.
Kizil Irmak
Smyrna
Konia (Iconium)
Taurus Mts.
Adana
Antioch
Aleppo
G. of Adalia
Rhodes
Cyprus
Crete
Chios
Athens
Nauplia
Corinth
Modon
Malvasia
Messina
Tripoli
Tripoli
Beirut
Damascus
Jaffa
Jerusalem
Damietta
Alexandria
Cairo
Suez
Nile
Diarbekr
Van
Tabriz
Mosul
Bagdad
Teheran
Euphrates
Tigris
Persian Gulf
Disputed with Persia
Dnieper
Dniester
Don
Danube
Save
Algiers
Oran
Bona
Susa
Tripoli

Dardanelles to the Mediterranean. In this way Catherine opened for Russia another "window" on Europe.

Turkey lost more than territory. Russian consuls were admitted to Turkish towns, and Russian residents in Turkey were granted the free exercise of their religion. As time went on, the tsars even claimed the right of protecting Christian subjects of the sultan and consequently of interfering at will in Turkish affairs. The sultan thus tended to become the "sick man" of Europe, the disposition of whose possessions would henceforth form one of the thorny problems of European diplomacy. In a word, what is called the Eastern Question began.

The Eastern Question

77. Austria and Maria Theresa, 1740–1780

The Hapsburgs were originally feudal lords of a small district in what is now northern Switzerland, where the ruins of their ancestral castle[1] may still be seen. Count Rudolf, the real maker of the family fortunes, secured the archduchy of Austria, with its capital of Vienna, and in 1273 was chosen Holy Roman Emperor. The imperial title afterwards became hereditary in the Hapsburg dynasty.

The Hapsburg dynasty

The name "Austria" is loosely applied to all the territories which the Hapsburgs acquired in the course of centuries, by conquest, marriage, or inheritance.[2] By the eighteenth century they had come to rule over the most extraordinary jumble of peoples to be found in Europe. There were Germans in Austria proper and Silesia, Czechs in Bohemia and Moravia, Magyars, Slovaks, Rumanians, Croatians, and Slovenians in Hungary and its dependencies, Italians in Milan and Tuscany, and Flemings and Walloons in the Netherlands. It was impossible to group such widely scattered peoples into one centralized state; it was equally impossible to form them into a federation. Their sole bond of union was a common allegiance to the Hapsburg monarch.

The Hapsburg realm

[1] German *Habichtsburg* ("Hawks' Burgh").

[2] See the map facing page 520.

The Hapsburg realm threatened to break up in the eighteenth century upon the death of the emperor Charles VI, who lacked male heirs. Charles, however, had made a so-called Pragmatic Sanction, or solemn compact, declaring his dominions to be indivisible and leaving them to his eldest daughter, Maria Theresa. Most of the European powers pledged themselves by treaty to observe this arrangement.

The Pragmatic Sanction

MARIA THERESA

After a pastel painting formerly in the possession of the Archduke Frederick, Vienna.

The emperor died in 1740 and Maria Theresa became archduchess of Austria, queen of Hungary, queen of Bohemia and sovereign of all the other Hapsburg lands. She was then only twenty-three years old, strikingly handsome, and gifted with much charm of manner. Her youth, her beauty, and her sex might have entitled her to consideration by those states which had agreed to respect the Pragmatic Sanction. But a paper bulwark could not safeguard Austria against Prussia and Prussia's allies.

Maria Theresa

78. Prussia and Frederick the Great, 1740–1786

Prussia, the creator of modern Germany, was the creation of the Hohenzollerns.[1] Excepting Frederick the Great, no Hohenzollern deserves to be ranked as a genius; but it would be hard to name another dynasty with so many able, ambitious, and unscrupulous rulers. The Hohenzollerns prided themselves on the fact that almost every member of the family enlarged the possessions received from

The Hohenzollerns

[1] The name is derived from that of their castle on the heights of Zollern in southern Germany. Emperor William II was the twenty-fourth ruler of the line.

FREDERICK THE GREAT

After the painting by Antoine Pesne.
Berlin Museum.

his ancestors. They did this by purchase, by inheritance, by shrewd diplomacy, and, most of all, by hard fighting.

The veil of obscurity hanging over the early history of the Hohenzollerns lifts early in the fifteenth century, when one of them received the mark of Brandenburg from the Holy Roman Emperor, as compensation for various sums of money advanced to him. Brandenburg in the Middle Ages had formed a German colony planted among the Slavs beyond the Elbe. With the margraviate went the electoral dignity, that is to say, the ruler of Brandenburg was one of the seven German princes who enjoyed the privilege of choosing the emperor.

Margraviate of Brandenburg, 1415

The Hohenzollerns as yet had no connection with Prussia. That country received its name from the Borussi, a heathen people most closely related to the Lithuanians. The Borussi occupied the Baltic coast east of the Vistula. They were conquered and well-nigh exterminated in the thirteenth century by the Teutonic Knights, a military-religious order which arose during the crusades. The Prussian landed aristocracy (*Junkers*) has largely descended from these hard-riding, hard-fighting, fierce, cruel knights. The decline of their order in the fifteenth century enabled the king of Poland to annex West Prussia. During the Reformation the Teutonic grand master, who was a near relative of the Hohenzollerns of Brandenburg, dissolved the order and changed East Prussia into a secular duchy. His family became extinct early in the seventeenth century, and the duchy then passed to the elector of Brandenburg.

Duchy of Prussia, 1618

The period between the close of the Thirty Years' War and the accession of Frederick the Great saw many additions to the Hohenzollern domains.[1] The Hohenzollerns at length became powerful enough to aspire to royal dignity. At the outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession, the emperor, who was anxious to receive the elector's support, allowed him to assume the title of "king" and to claim, henceforth, that he ruled by divine right. Prussia,

Kingdom of Prussia, 1701

[1] See the map facing page 314.

rather than Brandenburg, gave its name to the new kingdom, because the former was an independent state, while the latter was a member of the Holy Roman Empire.

Prussian absolutism

Only a strong hand could hold together the scattered possessions of the Hohenzollerns. Their hand was strong. No monarchs of the age exercised more unlimited authority or required more complete obedience from their subjects. According to the Hohenzollern principle, the government could not be too absolute, provided it was efficient. The ruler, working through his ministers, who were merely his clerks, must foster agriculture, industry, and commerce, promote education, and act as the guide of his people in religion and morals.

Prussian militarism

The Hohenzollerns devoted themselves consistently to the upbuilding of their military forces. They wanted an army powerful enough to defend a kingdom without natural boundaries and stretching in detached provinces all the way from the Rhine to the Niemen. The soldiers at first were volunteers, recruited in different parts of Germany, but it became necessary to fill up the gaps in the ranks by compulsory levies among the peasants. Carefully trained officers, appointed from the nobility and advanced only on merit, enforced an iron discipline. The soldiers, it was said, feared their commanders more than they did the enemy.

Frederick the Great

Frederick the Great became king at the age of twenty-eight. He was rather below the average height and inclined to stoutness, good looking, with the fair hair of North Germans and blue-gray eyes of extraordinary brilliancy. By nature he seems to have been thoroughly selfish and unsympathetic, cynical and crafty. He was not a man to inspire affection among his intimates, but with the mass of his subjects he was undeniably popular. Innumerable stories circulated in Prussia about the simplicity, good humor, and devotion to duty of old "Father Fritz."

The year 1740, when both Frederick and Maria Theresa mounted the throne, saw the beginning of a long struggle between them. The responsibility for it rests on Frederick's

shoulders. The Prussian king coveted Silesia, an Austrian province lying to the southeast of Brandenburg and mainly German in population. Of all the Hapsburg possessions it was the one most useful to the Hohenzollerns. Frederick suddenly led his army into Silesia and overran the country without much difficulty. No justification existed for this action. As the king afterwards confessed in his *Memoirs*, "Ambition, interest, and desire of making people talk about me carried the day; and I decided for war."

Acquisition of Silesia

Frederick's action precipitated a general European conflict. France, Spain, and Bavaria allied themselves with Prussia, in order to partition the Hapsburg possessions, while Great Britain and Holland, anxious to preserve the balance of power, took the side of Austria. Things might have gone hard with Maria Theresa but for the courage and energy which she displayed and the support of her Hungarian subjects. In 1748 all the warring countries agreed to a mutual restoration of conquests (with the exception of Silesia) and signed the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.

War of the Austrian Succession, 1740–1748

Maria Theresa still hoped to recover her lost province. As most of the European sovereigns were either afraid or jealous of Frederick, she found no great difficulty in forming a coalition against him. Russia, France, Sweden, and Saxony entered it. Most of Europe thus united in arms to dismember the small Prussian state.

Outbreak of the Seven Years' War, 1756

It happened, however, that at the head of this small state was a man of military genius, capable of infusing into others his own undaunted spirit and supported by subjects disciplined, patient, and loyal. Furthermore, Great Britain in the Seven Years' War was an ally of Prussia. British gold subsidized the Prussian armies, and British troops, by fighting the French in Germany, India, and America, weakened Prussia's most dangerous enemy. Frederick conducted a purely defensive warfare, thrusting now here and now there against his slower-moving adversaries, who never learned to act in concert and exert their full force

Course of the war

simultaneously. Even so, the struggle was desperately unequal. The Russians occupied East Prussia, penetrated Brandenburg, and even captured Berlin. Faced by the gradual wearing down of his armies, an empty treasury, and an impoverished country, Frederick more than once meditated suicide. What saved him was the accession of a new tsar. This ruler happened to be a warm admirer of the Prussian king and at once withdrew from the war. Maria Theresa, deprived of her eastern ally, now had to come to terms and leave Frederick in secure possession of Silesia. Soon afterwards the Peace of Paris between France and Great Britain brought the Seven Years' War to an end (1763).

Issue of the war

This most bloody contest, which cost the lives of nearly a million men, seemed to settle little or nothing in Europe, except the ownership of Silesia. Yet the Seven Years' War really marks an epoch in European history. The young Prussian kingdom appeared henceforth as one of the great powers of the Continent and as the only rival in Germany of the old Hapsburg monarchy. From this time it was inevitable that Prussia and Austria would struggle for predominance, and that the smaller German states would group themselves around one or the other. Frederick, of course, like all the Hohenzollerns, fought simply for the aggrandizement of Prussia, but the results of his work were disclosed a century later when the German Empire came into being.

79. The Partitions of Poland, 1772–1795

Poles

Our first glimpse of the Poles reveals them as a Slavic people, still wild and heathen, who occupied the region between the upper waters of the Oder and the Vistula. They began to adopt Roman Christianity toward the close of the tenth century. The Poles suffered terribly from the Mongol invasions, but, unlike the Russians, never bowed to the yoke of the Great Khan. The order of Teutonic Knights also made persistent attacks on the Poles, thus endeavoring, even in medieval times, to bring their country within the German sphere of influence.

NORTH SEA
DENMARK
SWEDEN
BALTIC SEA
SCHLESWIG
HOLSTEIN
HELGOLAND
Rostock
Kolberg
POMERANIA
Danzig
Konigsberg
Niemen
EAST PRUSSIA
Marienburg
EAST FRIESLAND
Emden
Hamburg
MECKLENBURG
W. POMERANIA
EASTERN NEUMARK
Oder
WEST PRUSSIA
Bremen
Elbe
Thorn
Vistula
NEW EAST PRUSSIA
Bay
Lingen
MINDEN
Minden (1759)
RAVENGBERG
Hanover
BRANDENBURG
Brandenburg
Berlin
Potsdam
Frankfort
Posen
Warsaw
CLEVES
Wesel
MARK
MAGDEBURG
Magdeburg
Wernigerode
Warthe
SOUTH PRUSSIA
Pilica
Kottbus
Halle
Crefeld
Cologne
Rossbach (1757)
Leipzig
Leuthen (1757)
Breslau
SILESIA
Weimar
Dresden
Rhine
Coblenz
Frankfort
Dettingen (1743)
Main
Mainz
BAYREUTH
Bayreuth
Prague
Jagerndorf
NEW SILESIA
Oderberg
BOHEMIA
AUSTRIA
Ansbach
Nuremberg
ANSBACH
THE MAN WORKS
Longitude East 14° from Greenwich
GROWTH OF
PRUSSIA
to the End of the
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY
0 50 100
Scale of Miles
Brandenburg in 1415 A.D.
Acquisitions, 1415-1740 A.D.
Acquisitions under Frederick II, the Great, 1740-1786 A.D.
Acquisitions under Frederick William II. 1786-1797 A.D.

The early history of the Poles is closely linked with that of the Lithuanians, a kindred though distinct people. The Lithuanians originally dwelt among the forests and marshes of the Niemen River. They were almost the last of the barbarous inhabitants of Europe to be civilized and Christianized.

Lithuanians

Common fear, at first of the Germans and then of the Russians, brought the Poles and Lithuanians together. By the Union of Lublin (1569) Poland proper and the grand duchy of Lithuania became a single state, with one king, one Diet, and one currency. After the union the old Polish capital of Cracow gave way to Warsaw, now one of the largest and finest cities of eastern Europe.

Union of Poles and Lithuanians

Poland, as the new state may be henceforth called, was badly made. It formed an immense, monotonous plain, reaching from the Baltic almost to the Black Sea. No natural barriers of rivers or mountains clearly separated the country from Russia on the east, the lands of the Hohenzollerns and Hapsburgs on the west, and the Ottoman Empire on the south. Even the Baltic Sea did not provide a continuous boundary on the north, for here the duchy of East Prussia cut deeply into Polish territory. Poland, with its artificial frontiers, lacked geographical unity.

Frontiers of Poland

Poland was not racially compact. Besides Poles and Lithuanians, the inhabitants included many Russians, a considerable number of Germans and Swedes, and a large Jewish population in the towns. The differences between them in race and language were accentuated by religious dissensions. The Poles and most of the Lithuanians belonged to the Roman Catholic Church, the Germans and Swedes adhered to Lutheranism, while the Russians accepted the Orthodox faith.

Inhabitants of Poland

Feudalism, though almost extinct in western Europe, flourished in Poland. There were more than a million Polish nobles, mostly very poor, but each one owning a share of the land. No large and wealthy

Social conditions in Poland

PARTITIONS OF POLAND, 1772, 1793, 1795 A.D.

middle class existed. The peasants were miserable serfs, over whom their lords had the power of life and death.

Political conditions in Poland

The Polish monarchy was elective, not hereditary, an arrangement which converted the kings into mere puppets of the noble electors. A Polish sovereign could neither make war or peace, nor pass laws, nor levy taxes without the consent of the Polish national assembly. In this body, which was composed of representatives of the nobility, any member by his single adverse vote — "I object" — could block proposed legislation. The result was that the nobles seldom passed any measures except those which increased their own power and privileges. The wonder is, not that Poland collapsed, but that it survived so long under such a system of government.

THE PARTITION OF POLAND

A contemporary cartoon which represents Catherine II, Joseph II, and Frederick II pointing out on the map the boundaries of Poland as divided between them. Stanislaus II, the Polish king, is trying to keep his crown from falling off his head.

Russia, Austria, and Prussia had long interfered in the choice of Polish rulers. Now they began to annex Polish territory. It was not necessary to conquer the country, but only to divide it up like a thing ownerless and dead. **First partition. 1772** In 1772 Catherine II joined with Maria Theresa and Frederick the Great in the first partition of Poland. Russia took a strip east of the Düna and Dnieper rivers inhabited entirely by Russians. Austria took Galicia and neighboring lands occupied

by Poles and Russians. Prussia received the coveted West Prussia, whose inhabitants were mainly Germans. All together Poland lost about one-third of its territory.

The first partition opened the eyes of the Polish nobles to the ruin which threatened their country. Something like a patriotic spirit now developed, and efforts began to remove the glaring absurdities of the old government. The reform movement encountered the opposition of the neighboring sovereigns, who wished to keep Poland as weak as possible in order to have an excuse for further spoliation. The second partition (1793), in which only Russia and Prussia shared, cut deeply into Poland. Two years later came the final dismemberment of the country among its three neighbors. The brave though futile resistance of the Polish patriots, led by Kosciuszko, who had fought under Washington in the Revolutionary War, threw a gleam of glory upon the last days of the expiring kingdom.

Second and third partitions, 1793, 1795

Neither Great Britain nor France interfered in 1772 to save the Poles. Great Britain was fully occupied with her rebellious American colonies, while France, then ruled by the wretched Louis XV, had for the time being lost all weight in the councils of Europe.

Non-intervention

The suggestion for the dismemberment of Poland came from Frederick the Great, who with his usual frankness admitted that it was an act of brigands. In Catherine II he found an ally as unprincipled as himself. Maria Theresa expressed horror at the crime and even declared that it would remain a blot on her whole reign. "She wept indeed, but she took." This shameful violation of international law produced a Polish Question. From the eighteenth century to the twentieth century the Poles never ceased to be restless and unhappy under foreign overlords. They developed a new national consciousness after the loss of their freedom, and the severest measures of repression failed to break their spirit. The restoration of Poland as an independent country was one happy result of the World War.

The Polish Question

Studies

1. What circumstances gave rise to (*a*) the Petition of Right; (*b*) the Instrument of Government; (*c*) the Habeas Corpus Act; (*d*) the Bill of Rights; and (*e*) the Act of Settlement? 2. Contrast the Commonwealth as a national republic with the medieval Italian cities, the Swiss Confederation, and the United Netherlands. 3. Why has the Bill of Rights been called the "third great charter of English liberty"? What were the first and second charters? 4. Show that the Revolution of 1688–1689 was a "preserving" and not a "destroying" revolution. 5. Trace the downfall of divine right as a political doctrine in seventeenth-century England. 6. What is the essential distinction between a "limited" or "constitutional" monarchy and an "absolute" or "autocratic" monarchy? 7. By reference to the map on page 298, show how far the "natural boundaries" of France were attained during the reign of Louis XIV. 8. Show that by the Peace of Utrecht nearly all the combatants profited at the expense of Spain. 9. Compare the map of Europe in 1648 with that of Europe in 1713. Which states present the most marked changes in boundaries? 10. How was Russia until the time of Peter the Great rather an "annex of Asia" than a part of Europe? 11. "Russia is the last-born child of European civilization." Comment on this statement. 12. What did Peter the Great mean by saying, "It is not land I want, but water"? 13. On an outline map indicate the territorial gains made by Russia in Europe under Peter the Great. 14. On the map (page 303) indicate the Russian acquisitions from Sweden, Poland, and Turkey, respectively, to the end of the eighteenth century. 15. Account for the development of both absolutism and militarism in Prussia. 16. On an outline map indicate the additions to the Hohenzollern territories made by Frederick the Great. 17. Why may the Polish state be described as both a monarchy and a republic? 18. Compare Russia's share of Poland with the shares of Austria and Prussia (map on page 316). 19. Show that the geographical situation of West Prussia made it an extremely important addition to the Hohenzollern possessions. 20. Compare the map of Europe in 1789 with that of Europe in 1713. Which states present the most marked changes in boundaries? 21. What illustrations of international immorality are found in this chapter?

CHAPTER IX

COMMERCE AND COLONIES DURING THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES [1]

80. Mercantilism and Trading Companies

PORTUGAL and Spain had chiefly profited by the geographical discoveries and colonizing movements of the sixteenth century.

New rivals for colonial empire

The decline of these two countries enabled other European nations to step into their place as rivals for commerce, colonies, and the sovereignty of the seas. The Dutch were first in the field, followed later by the French and the English.

Many motives inspired the colonizing movement of the seventeenth century. Political aims had considerable weight.

Motives for colonization

Holland, France, and England wanted dependencies overseas as a counterpoise to those obtained by Portugal and Spain. The religious impulse also played a part, as when Jesuit missionaries penetrated the American wilderness to convert the Indians to Christianity and when the Pilgrim Fathers sought in the New World a refuge from persecution. But the main motive for colonization was economic in character. Colonies were planted in order to furnish the home land with raw materials for its manufactures, new markets, and favorable opportunities for the investment of capital in commerce and industry.

Most European statesmen at this time accepted the principles of the mercantile system. Mercantilism is the name

[1] Webster, *Readings in Medieval and Modern History*, chapter xxix, "The Aborigines of the Pacific." Webster, *Historical Source Book*, No. 3, "Mayflower Compact, 1620"; No. 5, "New England Confederation, 1643"; No. 10, "Resolutions of the Stamp Act Congress, 1765"; No. 11, "Virginia Bill of Rights, 1776"; No. 12, "Declaration of Independence, 1776"; No. 13, "Articles of Confederation, 1778"; No. 14, "Northwest Ordinance, 1787"; No. 15, "Constitution of the United States, 1787."

given to an economic doctrine which emphasized the importance of manufactures and foreign trade, rather than agriculture and domestic trade, as sources of national wealth. Some Mercantilists even argued that the prosperity of a nation is in exact proportion to the amount of money in circulation within its borders. They urged, therefore, that each country should so conduct its dealings with other countries as to attract to itself the largest possible share of the precious metals. This could be most easily done by fostering exports of manufactures, through bounties and special privileges, and by discouraging imports, except of raw materials. If the country sold more to foreigners than it bought of them, then there would be a "favorable balance of trade," and this balance the foreigners would have to make up in coin or bullion.

The mercantile system

Large and flourishing colonies seemed essential to the success of the mercantile system. Colonies were viewed simply as estates to be worked for the advantage of the country fortunate enough to possess them. The home government did its best to prevent other governments from trading with its dependencies. At the same time, it either prohibited or placed serious restrictions on colonial manufactures which might compete with those of the mother country. Portugal and Spain in the sixteenth century, and now Holland, France, and England in the seventeenth century, pursued this colonial policy.

Mercantilism and colonial policy

The home government did not itself engage in colonial commerce. It ceded this privilege to private companies organized for the purpose. A company, in return for the monopoly of trade with the inhabitants of a colony, was expected to govern and protect them.

Trading companies

The first form of association was the regulated company. Each member, after paying the entrance fee, traded with his own capital at his own risk and kept his profits to himself. After a time this loose association gave way to the joint-stock company. The members contributed to a common fund and, instead of

Regulated and joint-stock companies

trading themselves, intrusted the management of the business to a board of directors. Any one who invested his capital would then receive a "dividend" on his "shares" of the joint stock, provided the enterprise was successful. The joint-stock companies of the seventeenth century thus formed a connecting link with modern corporations.

Trading companies were very numerous. For instance, Holland, France, England, Sweden and Denmark, as well as Scotland and Prussia, each chartered its own "East India Company." England had many trading companies, particularly those which operated in the Baltic lands, Russia, Turkey, India, Morocco, West Africa, and North America.

Examples of trading companies

81. The Dutch Colonial Empire

Holland lies at the mouths of the largest rivers of western Europe, the Scheldt, Meuse, and Rhine, thus securing easy communication with the interior. It is not far distant from Denmark and Norway and is only a few hours' sail from the French and English coasts. These advantages of position, combined with a small, infertile territory, never capable of supporting more than a fraction of the inhabitants by agriculture, naturally turned the Dutch to the Sea. They began their maritime career as fishermen, "exchanging tons of herring for tons of gold." and gradually built up an extensive transport trade between the Mediterranean and the Baltic lands. After the discovery of the Cape route to the East Indies, Dutch traders met Portuguese merchants at Lisbon and there obtained spices and other eastern wares for distribution throughout Europe.[1]

Holland as a commercial power

But the Dutch were soon to become seamen on a much more extensive scale. The union of Portugal with Spain in 1581[2] enabled Philip II to close the port of Lisbon to the Netherlanders, who had already begun their revolt against the Spanish monarch. Philip also seized a large number of Dutch ships lying in Spanish and

Dutch expeditions to the East Indies

[1] See page 254.

[2] Dissolved in 1640.

Baffin Bay
GREENLAND
ARCTIC CIRCLE
ICELAND
Hudson Bay
C. Farewell
NORTH AMERICA
Hudson Bay Co. (1670)
Plymouth Co. (1606)
London Co. (1606)
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Gulf of Mexico
CUBA
Caribbean Sea
CENTRAL AMERICA
TROPIC OF CANCER
EQUATOR
SOUTH AMERICA
PACIFIC OCEAN
TROPIC OF CAPRICORN
Merchant Adventurers (1564)
BRITISH ISLES
North Sea
Plymouth
Hamburg
Antwerp
GERMANY
POLAND
EUROPE
FRANCE
SPAIN
Mediterranean Sea
Constantinople
Black Sea
Morocco Co. (1585)
Morocco
Levant Co. (1581)
Alexandria
Damascus
Guinea Co. (1588, 1618)
AFRICA
Red Sea
ARABIA
Muscovy Co. (1554)
Archangel
Eastland Co. (1579)
Narva
RUSSIA
Moscow
Caspian Sea
ASIA
CHINA
Delhi
INDIA
Calicut
Arabian Sea
East India Co. (1600)
SIAM
China Sea
BORNEO
CELEBES
NEW GUINEA
SUMATRA
JAVA
Batavia
SPICE IS.
INDIAN OCEAN
MADAGASCAR
ENGLISH TRADING COMPANIES
Area of Trading
(1564) Year of Charter
Scale of Miles
0 500 1000 2000 3000
THE MATTHEWS-NORTHRUP WORKS, BUFFALO, N.Y.
80° 40° West 0° 40° Longitude from Greenwich 80° East 120°

Lumley.

Lumley & Lumley

Portuguese harbors, thus disclosing his purpose to destroy, if possible, the profitable commerce of his enemies. The Dutch now began to make expeditions directly to the East Indies, whose trade had been monopolized by Portugal for almost a century. They captured many Portuguese and Spanish ships, obtained ports on the coasts of Africa and India, and established themselves securely in the Far East.

The Dutch government presently chartered the East India Company and gave to it the monopoly of trade and rule from the Cape of Good Hope eastward to the Strait of Magellan. The company operated chiefly in the rich islands of the Malay Archipelago. Here much bitter fighting took place with the Portuguese, who were finally driven from nearly all of their eastern possessions. Ceylon, Malacca, Sumatra, Java, Celebes, and the Moluccas, or Spice Islands, passed into the hands of the Dutch. The headquarters of the Dutch East India Company were located at Batavia in Java. This city still remains one of the leading commercial centers of the Far East.

Dutch East India Company

The Dutch possessions included the Cape of Good Hope, where the Dutch East India Company made a permanent settlement (Cape Town). It was intended, at first, to be simply a way-station or port of refreshment for ships on the route to the Indies. Before long, however, Dutch emigrants began to arrive in increasing numbers, together with Huguenots who had fled from France to escape persecution. These farmer-settlers, or Boers, passed slowly into the interior and laid there the foundation of Dutch sway in South Africa. The Cape of Good Hope became a British possession at the opening of the nineteenth century, but the Boer republics retained their independence until our own day.

The Dutch in South Africa

Fired by their success and enriched by their gains in the East, the Dutch started out to form another colonial empire in the West. It was a Dutchman, Henry Hudson, who, seeking a northwest passage to the East Indies, discovered in 1609 the river which bears his name. The

The Dutch in America

Dutch sent out ships to trade with the natives and built a fort on Manhattan Island. The Dutch West India Company soon received a charter for commerce and colonization between the west coast of Africa and the east coast of the Americas. The company's little station on Manhattan Island became the flourishing port of New Amsterdam, from which the Dutch

New Amsterdam in 1655

After Van der Donck's *New Netherland*.

settlement of New Netherland spread up the Hudson River. The company also secured a large part of Guiana, as well as some of the West Indies.

Commercial decline of Holland

The Dutch in the seventeenth century were the leaders of commercial Europe. They owned more merchant ships than any other people and almost monopolized the carrying trade from the East Indies and between the Mediterranean and the Baltic. Yet with the advent of the eighteenth century the Dutch had begun to fall behind their French and English rivals in the race for commerce and colonies. They suffered from trade warfare with England during the Commonwealth and the reign of Charles II. The long and exhausting War of the Spanish Succession, in which Holland was a member of the Grand Alliance against Louis XIV, struck a further blow at Dutch prosperity. Though Holland fell from the first rank of commercial states, it has kept most of its dominions overseas to the present time.

82. Rivalry of France and England in India (to 1763)

The Portuguese and Dutch enjoyed a profitable trade with India, which supplied them with cotton, indigo, spices, dyes, drugs, precious stones, and other articles of luxury in European demand. In the seventeenth century, however, the French and the English became the principal competitors for Indian trade, and in the eighteenth century the rivalry between them led to the defeat of the French and the secure establishment of England's rule over India. A region half as large as Europe began to pass under the control of a single European power.

India and Europe

The conquest of India was made possible by the decline of the Mogul (or Mongol) Empire, which had been founded by the Turkish chieftain Baber in the sixteenth century. That empire, though renowned for its pomp and magnificence, never achieved a real unification of India. The country continued to be a collection of separate provinces, whose inhabitants were isolated from one another by differences of race, language, and religion. The Indian peoples had no feeling of nationality, and when the Mogul Empire broke up they were ready, with perfect indifference, to accept any other government able to keep order among them.

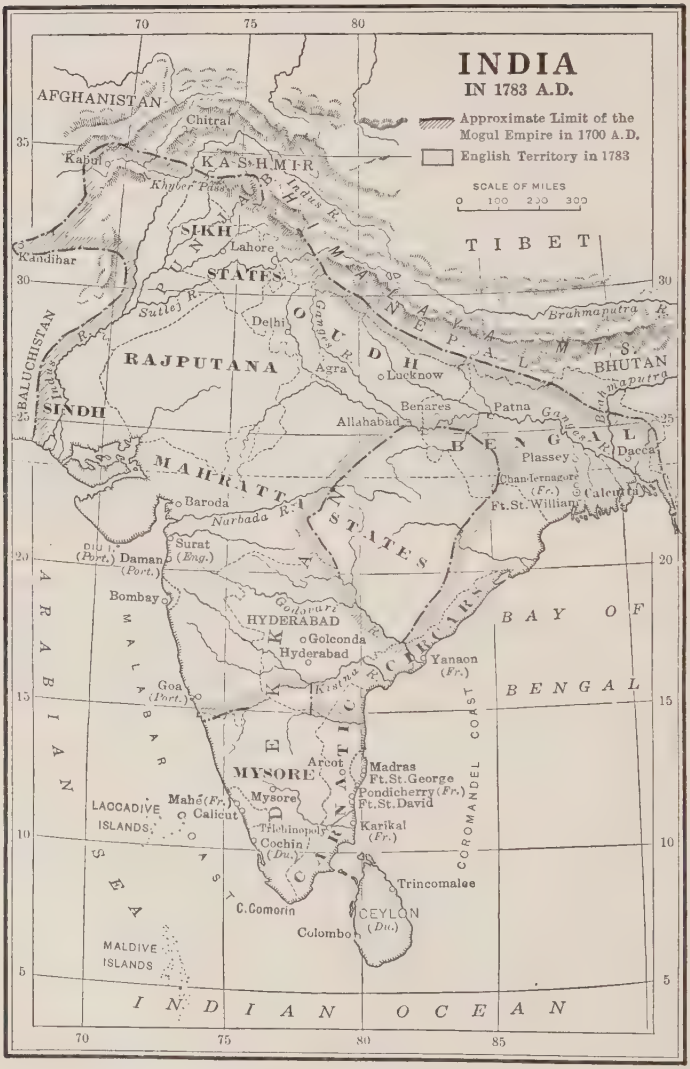
India under the Moguls

Neither France nor England began by making annexations in India. Each country merely established an East India company, giving to it a monopoly of trade between India and the home land. The French company, chartered during the reign of Louis XIV, had its headquarters at Pondicherry, on the southeastern coast of India. The English company, which received its first charter from Queen Elizabeth, possessed three widely separated settlements at Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta.

The East India companies

The French were the first to attempt the task of empire making in India, under the leadership of Dupleix, the able governor-general of Pondicherry. Dupleix saw clearly that the dissolution of the Mogul Empire and the defenseless condition of the native states opened the

Dupleix



way to the European conquest of India. In order that the French should profit by this unique opportunity, he entered into alliance with some of the Indian princes, fortified Pondi-

cherry, and managed to form an army by enlisting native soldiers ("sepoys"), who were drilled by French officers. The English afterwards did the same thing, and to this day "sepoys" comprise the bulk of the Indian forces of Great Britain. Upon the outbreak of the War of the Austrian Succession the French captured Madras, but it was restored to the English by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. Dupleix continued, however, to extend French influence in the south and east of India.

The English could not look unconcernedly upon the progress of their French rivals, and it was a young Englishman, Robert Clive, whose genius checkmated Dupleix's ambitious schemes. To Clive, more than any other man, Great Britain owes the beginning of her present Indian Empire. Clive had been a clerk in the employ of the East India Company at Madras, but he soon got an ensign's commission and entered upon a military career. His first success was gained in southeastern India. Here he managed to overthrow an upstart prince whom Dupleix supported and to restore English influence in that part of the peninsula. Dupleix was recalled in disgrace to France, where he died a disappointed man.

Clive

Clive now found an opportunity for even greater service. The native ruler of Bengal, a man ferocious in temper and consumed with hatred of the English, suddenly captured Calcutta. He allowed one hundred and forty-six prisoners to be confined in a tiny room, where they passed the sultry night without water. Next morning only twenty-three came forth alive from the "Black Hole." This atrocity was sufficiently avenged by the wonderful victory of Plassey, in which Clive, with a handful of soldiers, overthrew an Indian army of fifty thousand men. Plassey showed conclusively that native troops were no match for Europeans and made the English masters of Bengal, with its rich delta, mighty rivers, and teeming population.

Battle of Plassey, 1757

Meanwhile, the outbreak of the Seven Years' War in Europe renewed the contest between France and England on Indian soil. The English were completely successful, for their control

of the sea prevented the French government from sending reinforcements to India. France recovered her territorial possessions by the Peace of Paris in 1763, but agreed not to fortify them. This meant that she gave up her dream of an empire in India. England henceforth enjoyed a free hand in shaping the destinies of that vast region.

The Seven Years' War in India

83. Rivalry of France and England in North America (to 1763)

Englishmen, under the Tudors, had done very little as colonizers of the New World. Henry VII, indeed, encouraged John Cabot to make the discoveries of 1497–1498, on which the English claims to North America were based. During Elizabeth's reign Sir Martin Frobisher explored the coasts of Greenland and Labrador, and another "sea-dog," Sir Humphrey Gilbert, sought without success to colonize Newfoundland. Gilbert's half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, planned a settlement in the region then called Virginia,[1] but lack of support from home caused it to perish miserably. The truth was that sixteenth-century Englishmen had first to break the power of Spain in Europe before they could give much attention to America. The destruction of the Spanish Armada in 1588 at length enabled them to establish American colonies without interference from Spain.

Lateness of English colonization

The first permanent settlements of Englishmen in America were made at Jamestown, Virginia (1607), and Plymouth (1620), during the reign of James I. The reign of Charles I saw the foundation of Massachusetts and Maryland, and that of Charles II, the foundation of Pennsylvania and the Carolinas. By the end of the seventeenth century Massachusetts had absorbed Plymouth and had thrown out the offshoots which presently became Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Hampshire. The Dutch colony of New Netherland soon passed into the hands of the English and became New York. Charles II

The Thirteen Colonies

[1] After Elizabeth, the "Virgin Queen."

granted it to his brother James, duke of York and Albany, who afterwards reigned as James II. James, in turn, bestowed the region between the Hudson and Delaware rivers upon two court favorites, and it received the name of New Jersey. The small Swedish settlement on the Delaware, which had been established by the South Company of Sweden, under the auspices of Gustavus Adolphus, was annexed by the Dutch and then by the English. Delaware subsequently became a separate colony. Georgia, the southernmost of the Thirteen Colonies, was not settled until the reign of George II, in whose honor it was named.

Both New England and the southern colonies were chiefly English in blood. Many emigrants also came from other parts of the British Isles. The emigrants from Continental Europe included French Huguenots and Germans from the Rhenish Palatinate. The population of the middle colonies was far more mixed. Besides English and a sprinkling of Scotch and Irish, it comprised Dutch in New York, Swedes in Delaware, and Germans in Pennsylvania. But neither France, Holland, Sweden, nor Germany contributed largely to the settlement of the Thirteen Colonies.

Anglo-Saxon expansion

The French at the opening of the seventeenth century had gained no foothold in the New World. For more than fifty years after the failure of Jacques Cartier's settlement near Quebec (1542), they were so occupied with the Huguenot wars that they gave little thought to colonial expansion. The single exception was the ill-starred colony which Admiral de Coligny attempted to establish in Florida (1564). The Spaniards quickly destroyed it, not only because the settlers were Protestants, but also because a French settlement in Florida directly threatened their West India possessions. The growing weakness of Spain, together with the cessation of the religious struggle, made possible a renewal of the colonizing movement. The French again turned to the north, attracted by the fur trade and the fisheries, and founded Canada during the same decade that the English were founding Virginia.

Lateness of French colonization

The first great name in Canadian history is that of Samuel de Champlain, who enjoyed the patronage of Henry IV.

Champlain and Canada

Champlain explored the coast of Maine and Massachusetts, discovered the beautiful lake now called after him, traced the course of the St. Lawrence River, and also came upon lakes Ontario and Huron. He set up a permanent French post at Quebec in 1608, and three years later founded Montreal.

During the reign of Louis XIV the exploration of Canada went on with renewed energy. The French, hitherto, had been

La Salle and Louisiana

spurred by the hope of finding in the Great Lakes a western passage to Cathay. Joliet, the fur trader, and Marquette, the Jesuit missionary, believed that they had actually found the highway uniting the Atlantic and the Pacific, when their birchbark canoes first glided into the upper Mississippi. It was reserved for the most illustrious of French explorers, Robert de La Salle, to discover the true character of the "Father of Waters" and to perform the feat of descending it to the sea. He took possession of all the territory drained by the Mississippi for Louis XIV, naming it Louisiana.

Where La Salle had shown the way, missionaries, fur traders hunters, and adventurers quickly followed. The French now

New France

began to realize the importance of the Mississippi Valley, which time was to prove the most extensive fertile area in the world. Efforts were made to occupy it and to connect it with Canada by a chain of forts reaching from Quebec and Montreal on the St. Lawrence to New Orleans [1] at the mouth of the Mississippi. All of the continent west of the Alleghenies was to become New France.

However audacious this design, it seemed not impossible of fulfillment. New France, a single royal province under one

Strength and weakness of New France

military governor, offered a united front to the divided English colonies. The population, though small compared with the number of the English colonists, consisted mostly of men of military age, good fighters,

[1] Named after the Duc d'Orléans, who was regent of France during the minority of Louis XV. See page 302, note 1.

and aided by numerous Indian allies. Lack of home support largely offset these real advantages. While the French were contending for colonial supremacy, they were constantly at war in Europe. They wasted on European battle-fields the resources which might otherwise have been expended in America. Furthermore, the despotism of Louis XIV and Louis XV hampered private enterprise in New France by vexatious restrictions on trade and industry, and at the same time deprived the inhabitants of training in self-government. The French settlers never breathed the air of liberty, while the English colonists in political matters were left almost entirely to themselves. The failure of France to become a world-power at this time must be ascribed, therefore, chiefly to the unfortunate policies of her rulers.

A new Hundred Years' War

The struggle between France and England began, both in the Old World and the New, in 1689, when the "Glorious Revolution" drove out James II and placed William of Orange on the English throne as William III. The Dutch and English, who had previously been enemies, now became friends and united in resistance to Louis XIV. The French king not only threatened the Dutch, but also incensed the English by receiving the fugitive James and aiding him to win back his crown. England at once joined a coalition of the states of Europe against France. This was the beginning of a new Hundred Years' War between the two countries.[1] The struggle extended beyond the Continent, for each of the rivals tried to destroy the commerce and annex the colonies of the other.

Provisions of the Peace of Utrecht, 1713

The first period of conflict closed in 1713, with the Peace of Utrecht. England secured Newfoundland, Acadia (rechristened Nova Scotia), and the extensive region drained by the rivers flowing into Hudson Bay. France, however, kept the best part of her American territories and retained control of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi. The possession of these two waterways gave her a strong strategic position in the interior of the continent.

[1] See the chart on page 332.

King George's War and the French and Indian War

The two great European wars which came between 1740 and 1763 were naturally reflected in the New World. The War of the Austrian Succession, known in American history as King George's War, proved to be indecisive. The Seven Years' War, similarly known as the French and Indian War, resulted in the expulsion of the French from North America. France had no resources to cope with those of England in America, and the English command of the sea proved decisive.

EUROPEAN AND COLONIAL WARS, 1689–1783

IN EUROPE	DATES	CONTESTANTS	TREATY	IN AMERICA
War of the League of Augsburg	1689–1697	France *vs.* Great Britain, Holland, Spain, Austria, Sweden, etc.	Ryswick	King William's War
War of the Spanish Succession	1701–1713	France, Spain, Bavaria *vs.* Great Britain, Holland, Austria, Portugal, Savoy, Prussia, etc.	Utrecht and Rastatt	Queen Anne's War
War of the Austrian Succession	1740–1748	Prussia, France, Spain, Bavaria *vs.* Austria, Great Britain, Holland	Aix-la-Chapelle	King George's War (1744–1748)
Seven Years' War	1756–1763	Prussia, Great Britain *vs.* Austria, France, Russia, Sweden, Saxony	Paris and Hubertusburg	French and Indian War (1754–1763)
War of the American Revolution	1776–1783	Great Britain *vs.* United States, France, Spain, Holland	Paris and Versailles	

One French post after another was captured. Wolfe defeated the gallant Montcalm under the walls of Quebec and the fall of that stronghold quickly followed. What remained of the French army at Montreal also surrendered. The British flag was now raised over Canada, where it has flown ever since.

QUEBEC

After an old engraving.

The second period of conflict closed in 1763, with the Peace of Paris. France ceded to England all her North American possessions east of the Mississippi, except two small islands kept for fishing purposes off the coast of Newfoundland. Spain, which had also been involved in the war, gave up Florida to England, receiving as compensation the French territories west of the Mississippi. New France was now only a memory. But modern Canada has two millions of Frenchmen, who still hold aloof from the British in language and religion, while Louisiana, though shrunk to the dimensions of an American state, still retains in its laws and in many customs of its people the French tradition.

Provisions of the Peace of Paris, 1763

The Peace of Paris marked a turning point in the history of the Thirteen Colonies. Relieved of pressure from without

and free to expand toward the west and south, they now felt less keenly their dependence on England. Close ties, the ties of common interests, common ideals, and a common origin, still attached them to the mother country; but these were soon to be rudely severed during the period of disturbance, disorder, and violence which culminated in the American Revolution.

England and the Thirteen Colonies

84. The American Revolution, 1776–1783

Englishmen in the New World for a long time had been drawing apart from Englishmen in the Old World. The political training received by the colonists in their local meetings and provincial assemblies fitted them for self-government, while the hard conditions of life in America fostered their energy, self-reliance, and impatience of restraint. The important part which they played in the conquest of Canada gave them confidence in their military abilities and showed them the value of coöperation. Renewed interference of Great Britain in what they deemed their private concerns before long called forth their united resistance.

Preparation for independence

Some of the grievances of which the colonists complained were the outcome of the British colonial policy. The home government discouraged the manufacture in the colonies of goods that could be made in England. Parliament, for instance, prohibited the export of woolens, not only to the British Isles and the Continent, but also from one colony to another, and forbade the colonists to set up mills for making wrought iron or its finished products. Such regulations aimed to give British manufacturers a monopoly of the colonial markets.

Restrictions on colonial manufactures

The home government also interfered with the commerce of the colonies. As early as 1660 Parliament passed a "Navigation Act" providing that sugar, tobacco, cotton, and indigo might not be exported direct from the colonies to foreign countries, but must be first brought to England, where duties were paid on them. A subsequent act required all imports into the colonies from Conti-

Restrictions on colonial commerce

nental Europe to have been actually shipped from an English port, thus compelling the colonists to go to England for their supplies. These acts, however, were so poorly enforced for many years that smuggling became a lucrative occupation.

All this legislation was not so repressive as one would suppose, partly because it was so constantly evaded and partly because Great Britain formed the natural market for most colonial products. Moreover, the home government gave some special favors in the shape of "bounties," or sums of money to encourage the production of food and raw materials needed in Great Britain. Twenty-four colonial industries were subsidized in this manner. Colonial shipping was also fostered, for ships built in the colonies enjoyed the same exclusive privileges in the carrying trade as British-built ships. In fact, the regulations which the American colonists had to endure were light, compared with the shackles laid by Spain and France upon their colonial possessions. It must always be remembered, finally, that Great Britain defended the colonists in return for trade privileges. As long as her help was needed against the French, they did not protest seriously against the legislation of Parliament.

Alleviations and compensations

A Stamp of 1765

After the close of the Seven Years' War George III and his ministers determined to keep British troops in America as a protection against outbreaks by the French or Indians. The colonists, to whose safety an army would add, were expected to pay for its partial support. Parliament, accordingly, took steps to enforce the laws regulating colonial commerce and also passed the Stamp Act (1765). The protests of the colonists led to the repeal of this obnoxious measure, but it was soon replaced by the Townshend Acts (1767), levying duties on certain commodities imported into America. These acts, in turn, were repealed three years later. Parliament, however, kept a small duty on

The Stamp Act and the Townshend Acts

tea, in order that the colonists might not think that it had abandoned its assumed right to tax them.

The Stamp Act and the Townshend Acts thus brought up the whole question as to the extent of parliamentary control over the colonists. They argued that taxes could be rightfully voted only by their own representative assemblies. It was a natural attitude for them to take, since Parliament, sitting three thousand miles away, had little insight into American affairs. The British view was that Parliament "virtually" represented all Englishmen and hence might tax them wherever they lived. This view can also be understood, for the "Glorious Revolution" had definitely established the supremacy of Parliament in England.[1] In any case, however, taxation of the colonies was clearly contrary to custom and very impolitic in the face of the popular feeling which it aroused in America.

"No taxation without representation"

GEORGE III

After a painting by John Zoffany in Buckingham Palace, London.

Some British statesmen themselves espoused the cause of the colonists. Edmund Burke, the great Irish orator, declared that the idea of a virtual representation of America in Parliament was "the most contemptible idea that ever entered the head of a man." Even William Pitt (then earl of Chatham), while maintaining the right of Parliament to legislate for America, applauded the "manly wisdom and calm resolution" displayed by the colonists. But these were the voices of a minority, of a helpless minority. Parliament

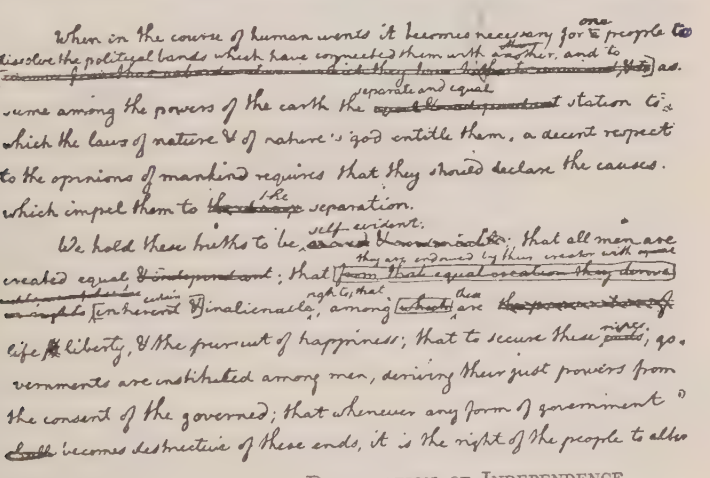
Attitude of British statesmen

[1] See page 294.

was then utterly unrepresentative of the people and was packed with the supporters of George III (the "king's friends"). To this would-be despot, therefore, belongs the chief responsibility for the measures of oppression which provoked the resistance of the Thirteen Colonies.

The colonists were so opposed to the principle of parliamentary taxation that they refused to buy tea from British merchants and in Boston even boarded a tea ship and threw the cargo into the water. Parliament replied to the "Boston Tea Party" by closing the harbor of that city to commerce and by depriving Massachusetts of self-government. These measures, instead of

Declaration of Independence, 1776



OPENING LINES OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

A reduced facsimile of the first lines of Jefferson's original draft.

bringing the recalcitrant colony to terms, only aroused the apprehension of her neighbors and led to the meeting of delegates from all the colonies, except Georgia, in the First Continental Congress. It recommended a policy of non-intercourse with Great Britain until the colonists had recovered their "just rights and liberties." The Second Congress, which met after blood had been shed at Lexington and Concord, prepared for war and appointed George Washington to command

the colonial forces. On July 4, 1776, after the failure of all plans for conciliation with the mother country, it declared that "these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states."

The "Tories"

No colony at first contained a large majority in favor of separation, and even after the Declaration of Independence numerous loyalists, or "Tories," continued to espouse the British cause. After the conclusion of peace the "Tories" emigrated in great numbers to Canada, where they were the first English settlers. They prospered in their new home, and their descendants, who form a considerable part of the Canadian population, are to-day among the most devoted members of the British Empire.

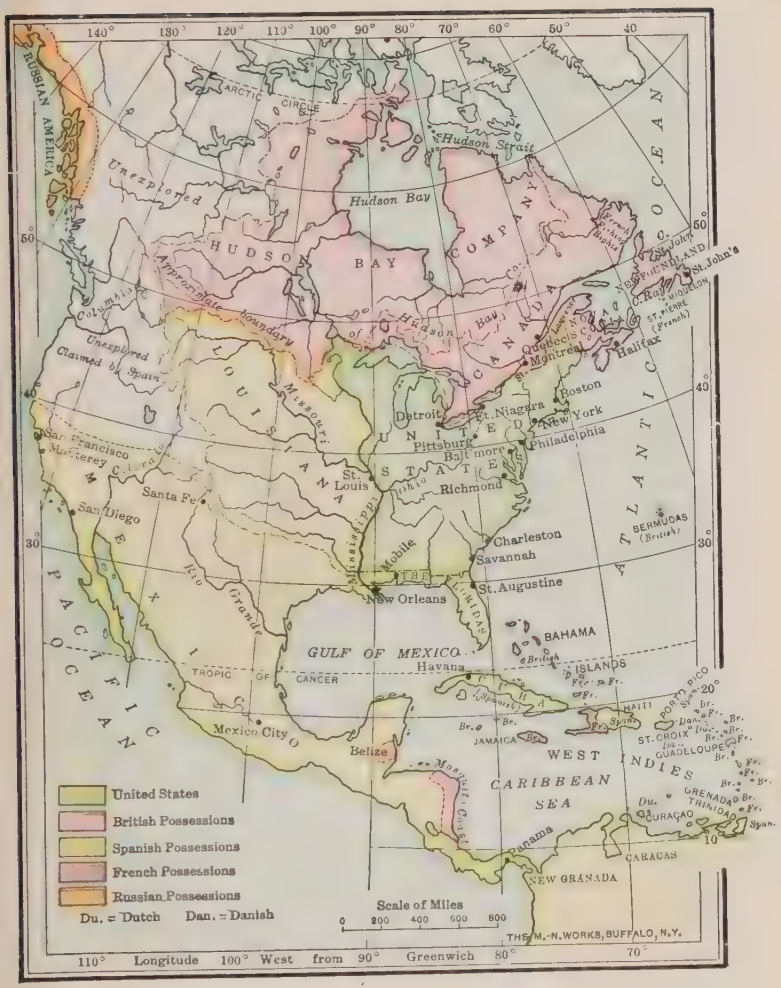
The French alliance, 1778

Even had the colonists been unanimous in resistance to Great Britain, they stood little chance of winning against a wealthy country with a population nearly three times their own, trained armies supported by German mercenaries, and a powerful navy. When, however, the resources of France were thrown into the scale, the issue became less doubtful. France, still smarting from the losses incurred in the Seven Years' War, desired to recover as much as possible of her colonial dominion and secretly aided the Americans with money and supplies for some time before the victory at Saratoga led her to enter into a formal alliance with them.

Close of the Revolutionary War

The war now merged into a European conflict, in which France was joined by Spain and Holland. Great Britain needed all her reserve power to prevent rebellion in Ireland, defend Gibraltar, and keep her possessions in the West Indies and India. The struggle in America practically closed in 1781, when Cornwallis, blockaded at Yorktown by a French fleet and closely invested by the combined French and American armies, surrendered the largest British force still in the colonies. Nearly two years passed, however, before the contestants made peace.

The Treaty of Paris between Great Britain and the United States recognized the independence of the former Thirteen



NORTH AMERICA AFTER THE PEACE OF PARIS, 1783 A.D.

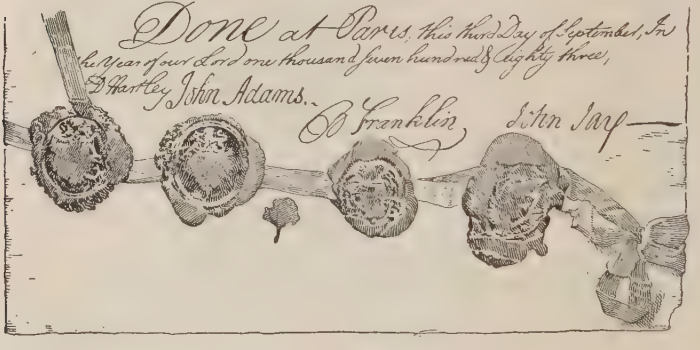
Colonies and fixed their boundaries at Canada and the Great Lakes, the Atlantic Ocean, Florida, and the Mississippi River. The Treaty of Versailles between Great Britain, France, and Spain restored to France a few colonial possessions and gave to Spain

Treaties of Paris and Versailles, 1783

the island of Minorca [1] and the Florida territory.[2] Holland, which concluded a separate peace with Great Britain, was obliged to cede to that country some stations in India and to throw open to British merchants the valuable trade of the East Indies.

Effects of American independence

The successful revolt of the Thirteen Colonies dealt a staggering blow at the old colonial policy. The Americans continued to trade with the mother country from self-interest, although they were no longer compelled to do so by law. The result was that British commerce with the United States doubled within fifteen



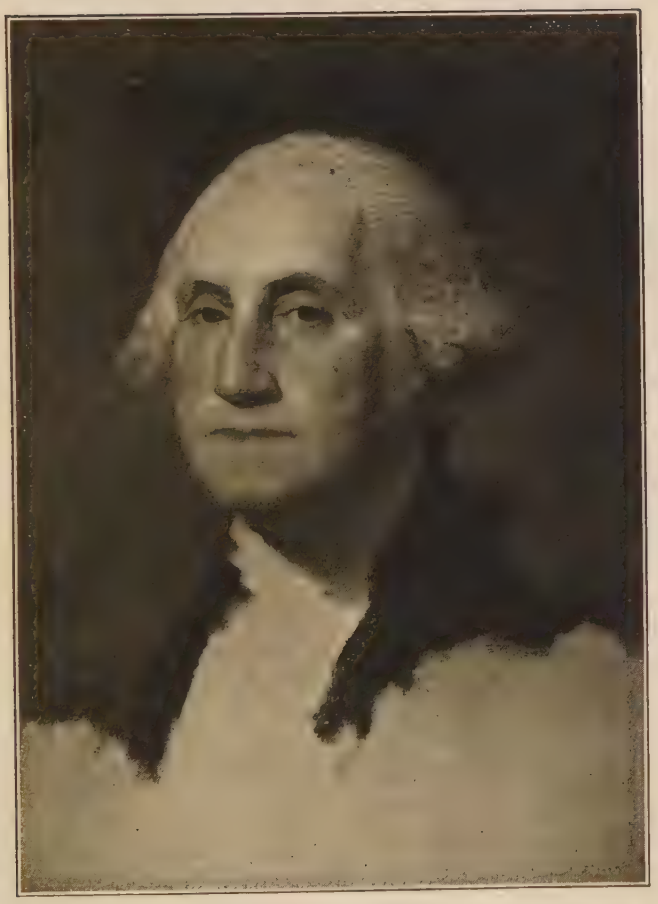
SIGNATURES OF THE TREATY OF PARIS, 1783
From the original document in the Department of State, Washington.

years after the close of the Revolutionary War. This formed an object-lesson in the futility of commercial restrictions.

America teaching by example

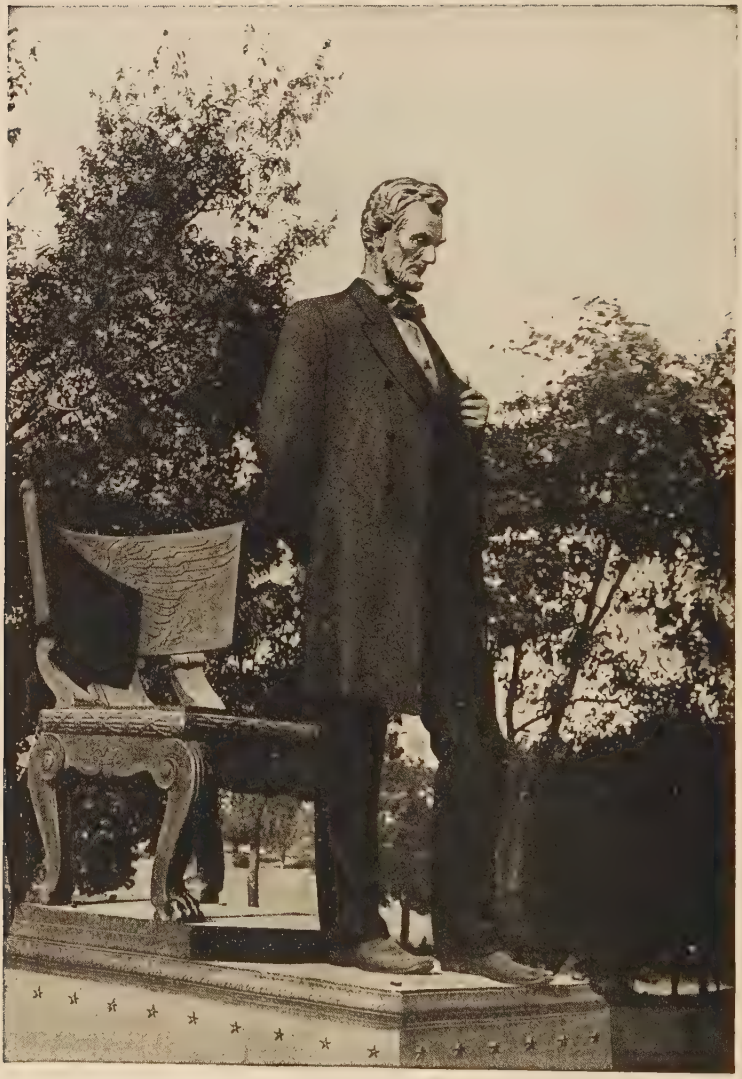
The American War of Independence reacted almost at once on Europe. The Declaration of Independence, setting forth the "unalienable rights of man" as against feudal privilege and oppression, provided ardent spirits in France with a formula of liberty which they were not slow in applying to their own country. The French Revolution of 1789 was the child of the American Revolution. Early in the nineteenth century still another revolutionary movement stripped Spain and Portugal of all

[1] See page 302. [2] See page 333.



WASHINGTON

After the painting by Gilbert Stuart.
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



LINCOLN

The statue by St. Gaudens
Lincoln Park, Chicago

their continental possessions in the New World. America was, indeed, teaching by example.

85. Formation of the United States

The Continental Congress, which had framed the Declaration of Independence in 1776, continued to govern the United States until the adoption of the Articles of Confederation in 1781. The Articles established a mere league of states, like the Dutch and Swiss confederations. The authority of Congress was practically limited to war, peace, and foreign affairs. It could not levy taxes, could not regulate interstate commerce, and had no power to enforce obedience in either a state or an individual. Every attempt to amend the Articles by legislative action failed, and the weak and clumsy government which they had set up threatened to collapse.

Articles of Confederation, 1781

Such were the distressing circumstances under which the Federal Convention met at Philadelphia in May, 1787. To this body the states sent fifty-five delegates, including Washington, who presided, Franklin, James Madison, and Alexander Hamilton. Instead of merely amending the Articles, they decided to prepare an entirely new constitution, and accomplished the task within four months.

The Federal Convention, 1787

Necessary though the Constitution was, if the American people were not to face anarchy and civil war, it satisfied neither the advocates of states' rights nor the extreme democrats. Nearly a year elapsed before eleven states ratified the instrument. North Carolina and Rhode Island did not ratify it until after the inauguration of Washington as President in 1789.

Ratification of the Constitution, 1787–1789

The concessions made to the opponents of the Constitution, as originally framed, were embodied in the first ten amendments. These provided for religious freedom, the separation of Church and State, free speech, a free press, the privileges of assembly and petition, the right to bear arms, speedy and public jury trials, and other

The first ten amendments, 1791

safeguards of personal liberty. In short, the amendments were a Bill of Rights for the American people.

Sources of the Constitution

The Constitution, in many features, reflects the political experience of the colonists and their familiarity with British methods of government. Accustomed to a bicameral legislature, they retained this arrangement in the Senate and House of Representatives, but made the upper, as well as the lower, house elective. The President's powers of military command, appointment, and veto resembled those of the colonial governor, though here, again, the framers of the Constitution departed from precedent in making the executive elective. The national courts were modeled after those of the colonies. The Supreme Court, with its power of declaring acts of Congress unconstitutional, found a prototype in the Privy Council of Great Britain, which had formerly exercised the right of annulling acts of the colonial legislatures. It is noteworthy, however, that the Constitution contains no provision for the cabinet system, by which both executive and legislative functions are centered in the popular branch of the legislature. The cabinet system was quite unknown to the colonists and at this time was not fully developed in Great Britain.

The nation and the states

As a whole, the Constitution formed a novelty in politics. It established, for the first time in history, a federal union, rather than a mere league of states or confederation. The objects of the new government were concisely stated in the immortal preamble: "We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this constitution for the United States."

86. Progress of Geographical Discovery

Great Britain soon found at least partial compensation for the loss of the Thirteen Colonies in the occupation of Australia and the islands of the Pacific. That vast ocean, covering

more than one-third of the globe, remained little known to Europeans until the latter part of the eighteenth century. Soon after Magellan's voyage the Spaniards established a regular commercial route between Mexico and the Philippines and gradually discovered some of the archipelagoes which stud the intervening seas. Sir Francis Drake's circumnavigation of the world first drew the attention of Englishmen to the Pacific Ocean, but a long time passed before they began its systematic exploration.

Early exploration of the Pacific

The unveiling of the Pacific was closely connected with the Antarctic problem. Geographers from the time of the Greeks had a vague idea that a region of continental proportions lay to the southeast of the Indian Ocean. The idea found expression in Ptolemy's map of the world, and Marco Polo during his stay in China heard about it. After the Dutch became established in the East Indies, they made renewed search for the "Great South Land" and carefully explored the western coast of Australia or "New Holland."

The "Great South Land"

In 1642 the Dutch East India Company sent Abel Tasman from Batavia to investigate the real extent of Australia. Tasman's two voyages — among the most notable on record — led to the discovery of Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania) and New Zealand, and proved conclusively that Australia had no connection with the supposed Antarctic continent. The Dutch, however, manifested little interest in the regions which they had found, and more than one hundred years elapsed before Tasman's work was continued by Captain James Cook.

Tasman's voyages, 1642–43, 1644

This famous navigator, the son of a farm laborer, entered the British navy at an early age and by his unaided efforts rose to high command. Cook's first voyage in the Pacific resulted in the exploration of the coast of New Zealand and the eastern shore of Australia. The second voyage finally settled the question as to the existence of a southern continent, for Cook sailed three times across the Pacific Ocean without finding it. At the in-

Cook's voyages in the Pacific, 1768–1779

stance of George III, Cook undertook a third voyage to locate, if possible, an opening on the coast of Alaska which would lead into Hudson Bay. He followed the American coast through Bering Strait until an unbroken ice field barred further progress. On the return from the Arctic region Cook visited the Hawaiian Islands, where he was murdered by the natives. Thus closed the career of one who, more than any other explorer, revealed to European gaze the island world of the Pacific.

Captain Cook on his third voyage was the first British navigator to sight Alaska. Here, however, he had been preceded by the Russians, who reached the Pacific by way of Siberia and the Arctic Ocean. It still remained uncertain whether Siberia did not join on to the northern part of the New World. Peter the Great, who showed a keen interest in geographical discovery, commissioned Vitus Bering, a Dane in the Russian service, to solve the problem. Bering explored the strait and sea named after him and made clear the relation between North America and Asia.

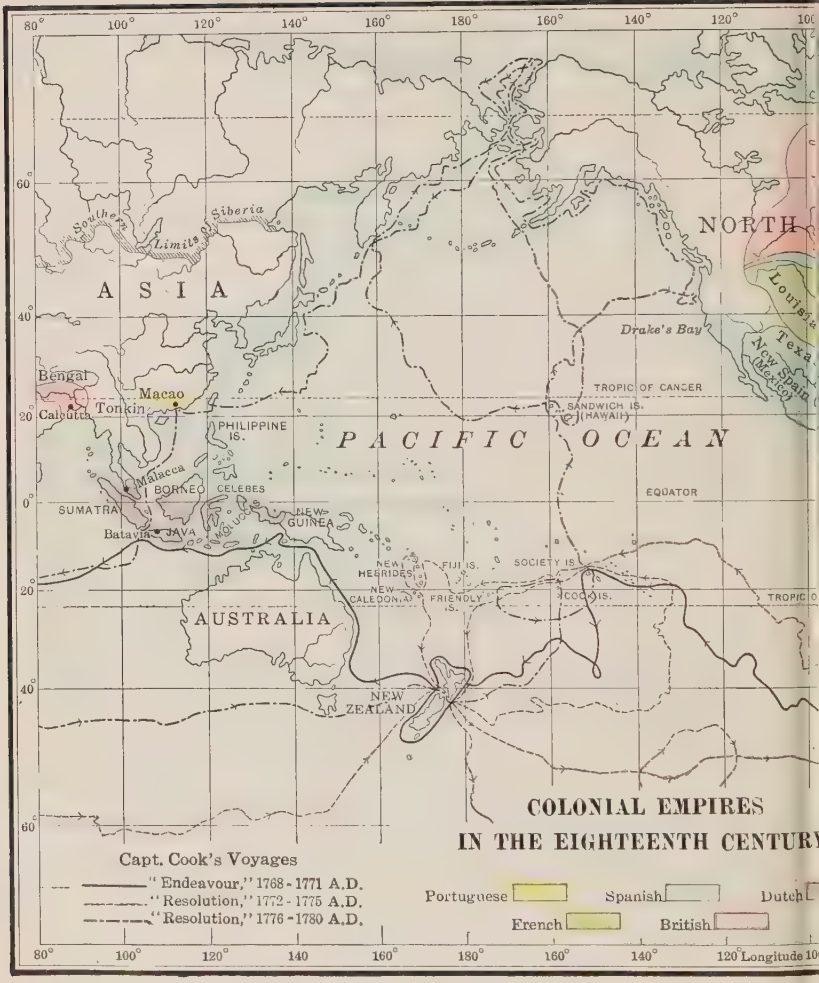
Bering's voyages, 1728-1729, 1741

The eighteenth century thus added greatly to man's knowledge of the world, especially in the Pacific area. Cook's voyages, in particular, left the main outlines of the southern part of the globe substantially as they are known to-day. From this time systematic exploration for scientific purposes more and more took the place of voyages by private adventurers for the sake of warfare or plunder. Geographical discovery must be included, therefore, among the influences which made the eighteenth century so conspicuously an age of enlightenment.

Scientific exploration

Studies

1. Locate these places: Batavia; Cape Colony; Madras; Bombay; Calcutta; and Pondicherry. 2. Identify these dates in American colonial history: 1607; 1620; 1713; 1763; and 1783. 3. According to the mercantile theory, what constituted a "favorable" and what an "unfavorable" balance of trade? 4. How was the colonial policy based on mercantilism opposed to modern ideas of commercial freedom? 5. What was meant by the saying that colonies were "like so many farms of the mother country"? 6. Why was the joint-stock company a more successful method of fostering colonial trade than the regulated company? 7. Show that the seventeenth century belonged commercially to the Dutch, as the sixteenth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Southern Limits of Siberia
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Texas
New Spain
Mexico
Drake's Bay
Bengal
Calcutta
Tonkin
Macao
TROPIC OF CANCER
SANDWICH IS. (HAWAII)
PHILIPPINE IS.
PACIFIC OCEAN
Malacca
BORNEO
CELEBES
EQUATOR
SUMATRA
Batavia
JAVA
MOLUCCAS
NEW GUINEA
NEW HEBRIDES
FIJI IS.
SOCIETY IS.
NEW CALEDONIA
FRIENDLY IS.
COOK IS.
TROPIC
AUSTRALIA
NEW ZEALAND
COLONIAL EMPIRES
IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY
Capt. Cook's Voyages
"Endeavour," 1768-1771 A.D.
"Resolution," 1772-1775 A.D.
"Resolution," 1776-1780 A.D.
Portuguese
Spanish
Dutch
French
British
80° 100° 120° 140° 160° 180° 160° 140° 120° Longitude

Note: On the map the conditions are shown as they existed before the change in 1763 A.D.

Scale of Miles along Equator

0 500 1000 2000 3000 4000 5000

THE M.-N. WORKS

° from 60° Greenwich 40° 20° 0° Longitude 20° East 40° from 20° Greenwich 80°

century had belonged to the Portuguese and Spaniards. 8. What is meant by the statement that the Dutch "founded cities on herring skeletons"? 9. Why was it possible for European powers to secure dominions in India? 10. State the basis of the claims of England, France, Spain, and Holland to territory in North America during the seventeenth century. 11. "The breaking of Spain's naval power is an incident of the first importance in the history of the English colonies." Comment on this statement. 12. "The expansion of England in the New World and in Asia is the formula which sums up for England the history of the eighteenth century." Comment on this statement. 13. Show that as a result of the Seven Years' War "the Kingdom of Great Britain became the British Empire." 14. Show that "no taxation without representation" was a slogan which could hardly have arisen in any but an English country. 15. Mention some of the accusations against George III as set forth in the Declaration of Independence. 16. "The Declaration of Independence was the formal announcement of democratic ideas that had their tap-root in English soil." Comment on this statement. 17. How did the American Revolution become a world war? 18. In what sense was the American Revolution "a civil war within the British Empire"? 19. Show that the American Constitution established, not a confederation, but a federal state. 20. Trace on the map (between pages 344–345) the three voyages of Captain Cook.

THE "DISCOVERY"

Captain Cook's ship in his last voyage. When this drawing was made, the ship was being used as a coaling-vessel at Newcastle; hence the addition of steam funnels.

CHAPTER X

THE OLD RÉGIME

87. Reform

The student will recall the more significant transformations of European society which closed the Middle Ages and ushered in modern times. The Renaissance of literature, art, and learning; geographical discovery, exploration, and colonization; and the Protestant Reformation and Catholic Counter Reformation all helped to complete the transition from the medieval to the modern world. To these three movements we may now add the extraordinary awakening of the European mind in the seventeenth century and especially the eighteenth century. It was an age of reason, an age of enlightenment.

An age of reason

The thinkers of this period pursued knowledge not so much for its own sake as for its social usefulness. They felt that the time had come when mankind might well discard many ideas and customs, once serviceable, perhaps, but now outworn. To them the chief obstacle in the way of progress was found in human ignorance, prejudice, and unreasoning veneration for the past. Systematic and accurate knowledge, they believed, would destroy this attachment to "the good old days" and would make it possible to create more reasonable and enlightened institutions. In other words, thinkers were animated by the reforming spirit.

The reforming spirit

Reform was sorely needed. Absolute monarchies claiming to rule by divine right, aristocracies in the possession of privileges and honors, the masses of the people excluded from any part in the government and burdened with taxes and feudal dues — such were some of the survivals

The Old Régime

of medievalism which formed the Old Régime.[1] The eighteenth century abolished it in France: the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have done much to abolish it in other European countries. Let us examine it more closely.

88. The Privileged Classes

Where absolutism prevailed, everything depended upon the personal character of the sovereign. A Peter the Great might set his country upon the road to civilization; a Louis XIV, on the contrary, might plunge his people into indescribable misery as the result of needless wars and extravagant expenditures. As time went on, it began to appear more and more unreasonable that a single person should have the power to make the laws, levy the taxes, spend the revenues, declare war, and conclude peace according to his own inclination. England in the seventeenth century had shown that a divine-right monarchy might be replaced by a constitutional monarchy and parliamentary control of legislation. The reformers wished to secure for France and other Continental countries at least an equal measure of political liberty.

The monarchy

Not less insistent was their demand for social equality. The feudal system had bequeathed as part of its heritage to modern Europe a system of class distinctions which honeycombed society. The highest place was occupied by the clergy and nobility, who constituted the First and Second Estates, respectively. These two privileged classes formed a very small minority of the population in any European country. Of twenty-five million Frenchmen, for instance, less than half a million were clerics or nobles.

The First and Second Estates

Reverence felt by kings and lords for mother Church had dowered her representatives with rich and broad domains. In France, Spain, Italy, and those parts of Germany where Church property had not been confiscated by Protestants, the archbishops, bishops, abbots, and

The clergy

[1] In French, *ancien régime.*

cardinals ruled as veritable princes and paid few or no taxes to the government. These members of the higher clergy were recruited mainly from the noble families and naturally took the side of the absolute monarchs. The lower clergy, the thousands of parish priests, who came from the common people, just as naturally espoused the popular cause. They saw the abuses of the existing system and supported the demands for its reform.

By the eighteenth century the old feudal nobility had largely disappeared from Europe, except in Germany. A new aristocracy arose, consisting of those who had been ennobled by the king for various services or who had held certain offices which conferred noble rank. The nobles, like the higher clergy, were great landed proprietors, though without the military obligations which rested on feudal lords during the Middle Ages.

The nobility

Great Britain is almost the only modern state where the nobility still keeps an important place in the national life. There are several reasons for this fact. In the first place, British nobles are not numerous, in consequence of the rule of primogeniture. Only the eldest son of a peer inherits his father's title and estate; the younger sons are commoners. Even the eldest son during his father's lifetime is styled "Lord" simply by courtesy. In the second place, the social distinction of the nobility arouses little antagonism, because a peer is not bound to marry into another noble family but may take his wife from the ranks of commoners. In the third place, the nobility is from time to time enlarged through the creation of new peers, very often men who have distinguished themselves by their public services as generals or statesmen or by their contributions to science, art, or letters. This constant supply of new blood has helped to preserve the British aristocracy from stagnation and incompetence. Finally, nobles in Great Britain are taxed as are other citizens and are equally amenable to the laws.

English nobles

Very different was the situation in eighteenth-century France. Here there were as many as one hundred thousand nobles, for

the French did not observe the rule of primogeniture. Their "gentle birth" enabled them to monopolize the important offices in the government, the army, and the Church. They claimed, and largely secured, exemption from taxation. The result was that most of the expense of the wars, the magnificent palaces, and gorgeous ceremonial of Louis XIV and Louis XV was borne by the middle and lower classes of France. The provincial nobles, who lived on their country estates, usually took more or less part in local affairs and felt an interest in the welfare of the peasantry. But many members of the nobility were absentee landlords, leading a fashionable existence at the court and dancing attendance on the king. Nobles of this type were ornamental rather than useful. Their luxury and idleness made them objects of odium in the minds of all who wished to renovate society. As one reformer declared, "Through all the vocabulary of Adam, there is not such an animal as a duke or a count."

French nobles

89. The Unprivileged Classes

Such were the two privileged orders, or estates. Beneath them came the unprivileged order known as the Third Estate in France. It consisted of three main divisions.

The Third Estate

The middle class, or *bourgeoisie*,[1] included all those who were not manual laborers. Professional men, such as magistrates, lawyers, physicians, and teachers, together with bankers, manufacturers, wholesale merchants, and shopkeepers, were bourgeois. The British middle class enjoyed representation in Parliament and frequently entered the nobility. The French *bourgeoisie*, on the contrary, could not hold the positions of greatest honor in the government. Though well educated and often wealthy, they were made to feel in every way their inferiority to the arrogant nobles. They added their voices, therefore, to those who demanded political liberty and social equality.

The bourgeoisie

[1] From French *bourg*, "town."

The next division of the Third Estate comprised the artisans living in the towns and cities. They were not very numerous, except in Great Britain, France, western Germany, and northern Italy, where industry had reached a much higher development than elsewhere in Europe.

The artisans

The craft guilds, so characteristic of urban life during the Middle Ages, had begun to disappear from eighteenth-century England, but still maintained their importance on the Continent. Each trade had its own guild, controlling methods of manufacture, quantity and quality of the article produced, wages and hours of labor, and number of workmen to be employed. In many places, the masters, who owned the shops, machines, or tools, alone belonged to the guilds. Even where journeymen and apprentices became members, after paying excessive entrance fees, they were not admitted to all the privileges of the craft. This exclusive policy of the masters provoked much opposition on the part of the poorer workmen [1] and led to a demand for the abolition of their monopoly of industry.

Survivals of the guild system

The last and by far the largest division of the Third Estate was that of the peasants. In Prussia, Austria, Hungary, Poland, Russia, and Spain they were still serfs. They might not leave their villages or marry without their lord's consent; their children must serve in his family for several years at a nominal wage; and they themselves had to work for a number of days each week on their lord's land. It is said that this forced labor sometimes took so much of the peasant's time that he could only cultivate his own holding by moonlight. Conditions were better in Italy and western Germany, though it was a Hessian prince who sold his subjects to Great Britain to fight as mercenaries in the American War of Independence. In France, serfdom still existed only in Alsace, Lorraine, and Franche-Comté, three provinces which had been acquired by Louis XIV and Louis XV. The great majority

The peasants

[1] The so-called urban proletariat (from Latin *proles*, "offspring," "progeny"—referring to those whose only wealth is in their children).

of the French peasants enjoyed complete freedom, and many of them owned their own farms.

But even the free peasants of France carried a heavy burden. The king imposed the hated land tax (*taille*), assessing a certain amount on each village and requiring the money to be paid whether the inhabitants could afford it or not. Still more hated was the *corvée*, or forced labor exacted by the government from time to time on roads and other public works. The clergy demanded tithes, which amounted to perhaps a thirteenth of the produce. The nobles levied various feudal dues for the use of oven, mill, and wine press, and tolls for the use of roads and bridges. The game laws were especially vexatious, because farmers were obliged to allow the game of neighboring lords to invade their fields and destroy the crops. Slight wonder that the peasants also formed a discontented class, anxious for any reforms which would better their hard lot.

Survivals of the manorial system

90. The Church

Practically all European peoples in the eighteenth century called themselves Christians. The majority of them were Catholics. The eastern and western branches of Catholic Christianity began to draw apart during the earlier Middle Ages and finally separated in the eleventh century.[1] This schism was never afterwards healed. The Eastern or Greek Church found its adherents principally among the inhabitants of the Balkan Peninsula and the Russians.

Greek Catholics

The Western or Roman Church held undisputed sway throughout the rest of Europe before the Protestant Reformation in the sixteenth century.[2] Even after this religious upheaval, it continued to be the state church in Italy, Spain, Portugal, France, Austria proper, the Austrian Netherlands, Bavaria, Poland, and several of the Swiss cantons. Moreover, there were numerous Roman Catholics in Bohemia, Hungary, and Ireland.

Roman Catholics

[1] See page 179.

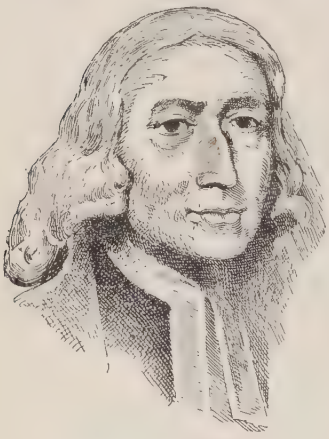
[2] See page 203.

The Reformation made Lutheranism the state church in Prussia, Saxony, and the three Scandinavian countries. Anglicanism in England, Wales, and Ireland, and Presbyterianism in Scotland and Holland held a similarly privileged position. There were also many Protestants in France, Switzerland, and southern Germany.

Protestants

The divisions among Protestants gave rise to new sects. The Unitarians, who rejected the doctrine of the Trinity, gained followers in Poland and Hungary as early as the sixteenth century and subsequently in the British Isles and the United States. Seventeenth-century England produced the Baptists, whose name was derived from their insistence on immersion of adults as the only proper form of baptism. The Society of Friends, or Quakers, as they are commonly called, also arose in England at this time. Their founder was George Fox, a weaver's son. The Quakers rejected all religious ceremonial, had no paid ministers, and did not observe the two sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper. War and negro slavery were condemned as unchristian by the Quakers.

New Protestant sects



JOHN WESLEY

After a painting by George Romney in the possession of W. R. Cassels, London.

Methodism took its start in the eighteenth century out of the preaching of John Wesley and his associates. They worked among the common people of England and won a large following by the fervor, piety, and strictness of their ways. The Methodists finally separated from the Anglican Church and became an independent denomination.

The Methodists

The union of Church and State in both Catholic and Protestant countries seemed to make conformity to the established religion essential for all citizens. Non-conformity was con-

sidered a crime, which the government stood ready to punish by fines, imprisonment, and even death. Heretics were burnt at the stake in eighteenth-century Spain. In France, after Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes (1685), Huguenots who held religious services were sent to the galleys. The Toleration Act (1689) in England, while allowing the Dissenters to worship publicly in their own way, did not extend this privilege to Roman Catholics, Unitarians, and Jews. Even where active persecution of nonconformists had ceased, the strict press censorship in most countries interfered with

Religious intolerance

BOYS' SPORTS

An illustration in an old English edition (1659) of Comenius's *Orbis Pictus* (Illustrated World). This was the first picture book ever made for children, and for a century it remained the most popular school text in Europe.

the free expression of thought on religious subjects. Only Holland, Switzerland, and Great Britain did not require an official license for the publication of books, pamphlets, and newspapers.

The clergy in Catholic lands kept much of the authority which they had exercised throughout the Middle Ages. Cases involving heresy or blasphemy were tried in their own courts. They alone registered births and deaths and solemnized legal marriages. Hospitals and charitable institutions remained under their direction. Clergymen taught, and generally controlled the elementary and higher schools. One result of the Reformation was the introduction

Ecclesiastical control

into some of the German states, Holland, Scotland, and the Puritan colonies of New England of schools supported by general taxation, so that every one might be able to read and interpret the Scriptures. But with such exceptions the public school system was almost unknown in Europe. The common people were usually uneducated.

91. Liberal Ideas of Industry and Commerce; the Economists

The abuses of the Old Régime were not greater in the eighteenth century than for hundreds of years before, but now they were to be seriously attacked by thinkers who applied the test of *reasonableness* to every institution. It was at this time that political economy, or economics, came into being. Economic science, which investigates such subjects as the production of wealth and its distribution as rent, interest, profits, and wages, the functions of money and credit, and the methods of taxation, had been studied in earlier times by those whose chief motive was to increase the riches of merchants and fill the treasuries of kings. Students now took a wider view and began to search for the true causes of national well-being.

Political economy, or economics

The economists who flourished in France received the name of Physiocrats,[1] because they believed that natural laws ruled in the economic world. In opposition to the Mercantilists, who held that the wealth of a nation comes from industry and commerce, some of the Physiocrats declared that it comes from agriculture. Manufacturers, said they, merely give a new form to materials extracted from the earth, while traders do nothing more than transfer commodities from one person to another. Farmers are the only productive members of society. It was a striking doctrine to enunciate at a time when the peasantry formed, as has been said, the "beast of burden" of the Old Régime. This group of Physiocrats did a real service in insisting upon the importance

The Physiocrats

[1] A term derived from two Greek words meaning "nature" and "to rule."

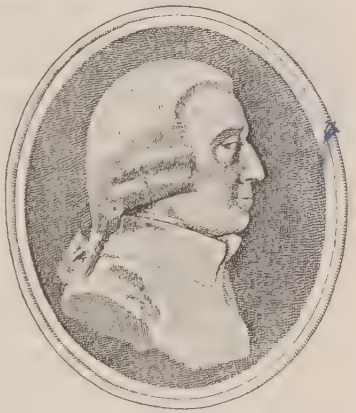
of agriculture, even though they erred in assuming that it is the sole source of wealth.

Another group of Physiocrats protested against the burdensome restraints imposed upon industry by the guilds and upon commerce by the governments. They advocated economic freedom. Any one should be allowed to make what things he likes; all occupations should be open to everybody: trade between different parts of the country should not be impeded by tolls and taxes; customs duties should not be levied on foreign goods. The Physiocratic teaching was summed up in the famous phrase *laissez-faire* — "let alone."

Laissez-faire

A Scotch professor of philosophy, Adam Smith, who had visited France and knew the Physiocrats, carried their ideas across the Channel. His famous work on the *Wealth of Nations* appeared in 1776, the year of American independence. It formed a new declaration of independence for industry and commerce. Smith set forth the doctrine of *laissez-faire* so clearly and persuasively as to make a profound impression upon business men and statesmen. His arguments against monopolies, bounties, and protective tariffs did much to secure the subsequent adoption of free trade by Great Britain and even affected Continental legislation. Thus the *Wealth of Nations*, judged by its results, must be accounted one of the most important books ever written.

Adam Smith, 1723–1790



ADAM SMITH
A medallion by James Tassie.

92. The Scientists

Arithmetic, geometry, and algebra (elementary mathematics) had been studied in the schools and universities of the Middle Ages. It remained to create the higher mathematics.

including analytic geometry, logarithms, the theory of probabilities, and the infinitesimal calculus. Knowledge of the calculus, which deals with quantities infinitely small, has been of immense service in engineering and other applied sciences. Credit for its discovery is divided between the German Leibniz (1646–1716) and his English contemporary Sir Isaac Newton (1642–1727).

Mathematics

The profound mind of Newton formulated the so-called law of gravitation. He showed by mathematical calculation that the motion of the planets about the sun, and of the moon about the earth, can be explained as due to the same mysterious force of gravity which makes the apple fall to the ground. This discovery that all the movements of the heavenly bodies obey one simple physical law forms perhaps the greatest achievement in the history of science. Scarcely less important was the nebular hypothesis of the French astronomer Laplace (1749–1827). He conjectured that our own and other solar systems had been produced by the condensation of nebulous matter once diffused through space; in other words, that the nebulæ were stages in the formation of stars. The further achievements of eighteenth-century astronomy include the discovery beyond Saturn of a new planet, Uranus, the computation of the distance between the earth and the moon, and the proof that our solar system as a whole is moving toward a point in the constellation Hercules.

Astronomy

Death Mask of Sir Isaac Newton

In the possession of the Royal Society of London.

Various investigators at this time laid the foundation of modern physics, particularly in the departments of electricity and magnetism. Benjamin Franklin, by his kite experiment, demonstrated that lightning is really an electrical phenomenon. The memory of the Italian Volta is perpetuated whenever an electrician refers to a "voltaic cell" or uses the term "volt." Two Frenchmen, the Montgolfier

Physics

Brothers, invented the balloon, thus beginning the conquest of the air. The first successful ascents in balloons took place at Paris in 1783.

Chemical research made rapid progress. Greek philosophers had taught that earth, air, water, and fire comprise the original "elements" out of which everything else was made. The chemists now disproved this idea by decomposing water into the two gases, hydrogen and oxygen. The Frenchman Lavoisier (1743–1794) also showed that fire is really a union of oxygen with earthy carbon. Until his time it had been supposed that objects burn because they contain a combustible substance known as "phlogiston." We further owe to Lavoisier the modern doctrine of the indestructibility of matter.

Chemistry

Eighteenth-century explorers brought back to Europe from America and the Pacific many new species of animals and plants, thus greatly encouraging biological study. Here the most eminent name is that of the Swede Linnæus (1707–1778), whose careful classification of plants established botany as a science.

Biology

Scientific investigations, in previous times pursued by lonely thinkers, now began to be carried on systematically by the members of learned societies. Italy led the way with the foundation at Naples and Rome of the first academies of science, and her example was followed at Paris, Berlin, and other European capitals. Shortly after the "Glorious Revolution" a group of English investigators obtained a charter forming them into the Royal Society of London. It still exists and enrolls the most distinguished scientists of Great Britain. Never before had there been so much interest in science and so many opportunities to uncover the secrets of nature.

Learned societies

93. Liberal Ideas of Religion and Politics; the English Philosophers

The advance of science, which immensely broadened men's conceptions of the universe, could not fail to affect their attitude toward religion. The idea of the reign of natural law

in the physical world was now extended to the spiritual world. Thinking men began to argue that the doctrines of Christianity should not be accepted on the authority either of the Church or of the Bible, but must be submitted to free inquiry. These champions of reason — the rationalists — especially flourished in Great Britain, where thought was less fettered than on the Continent.

Rationalism in religion

Some of the rationalists, including John Locke, defended Christianity as being the most reasonable of all religions. Nevertheless, in his famous *Letters on Tolerance*, Locke made a plea for individual liberty of conscience. To persecute unbelievers, he argued, only transformed them into hypocrites. Religious belief is a state of mind, and the mind cannot be compelled to believe. If infidels were to be converted by force, it would be easier for God to do it "with armies of heavenly legions than for any son of the Church, how potent soever, with all his dragoons."

John Locke, 1632–1704

Other rationalists went beyond Locke and questioned the special claims of Christianity. They declared that the questions over which Christian sects had disputed for centuries were really of minor importance; the essential thing was the doctrine common to all mankind. Thus they arrived at the conception of "natural religion," which included simply the belief in a personal God and in man's immortal soul. These thinkers received the name of Deists.[1]

The Deists

By casting doubt on the efficacy of particular religions, the Deists gave an impetus to the demand for toleration of all. Their speculations found a warm welcome in France, where they helped to undermine reverence for the Church among the more intelligent classes. Deism in this way acted as a revolutionary ferment.

Influence of the Deists

Rationalism also invaded politics. British thinkers, of whom Locke in his *Two Treatises on Government* was again the most prominent representative, developed a theory of politics utterly opposed to the old doctrine of the divine right of kings. According to Locke, all

Rationalism in politics

[1] Latin *Deus*, "God."

men possess certain natural rights to life, liberty, and the ownership of property. To preserve these rights they have entered into a contract with one another, agreeing that the majority shall have power to make and execute all necessary laws. If the government, thus created, breaks the contract by violating man's natural rights, it has no longer any claim to the allegiance of its subjects and may be legitimately overthrown.

To say that all government exists, or should exist, by the consent of the governed is to set up the doctrine of popular sovereignty. How influential it was may be seen from passages in the Declaration of Independence which reproduce the very words of Locke and other British writers. But their ideas found the heartiest reception in France. Enlightened members of the nobility and *bourgeoisie*, weary of royal despotism, took them up, expounded them, and spread them among the people.

Popular sovereignty

94. The French Philosophers

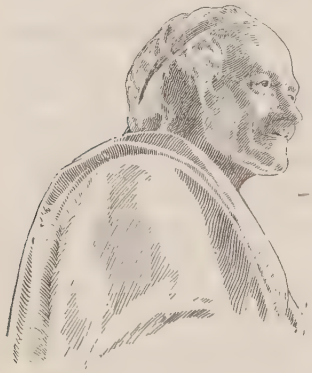
France during the eighteenth century had not been able to maintain the high position among European states to which she had been raised by Louis XIV, and in the struggle for colonial empire she had been defeated by Great Britain. Her intellectual leadership compensated for all that she had lost. Throughout this century France gave birth to a succession of philosophers, whose ideas fell like fertilizing rain upon the arid soil of the Old Régime. Some of them had lived for a time in Great Britain as refugees from the persecution which too bold thinking involved at home. Their life there made them acquainted with the British system of constitutional monarchy — so unlike the absolutism of French kings — with the political theories of Locke, and with the ideas of the Deists, from whom they learned to submit time-honored beliefs to searching examination.

Intellectual leadership of France

A nobleman, lawyer, and judge, Montesquieu, spent twenty years in composing a single book on the *Spirit of Laws*. It is a classic in political science. There was nothing revolutionary in Montesquieu's conclusions. He examined each form of

government in order to determine its excellencies and defects. The British constitution seemed to him most admirable, as combining the virtues of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy. Montesquieu especially insisted upon the necessity of separating the executive, legislative, and judicial functions of government, instead of combining them in the person of a single ruler. This idea influenced the French revolutionists and also had great weight with the framers of the Constitution of the United States.

Montesquieu, 1689–1755



VOLTAIRE

A statue by J. A. Houdon in the Comédie Française, Paris.

The foremost figure among the philosophers was Voltaire, who sprang from the *bourgeoisie*. He was not a deep thinker like Montesquieu, but was rather a brilliant and somewhat superficial man of letters. For more than half a century he poured forth a succession of poems, dramas, essays, biographies, histories, and other works, so clearly written, so witty, and so satirical as to win the applause of his contemporaries.

Voltaire, 1694–1778

Voltaire devoted a long life to the preaching of enlightenment. He was in no sense a revolutionist, and favored reform by royal decree as being the simplest and most expeditious method. He made it his particular work to bring discredit on ecclesiastical authority. The Church he regarded as an invention of self-seeking priests. A typical Deist, Voltaire insisted on the need of toleration. "Since we are all steeped in error and folly," he said, "we must forgive each other our follies." His exposure of bigotry and fanaticism was needed in the eighteenth century. It has helped to create the freer atmosphere in which religious thought moves to-day.

Voltaire and the Church

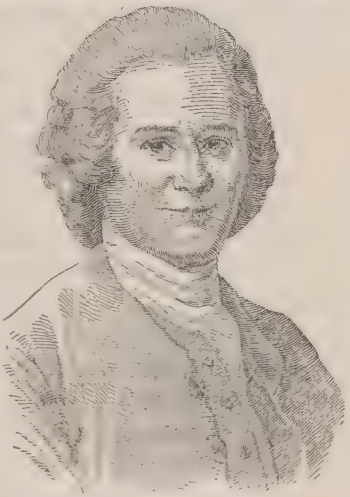
If Voltaire was the destroyer of the old, Rousseau was the prophet of the new. This son of a Geneva watchmaker, who

wandered from one European capital to another, made a failure of everything he undertook and died poverty-stricken and demented. The discouragements and miseries of his career found expression in what he wrote. Rousseau felt only contempt for the boasted civilization of the age. He loved to picture what he supposed was once the "state of nature," before governments had arisen, before the strong had begun to oppress the weak, when nobody owned the land, and when there were no taxes and no wars. "Back to nature" was Rousseau's cry.

Rousseau, 1712–1778

Such fancies Rousseau applied to politics in what was his most important book, the *Social Contract*. Starting with the assertion that "man was born free and everywhere he is in chains," he went on to describe a purely ideal state of society in which the citizens are ruled neither by kings nor parliaments, but themselves make the laws directly. The only way to reform the world, according to Rousseau, was to restore the sovereignty of the people, with "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" for all. As we have just learned, the idea that governments and laws arise by voluntary agreements among men, who may overthrow them when necessary, was not new; but Rousseau first gave it wide currency. Frenchmen of every class read the *Social Contract* with avidity, and during the Revolution they proceeded to put its democratic teachings into effect.

The "Social Contract," 1762



JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU
After the painting in the Musée Carnavalet, Paris.

Rousseau, Voltaire, and Montesquieu were among the contributors to the famous *Encyclopedia*, a work in seventeen volumes, which appeared after the middle of the eighteenth century. As the name indicates, it formed a repository of

all the scientific and historical knowledge of the age. The Encyclopedists, as its editors are known, sought to guide opinion, as well as to give information. They were radical thinkers, who combined in a great effort to throw the light of reason on the dark places of the social order. Among the abuses attacked by them were religious intolerance, the slave trade, the cruel criminal law, and the inequitable system of taxation. The Encyclopedists even ventured to criticize absolutism in government. Their work thus set in motion a current of revolt which did much to undermine both Church and State in France.

The Encyclopedists

95. The Enlightened Despots

The ideas of the philosophers spread throughout those parts of Europe where French models were followed. Even kings and statesmen began to be affected by the spirit of reform. European rulers did not intend to surrender the least fraction of absolute power; they were still autocrats who believed in government by one strong man rather than by the democratic many; but with their despotism they combined a paternal solicitude for the welfare of their subjects. They took measures to secure religious toleration, to relieve poverty, to codify the laws, to provide elementary education, and to encourage scientific research. These activities have won for them the name of the "enlightened despots."

Paternalism

In Russia Catherine the Great posed as an enlightened despot. Catherine was a learned woman, at least for an empress. She wrote flattering letters to Voltaire and the other Encyclopedists and conferred on them gifts and pensions. Montesquieu she especially admired, saying that were she the pope she would canonize him. But Catherine paid little more than lip-service to the ideas of the French philosophers. If she abolished torture, she did not do away with the knout; for capital punishment she only substituted the living death of exile in Siberia. Her toleration of dissenters from the Orthodox Church stopped short of allowing them to build chapels for public worship, and her passion for legislative

Catherine the Great

reform grew cold when she found that she must begin by freeing the serfs. Catherine's real attitude is exhibited in a letter to the governor of Moscow: "My dear prince, do not complain that the Russians have no desire for instruction; if I institute schools it is not for us, it is for Europe, where we must keep our position in public opinion. But the day when our peasants shall wish to become educated both you and I will lose our places."

Catherine's contemporary, Frederick the Great, was a despot more sincere and more enlightened. He worked harder and had fewer pleasures than any other king of his day. "Monarchs," he once wrote, "are not invested with authority that they may riot in voluptuousness." Although Frederick's resources had been so completely drained by the Seven Years' War that it was necessary for him to melt the silver in the royal palaces and debase the currency, his vigorous measures soon restored the national prosperity. He labored in a hundred ways to make Prussia the best-governed state in Europe. Thus, he founded elementary schools so that his subjects could learn at least to read and write, and reformed the courts so that everybody from high to low might be assured of impartial justice. A Deist in religion, the correspondent and friend of Voltaire, Frederick declared that every one should be allowed to get to heaven in his own way, and backed up his declaration by putting Roman Catholics on an equality with Protestants throughout the Prussian dominions. No less than thirty volumes, all in French, contain the poems, letters, and treatises on history, politics, and military matters which Frederick managed to compose in the spare moments of a busy life. This philosopher on the throne held the attention of his generation in the world of ideas as well as in that of diplomacy and war.

Frederick the Great

In Austria, Joseph II,[1] the eldest son of Maria Theresa, presented a less successful type of the enlightened despot. Joseph regarded Frederick the Great as the ideal of a modern ruler. He wished to transform the various peoples in the Hapsburg realm, with all their differences of race,

Joseph II

[1] Holy Roman Emperor, 1765–1790, and sole ruler of the Hapsburg realm, 1780–1790.

speech, religion, and aspirations, into a single unified nation. German officials sent out from Vienna were to administer the affairs of each province. The army was to be built up by compulsory service after the Prussian model. German was to be used everywhere as the official language. Most unwisely, however, Joseph tried to do in a short lifetime what all the Hapsburg rulers after him could not accomplish. The result was that his measures to Germanize Hungarians, Bohemians, Italians, and Netherlanders only aroused hostility and did not survive his death. The sentence that the king himself proposed as his epitaph was a truthful summary of his reign: "Here lies the man who, with the best intentions, never succeeded in anything."

Joseph II

After a painting by A. von Maron.

Paternal government had two serious weaknesses. First, the despots could not determine the policy of their successors. An able and liberal-minded ruler might be followed by a ruler who was indolent, extravagant, and unprogressive. In Prussia, for instance, the weak reign of Frederick the Great's successor undid much of his work. The same thing happened in Spain and Portugal. Second, the despots, however enlightened, treated their subjects as children and enacted reforms without first discovering whether reformation was popularly desired. Because of these weaknesses, the eighteenth-century conception of absolute monarchs ruling for their people's good was certain to be superseded by the modern idea of the people ruling themselves. But to bring this about, a revolution was necessary.

Failure of paternalism

Studies

1. Do monarchy and autocracy necessarily mean the same thing? 2. What was the origin of the names Quaker and Methodist? 3. Contrast the leading ideas of Mercantilism and Physiocracy. 4. What do you understand by laws of nature? Give some examples of such laws. 5. Mention some instances of the international character of science in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. 6. Distinguish between deism (or theism) and atheism. 7. How did Locke's theory of the social contract provide the intellectual justification for the "Glorious Revolution"? 8. Is there any reason to suppose that Rousseau's "state of nature" ever existed anywhere? 9. Why has Rousseau's *Social Contract* been called "the Bible of the French Revolution" and "the gospel of modern democracy"? 10. Show that Rousseau's ideas of government were far more radical than the ideas of Montesquieu. 11. Why did not the reforms of the enlightened despots make a revolution unnecessary? 12. "No reform can produce real good unless it is the work of public opinion, and unless the people themselves take the initiative." Discuss the justice of this statement. 13. Describe those features of the Old Régime which led to the demand for "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." 14. "The evils of European society were rooted in feudalism and entrenched in privilege." Comment on this statement. 15. How do the facts presented in this chapter support the statement that "Great thinkers control the affairs of men, and by their discoveries regulate the march of nations"?

THE FRENCH PEASANT UNDER TAILLE, TAX, AND CORVÉE

After an engraving of 1789 in the Hennin Collection, Paris.

CHAPTER XI

THE REVOLUTIONARY AND NAPOLEONIC ERA, 1789-1815 [1]

96. Eve of the French Revolution

Revolutionary France

WHAT we call the French Revolution refers to a series of events in France, between 1789 and 1799, by which divine-right monarchy gave way to a republic, and class distinctions and privileges disappeared in favor of social equality. This revolution started in France, not because the misery of the people had become more intolerable there than in other parts of the Continent, but because France was then the most advanced of Continental countries. French peasants and artisans were free enough and intelligent enough to be critical of their government. Next to Great Britain, France contained the most numerous, prosperous, and influential *bourgeoisie*. Members of this class furnished the Revolution with its principal leaders. Even the nobility and clergy included many men who realized the abuses of the Old Régime and wished to abolish them. In short, the revolutionary impulse stirred all ranks of French society.

England and the Revolution

That impulse came in part from across the Channel. The spectacle of the Puritan Revolution and the "Glorious Revolution" in the seventeenth century affected Frenchmen in the eighteenth century. The English had put one king to death and had expelled another; they had established the supremacy of Parliament in the state. It was the example of parliamentary England

[1] Webster, *Readings in Medieval and Modern History*, chapter xxx, "France on the Eve of the Revolution"; chapter xxxi, "Scenes of the French Revolution"; chapter xxxii, "Letters and Proclamations of Napoleon"; chapter xxxiii, "Napoleon." Webster, *Historical Source Book*, No. 16, "Decree Abolishing the Feudal System, 1789"; No. 17, "Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, 1789"; No. 18, "Address to All Peoples, 1792."

EUROPE
at the Beginning of the
FRENCH REVOLUTION,
1789 A.D.
Boundary of the Empire
Scale of Miles
0 50 100 200 300
10° Longitude 5° West
0° Longitude 5° East
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BLACK SEA
Bay of Biscay
AFRICA
IRELAND
SCOTLAND
ENGLAND
WALES
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
FRANCE
UNITED NETHERLANDS
DENMARK
JUTLAND
SWEDEN
THE EMPIRE
SAXONY
BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
BAVARIA
AUSTRIA
STYRIA
CARINTHIA
TYROL
SWITZERLAND
SAVOY
PIEDMONT
PARMA
TUSCANY
STATES OF THE CHURCH
NAPLES
KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES
CORSICA
SARDINIA
MINORCA
MAJORCA
CATALONIA
HUNGARY
POLAND
PRUSSIA
POMERANIA
BRANDENBURG
SILESIA
MOLDAVIA
WALLACHIA
BULGARIA
SERBIA
BOSNIA
ALBANIA
GREECE
CRETE
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
RUSSIA
GOTTLAND
BORNHOLM
RUGEN
London
Edinburgh
Dublin
Paris
Madrid
Lisbon
Berlin
Vienna
Warsaw
Amsterdam
Copenhagen
Constantinople
Rome
Naples
Venice
To Russia 1795
To Russia 1772
To Austria 1772
To Prussia 1772
To Austria 1795
To Prussia 1795
THE M-N. WORKS

which Montesquieu held up to the emulation of his countrymen. It was the political philosophy of the Englishman, John Locke, upon which Rousseau founded his doctrine of the sovereignty of the people.

A second impulse came from across the Atlantic. After the close of the War of American Independence, the French common soldiers, together with Lafayette and other officers, returned home to spread republican doctrines. Very important was the work of Benjamin Franklin, who for nearly a decade represented the American government at Paris. His engaging manners, practical wisdom, and high principles won general admiration. The portrait of the Philadelphia printer hung in every house, and at republican festivals his bust figured side by side with that of Rousseau. "Homage to Franklin," cried an enthusiastic Frenchman, "he gave us our first lessons in liberty."

America and the Revolution

To understand the outbreak of the French Revolution it is necessary to go back to the long reign of Louis XV.[1] France had never had so unkingly a sovereign as this successor of the "Grand Monarch." All his life he was an idler. He hunted, he danced, he gambled, he sank deep in the frivolities and immoralities of Versailles, he did everything but rule. The government fell more and more into the hands of courtiers and adventurers, whose main concern was to line their own pockets at the expense of the public treasury.

Louis XV, king, 1715–1774

The foolish alliances and fatal wars upon which Louis XV was persuaded to enter reduced France to the position of a second-rate power. In the Seven Years' War French armies were repeatedly vanquished on Continental battle-fields, and French fleets were swept from the high seas. When the Peace of Paris was signed in 1763, the French flag ceased to fly in North America, and it flew in India only by permission of England. The annexation of Lorraine and Corsica did not compensate for the loss of a colonial empire.[2]

Decline of France

[1] Great-grandson of Louis XIV. See page 302, note 1.

[2] See the map on page 298.

The military failures of the king's reign humiliated his subjects and undermined their loyalty to him.

The wars and extravagance of Louis XV added to the legacy of debt with which his predecessor on the throne had saddled France. The treasury every year faced a chronic deficit. It could only be met by the dangerous expedient of fresh loans, involving still larger outlays for interest charges. As long as the government refused to take proper measures of economy and continued to exempt the clergy and nobility from their share of taxation, little improvement of the financial situation was possible. France, the richest country in Europe, with a population greater than that of any rival state, became virtually bankrupt.

Financial distress

LOUIS XVI, MARIE ANTOINETTE, AND THE DAUPHIN

After a painting by P. Sauvage.

The French monarchy, so despised abroad, had to face a growing volume of complaints at home. Louis XV did his best to stifle them. A rigid censorship muzzled the press. Postoffice officials opened letters passing through the mails and revealed their contents to the king. Books and pamphlets, obnoxious to the government, were burned by the common hangman, and their authors were imprisoned. No man's personal liberty was safe,

Complaints against the monarchy

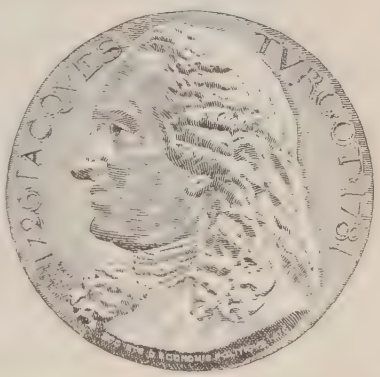
for the police, if provided with an order of arrest signed by the king (a *lettre de cachet*), could send any one to jail. Suspected persons sometimes remained prisoners for years without trial. Yet in spite of all measures of repression, opposition to the monarchy steadily increased.

Louis XVI, the grandson of Louis XV, mounted the throne when only twenty years old. Virtuous, pious, and well-meaning, he was the sort of ruler who in quiet times might have won the esteem of the French people. He was, however, weak, indolent, slow of thought, and very slow of decision. It has been well said that Louis XVI "could love, forgive, suffer, and die," but that he did not know how to reign.

Louis XVI, king, 1774–1792

The youthful king began his reign auspiciously by appointing a new ministry, in which Turgot held the most responsible position. He was a friend of Voltaire, a contributor to the *Encyclopedia*, an economist of the Physiocratic school, and a successful administrator. Turgot summed up his financial policy in the three maxims, "No bankruptcy, no increase of taxation, no loans." Expenses were to be reduced by cutting off the pensions to courtiers, whose only merit was, in the words of a contemporary writer, "to have taken the trouble to be born." The taxes bearing most heavily on the Third Estate were to be replaced by a general tax on all landowners. Peasants were to be no longer forced to work without pay on public highways and bridges. The old guilds, which hampered industry, were to be abolished. The vexatious tolls and duties on the passage of grain from one province to another were to be swept away.

Turgot's ministry of reform, 1774–1776



TURGOT

A medal in joint honor of Turgot and Adam Smith, struck by the Société d'Économie Politique in 1876.

Could such reforms have been carried out, France would have had a bloodless and orderly revolution.

But they were not carried out. The privileged classes would not surrender their privileges, nor favorites their pensions, nor monopolists their unjust gains, without a struggle. The weak king, who once declared that "the only persons who truly love the people are Monsieur Turgot and myself," failed to support him against the intrigues of the court party, led by his own wife, Marie Antoinette.[1] Turgot's dismissal from office after two years of power removed the one man who could have saved absolutism in France.

Dismissal of Turgot

The finances of the government went from bad to worse after the fall of Turgot. His successors in the ministry relied mainly on fresh loans to cover the deficits of the treasury and avert bankruptcy. From the standpoint of French interests, Louis XVI committed a fatal error in allowing himself to be persuaded to intervene in the War of American Independence. America was freed; Great Britain was humbled; but the war forced up the public debt of France by leaps and bounds. When at last it became impossible to borrow more money, the king yielded reluctantly to the popular demand for the convocation of the Estates-General. He appealed to the nation for aid, thereby confessing the failure of absolutism.

Financial chaos

97. The Estates-General, 1789

The Estates-General, the old feudal assembly of France, had not met for one hundred and seventy-five years. Suddenly awakened from their long slumber, the representatives of the clergy, the nobles, and the Third Estate appeared at Versailles to take counsel with the king. The written instructions drawn up in every part of the country for the guidance of each representative, though not revolutionary in wording, set forth a long list of abuses to be removed. While Louis XVI would have been satisfied with measures to increase the revenues, most Frenchmen wanted thoroughgoing reforms.

The Estates-General convenes, May 5, 1789

[1] A daughter of Maria Theresa.

Not quite half of the twelve hundred-odd members of the Estates-General belonged to the two privileged orders. About two-thirds of the delegates of the Third Estate were members of the legal profession. A few were liberal nobles. Less than a dozen came from the lower classes. As a whole, the Estates-General represented the most prosperous and intelligent people of France.

Membership of the Estates-General

COSTUMES OF THE ORDERS

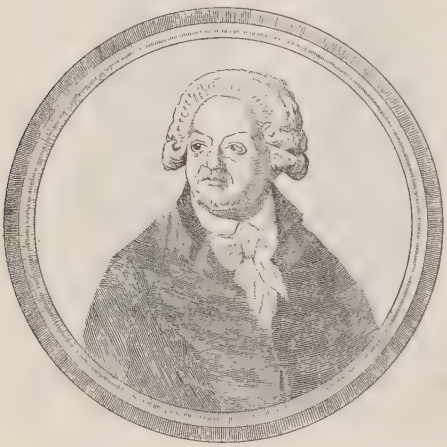
After an old print. The cleric wears a robe and ornamented mantle; the noble, a suit of black silk and a cap adorned with plumes; the representative of the Third Estate, a simple black suit without gold buttons or plumed cap.

The Third Estate possessed two very competent leaders in Count Mirabeau and the Abbé Sieyès. The former belonged by birth and the latter by office to the privileged classes, but both gladly accepted election as representatives of the Third Estate. Mirabeau, a born statesman and orator, had a sincere belief in constitutional government. He wished to set up in France a strong monarchy, limited by a constitution after the English model. Sieyès, a cleric more devoted to politics than to theology, had recently stirred all Frenchmen by a remarkable pamphlet entitled *What is the Third Estate?* He answered, "Everything." "What has it been hitherto?" "Nothing." "What does it ask?" "To be something."

Mirabeau and Sieyès

The three estates in former days sat as separate chambers and voted by orders. If this usage were now followed, the clergy and the nobility would have two votes to one for the Third Estate. The commoners insisted, however, that the new Estates-General no longer represented feudal France, but the united nation. They wished, therefore, that it should organize as a single body, in which the members voted as individuals. Since the Third Estate had been permitted to send twice as many delegates as either the clergy or the nobility, this arrangement would enable it to outvote the privileged orders and carry any reforming measures desired.

Organization of the Estates-General



MIRABEAU

After a miniature (1791) by J. Lemoine in the possession of M. F. Flameng.

The debate over the organization of the Estates-General continued for several weeks and resulted in a deadlock. At last, on the motion of Sieyès, the Third Estate cut the Gordian knot by boldly declaring itself the National Assembly. Then and there it asserted its right to act for the nation as a whole. Representatives of the clergy and nobility might come in if they pleased, but the National Assembly could do without them.

The National Assembly declared, June 17, 1789

Louis XVI, left to himself, might have been too inert for resistance, but his wife, his two brothers, and the court party persuaded him to make a stand. Troops were now posted before the doors of the hall which had been set apart in the palace of Versailles for the Third Estate. Finding their entrance barred, the undaunted

"Tennis-Court Oath," June 20, 1789

commoners adjourned to a building near by, which had been used as a tennis court. Here they took a solemn oath never to separate, but to continue to meet, under all circumstances, until they had drawn up a constitution for France. This action brought to their side the representatives of the lower clergy (*curés*), who were inclined to the popular cause.

But the king persisted in his opposition. Summoning the three estates before him, he made known the royal will that they should deliberate apart. The higher clergy and nobility immediately withdrew to their separate chambers. The Third Estate, with its clerical supporters, did not stir. When the master of ceremonies repeated the king's command, Mirabeau retorted, "We are assembled by the national will; force alone shall disperse us." Louis XVI did not dare to use force, especially after many of the nobles, headed by Lafayette, joined the commoners. The king now gave way and requested the rest of the clerical and noble representatives to unite with the Third Estate in the National Assembly.

The National Assembly recognized, June 27, 1789

98. Outbreak of the French Revolution

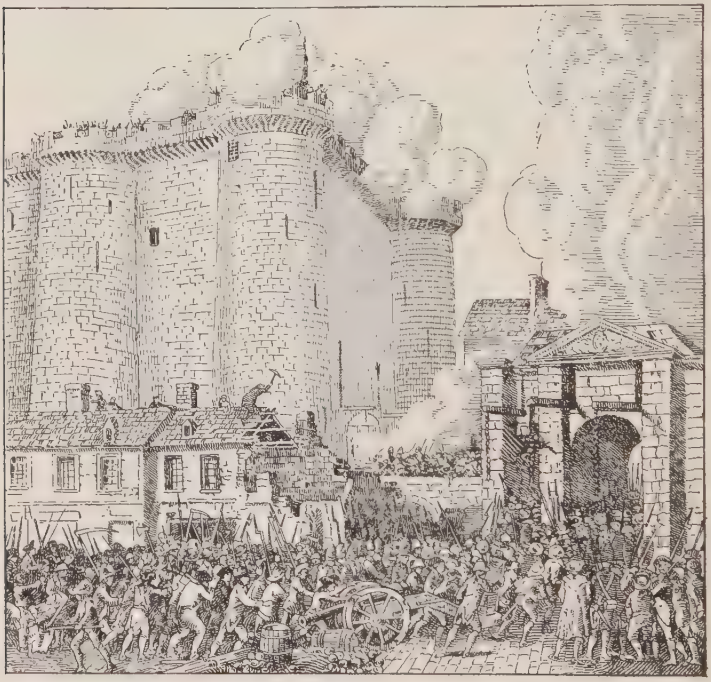
Thus far we have been following a constitutional movement confined to the upper and middle classes of French society. Now, however, the lower classes began to make their influence felt upon the course of events, first in Paris and later in the provinces. Paris was a manufacturing center, with a large population of artisans, very poor, often idle, and inclined to be turbulent. Their ranks were swelled at this time by crowds of peasants, whom the bad harvests and severe winter of the preceding year had driven into the city. Here, in fact, were all the elements of a dangerous mob, on whose ignorance and passion reformers, agitators, and demagogues could play what tunes they willed.

Revolutionary Paris

Soon came ominous news. Louis XVI had hardly accepted the National Assembly before he changed his mind and determined to dissolve that body. A large number of troops, mainly German and Swiss regiments in the service of France,

were massed near Paris, obviously with intent of awing, perhaps seizing, the representatives of the people. It was then that the Parisians made the cause of the National Assembly their own. Rioting broke out in the capital, and for several days anarchy prevailed. Reinforced by deserters from the army, the mob attacked and captured the Bastille, a fortress where political

Fall of the Bastille, July 14, 1789



THE STORMING OF THE BASTILLE

A picture by a contemporary artist. Lafayette sent the key of the Bastille to Washington at Mount Vernon, with these words: "It is a tribute which I owe as a son to my adopted father, as an aide-de-camp to my general, as a missionary of liberty to its patriarch."

offenders had been often confined through *lettres de cachet.* The Bastille at this time contained only seven prisoners, all there for just cause, but it symbolized the tyranny of the Old Régime, and its fall created an immense sensation throughout

France and in other countries. Louis XVI, on hearing the news, exclaimed, "Why, this is a revolt!" "No, Sire," replied a courtier, "this is a revolution."

Now that Paris was practically independent of royal control, the more prominent and well-to-do citizens took steps to secure an orderly government. They formed a municipal council, or Commune, made up of representatives elected from the different wards of the city. A militia force, called the National Guard, was also organized, and the popular Lafayette was selected as commander. Meanwhile, Louis XVI had seen the necessity of submission. He withdrew the troops, got rid of his reactionary ministers, and paid a visit of reconciliation to the Parisians. In token of his good intentions, the king put on a red, white, and blue cockade, red and blue being the colors of Paris and white that of the Bourbons. This was to be the new tricolor of France.

The Commune and the National Guard

The example set by Paris was quickly copied by the provinces. Many cities and towns set up communes and formed national guards. In the country districts the peasants sacked and burned numerous castles of the nobility, taking particular pains to destroy the legal documents by which the nobles exercised their manorial rights. Monasteries, also, were often pillaged. The government showed itself unable to maintain order or to protect life and property. Troops in the garrison towns refused to obey their officers and fraternized with the populace. Royal officials quitted their posts. Courts of justice ceased to act. Public works stopped, and the collection of taxes became almost impossible. From end to end of France the Old Régime collapsed amid universal confusion.

Revolution in the provinces

The revolution in the provinces led directly to one of the most striking scenes of French history. On the night of August 4–5, while the National Assembly had under consideration measures for stilling the unrest in France, one of the nobles — a relative of Lafayette — urged that it remove the feudal burdens still resting on the peasantry. Then, amid hysterical enthusiasm, noble after

The night of August 4–5, 1789

noble and cleric after cleric arose in his place to propose equality of taxation, the repeal of the game laws, the freeing of such serfs as were still to be found in France, the abolition of tithes, tolls, and pensions, and the extinction of all other long-established privileges. A decree "abolishing the feudal system" was passed by the National Assembly within the next few days and was signed by the king. The reforms which Turgot labored in

THE DESTRUCTION OF FEUDALISM

A contemporary cartoon representing the French people hammering to pieces with their flails all the emblems of the feudal system, including the knight's armor and sword and the bishop's crosier and miter.

vain to secure thus became accomplished facts. It is well to remember, however, that the Old Régime had already fallen in France; the decree of the National Assembly did little more than outlaw it.

99. The National Assembly, 1789–1791

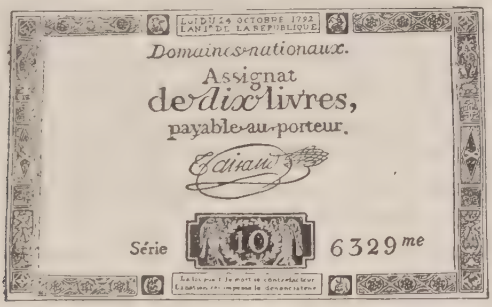
The National Assembly remained in session for the next two years. One of its most important undertakings was the reform of local government. During the eight centuries between Hugh Capet and Louis XVI, France had been built up by the gradual welding together of a number of

The départements

provinces varying greatly in size, and each with its own privileges, customs, and laws. Eighteenth-century France, in consequence, did not form a compact, well-organized state. The old provinces were now replaced by eighty-three artificial districts (*départements*), approximately uniform in size and population and named after some river, mountain, or other natural feature. A map of contemporary France still shows the *départements*.

The National Assembly next undertook a reorganization of the Church. It ordered that all Church lands should be declared national property, broken up into small lots, and sold to the peasants at a low price. By way of partial indemnity, the government agreed to pay fixed salaries to the clergy. All appointments to ecclesiastical positions were taken from the hands of king

Ecclesiastical legislation



An Assignat

and pope and placed in the hands of the people. The National Assembly also suppressed the monasteries, but undertook to pension the monks and nuns.

The desperate condition of the finances led to the adoption of a desperate remedy. The National Assembly passed a decree authorizing the issue of notes to the value of four hundred million francs on the security of the former Church lands. To emphasize this security the title of *assignats* was given to the notes. If the issue of *assignats* could have been restricted, as Mirabeau desired, to less than

The assignats

the value of the property pledged to pay for them, they might have been a safe means of raising a revenue; but the continued needs of the treasury led to their multiplication in enormous quantities. Then followed the inevitable consequences of paper money inflation. Gold and silver disappeared from circulation, while prices rose so high that the time came when it needed a basket of *assignats* to buy a pair of boots. The *assignats* in the end became practically worthless. The finances of the government, instead of being bettered by this resort to paper money, were left in a worse state than before.

The Constitution of 1791

The National Assembly gave to France in 1791 the written constitution which had been promised in the "Tennis-Court Oath." The constitution established a legislative assembly of a single chamber, with wide powers over every branch of the government. The hereditary monarchy was retained, but it was a monarchy in little more than name. The king could not dissolve the legislature, and he had only a "suspensive veto" of its measures. A bill passed by three successive legislatures became a law even without his consent. Mirabeau wished to accord the king greater authority, but the National Assembly distrusted Louis XVI as a possible traitor to the Revolution and took every precaution to render him harmless. The distrust which the *bourgeois* framers of the constitution felt toward the lower classes was shown by the clause limiting the privilege of voting to those who paid taxes equivalent to at least three days' wages. Almost a half of the citizens, some of them peasants but most of them artisans, were thus excluded from the franchise.

Declaration of the Rights of Man

The National Assembly prefixed to the constitution a Declaration of the Rights of Man. This memorable document, which shows Rousseau's influence in almost every line, formed a comprehensive statement of the principles underlying the Revolution. All persons, so ran the Declaration, shall be equally eligible to all dignities, public positions, and occupations, according to their abilities. No person shall be arrested or imprisoned except according to law. Any one accused of wrongdoing shall

be presumed innocent until he is adjudged guilty. Every citizen may freely speak, write, and print his opinions, including his religious views, subject only to responsibility for the abuse of this freedom. All the citizens have the right to decide what taxes shall be paid and how they are to be used. No one shall be deprived of his property, except for public purposes, and then only after indemnification. These clauses of the Declaration reappeared in the constitutions framed in France and other Continental countries during the nineteenth century. The document, as a whole, should be compared with the English Bill of Rights and the first ten amendments to the American Constitution.

100. The First French Republic, 1792

The first phase of the French Revolution was now ended. Up to this point it has appeared rather as a reformation, which abolished the Old Régime and substituted a limited monarchy for absolutism and divine right. Many men believed that under the new constitution France would henceforth enjoy the blessings of peace and prosperity. They were quickly undeceived. The French people, unfortunately, lacked all training in the difficult art of self-government. Between their political incapacity and the opposition of the reactionaries and the radicals, the revolutionary movement drifted into its second and more violent phase, which was marked by the establishment of a republic.

Phases of the Revolution

The reactionaries consisted, in part, of nobles who had hastily quitted the country upon the outbreak of the Revolution. Their emigration continued for several years, until thousands of voluntary exiles (*émigrés*) had gathered along the northern and eastern frontier of France. Headed by the king's two brothers, the count of Provence [1] and the count of Artois,[2] they kept up an unceasing intrigue against the Revolution and even organized a little army to recover by force their titles, privileges, and property.

The émigrés

[1] Afterwards Louis XVIII (1814–1824).

[2] Afterwards Charles X (1824–1830).

Had the reactionaries included only the *émigrés* beyond the borders, they might not have proved very troublesome. But they found support in France. The Constitution of 1791 had made the clergy state officials, elected by the people and paid by the government. Such an arrangement could not be acceptable to sincere Roman Catholics, because it separated the Church from papal control. The pope, who had already protested against the confiscation of Church property and the dissolution of the monasteries, forbade the clergy to take the oath of fidelity to the new constitution. Nearly all the bishops and perhaps two-thirds of the *curés* obeyed him; these were called the non-juring clergy. Until this time the parish priests had generally supported the revolutionary movement. They now turned against it, carrying with them their peasant flocks. The Roman Catholic Church, with all its spiritual influence, was henceforth arrayed against the French Revolution.

The non-juring clergy

To Louis XVI, the new order of things was most distasteful. The constitution, soon to be put into effect, seemed to him a violation of his rights as a monarch, while the treatment of the clergy deeply offended him as a Christian. As long as Mirabeau lived, that statesman had always been able to dissuade the king from seeking foreign help, but Mirabeau's premature death deprived him of his only wise adviser. Louis's opposition to the revolutionists was strengthened by Marie Antoinette, who keenly felt the degradation of her position.

Opposition of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette

The king and queen finally resolved to escape by flight. Disguising themselves, Marie Antoinette as a Russian lady and Louis as her valet, they drove away in the evening from the palace of the Tuileries[1] and made straight for the eastern frontier. But Louis exposed himself needlessly on the way; recognition followed; and at Varennes excited crowds stopped the royal fugitives and turned them back to Paris. This ill-starred adventure greatly weakened the loyalty of the French people

Flight of the king and queen, June 20–21, 1791

[1] See the illustration, page 443.

for Louis XVI, while Marie Antoinette, the "Austrian woman," became more detested than ever.

Besides the reactionaries who opposed the Revolution, there were the radicals who thought that it had not gone far enough. The radicals secured their chief following among the poverty-stricken workingmen of the cities, those without property and with no steady employment. Of all classes in France, the urban proletariat seemed to have gained the least by the Revolution. No chance of future betterment lay before them, for the *bourgeois* Constitution of 1791 expressly provided that only tax-payers could vote or hold public office. The proletariat might well believe that, in spite of all high-sounding phrases about the "rights of man," they had merely exchanged one set of masters for another, the rule of the privileged classes for that of the *bourgeoisie*.

The radicals

The radical movement naturally centered in Paris, the brain and nerve center of France. It was fostered by inflammatory newspapers, which agitated for a popular uprising against the government, by the bitter speeches of popular orators, and especially by numerous political clubs. The control of these clubs lay largely in the hands of young lawyers, who embraced the cause of the masses and soon became as hostile to the *bourgeoisie* as to the aristocracy. The famous Jacobin Club, so named from a former monastery of the Jacobin monks where its meetings were held, had hundreds of branches throughout France, all engaged in radical propaganda.

Radical propaganda

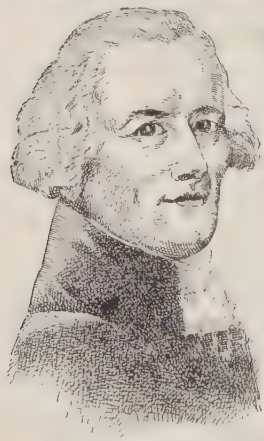
The leaders of the Jacobin Club included two men who were destined to influence profoundly the subsequent course of the Revolution. One was Danton, who sprang from the middle class. Highly cultivated, a successful advocate at the bar, Danton with his loud voice and forcible gestures could arouse his audience to wild enthusiasm. The other was Robespierre, also a middle-class lawyer with democratic sympathies. This austere, precise little man, whose youth had been passed in poverty, early became a disciple of Rousseau and the oracle of the Jacobins. Mirabeau once

Danton and Robespierre

prophesied of Robespierre that he would "go far; he believes all that he says." We shall soon see how far he went.

A new influence began at this point to affect the course of the French Revolution. Continental monarchs, however "enlightened," felt no sympathy for a popular movement which threatened the stability of their own thrones. If absolutism and divine right were overthrown in France, they might before long be overthrown in Austria and Prussia. The Austrian monarch, a brother of Marie Antoinette, now joined with the Prussian king in a statement to the effect that the restoration of the old government in France formed an object of "common interest to all sovereigns of Europe." The two rulers also agreed to prepare their armies for active service abroad. Their announced intention to suppress the Revolution by force provoked the French people into a declaration of war. Though directed only at the Austrian monarch, it also brought his Prussian ally into the field against France.

War with Austria and Prussia, April, 1792



ROBESPIERRE

A reputed portrait by J. B. Greuze, in the possession of Lord Rosebery.

The French began the contest with immense enthusiasm. They regarded themselves as armed apostles to spread the gospel of freedom throughout Europe. But their troops, poorly organized and disciplined, suffered severe reverses, one result of which was further to exasperate public opinion against the monarchy. Suspicion pointed to Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette as the traitors who were secretly revealing the French plan of campaign to the enemies of France. Suspicion passed into hatred, when the allied commander-in-chief, as he led his army across the frontier, issued a proclamation threatening Paris with destruction if the slightest harm befell the royal family. At

The uprising of August 10, 1792

this juncture the Jacobins under Danton organized an uprising of the Parisian proletariat. The mob stormed the Tuileries, massacred the Swiss Guard, and compelled the National Assembly to suspend the king from office. A new assembly, to be called the National Convention, was summoned to prepare another constitution for France.

THE LION OF LUCERNE

This celebrated work at Lucerne in Switzerland was designed by the Danish sculptor Bertel Thorwaldsen and was dedicated in 1821. It represents a dying lion, which, pierced by a lance, still guards with its paw the Bourbon lilies. The figure is hewn out of the natural sandstone. The monument commemorates the officers and men of the Swiss Guard who were slain in 1792, while defending the Tuileries against the Parisian mob.

Then followed the next scene in the bloody drama. The Commune of Paris, now controlled by the Jacobins, emptied the prisons of persons suspected of royalist leanings and butchered them without mercy. "We must stop the enemy," said Danton, "by striking terror into the royalists." More than one thousand men, women, and children perished in the "September massacres." Shortly afterwards the National Convention held its first meetings and by a unanimous vote decreed the abolition of the monarchy. All public documents were henceforth to be dated from September 22, 1792, the beginning of "the first year of the French Republic."

Proclamation of the republic, September 22, 1792

101. The National Convention, 1792–1795

The National Convention contained nearly eight hundred members, all republicans, but republicans of diverse shades of opinion. One group was that of the Girondists, so-called because its leaders came from the *département* of the Gironde. The Girondists represented largely the *bourgeoisie;* they desired a speedy return to law and order. Opposite them sat the far more radical and far more resolute group of Jacobins, who leaned for support upon the turbulent populace of Paris. The majority of the delegates belonged to neither party and voted now on one side and now on the other. Eventually, however, they fell under Jacobin domination.

Parties in the National Convention

The feud between the two parties broke out in the first days of the National Convention. The Jacobins clamored for the death of Louis XVI as a traitor; most of the Girondists, less convinced of the king's guilt, would have spared his life. Mob influence carried through the assembly, by a small majority, the vote which sent "Citizen Louis Capet" to the guillotine. The king's accusers did not have the evidence, which we now possess, proving that he had been in constant communication with the foreign invaders. His execution was a political measure. "Louis must die," urged Robespierre, "that the country may live." Danton, railing against the enemies of France could now declare, "We have thrown them as gage of battle the head of a king."

Trial and execution of Louis XVI, 1793

Meanwhile, the tide of foreign invasion receded rapidly. Two days before the inauguration of the republic the French stayed the advance of the allies at Valmy, scarcely a hundred miles from Paris. The battle of Valmy was a small affair, but it first gave confidence to the revolutionary armies and nerved them for further resistance. The French now took the offensive and invaded the Austrian Netherlands. Fired by these successes, the National Convention offered the aid of France to all nations

Coalition against France, 1793

which were striving after freedom; in other words, it proposed to propagate the Revolution by force of arms throughout Europe. This was a blow in the face to autocratic rulers and privileged classes everywhere. After the execution of Louis XVI Austria, Prussia, Great Britain, Holland, Spain, and Sardinia leagued together to overthrow republican France.

The republic at the same time was threatened by domestic insurrection. The peasants of La Vendée, a district to the south of the lower Loire, were royalists in feeling and deeply devoted to Roman Catholicism. When an attempt was made to draft them as soldiers, they refused to serve and broke out in open rebellion. The important naval station of Toulon, a royalist center, surrendered to the British. A tremor of revolt also ran through the great cities of Lyons, Marseilles, and Bordeaux, whose *bourgeoisie* resented the radicalism of the Parisian proletariat.

Domestic insurrection

The peril to the republic, without and within, showed the need of a strong central government. The National Convention met this need by selecting twelve of its members to serve as a Committee of Public Safety, in which at first Danton, and later Robespierre, was the leading figure. The committee received almost unlimited authority over the life and property of every one in France. It proceeded to enforce a general levy or conscription, which placed all males of military age at the service of the armies. This earliest of draft laws ran as follows: "The young men shall go to fight; married men shall forge weapons and transport supplies; the women shall make tents and uniforms or serve in the hospitals; the children shall make lint; the old men shall be carried to the public squares to excite the courage of soldiers, hatred of kings, and enthusiasm for the unity of the republic." Carnot, another member of the committee, the "organizer of victory" as he came to be called, drilled and disciplined the new national forces and sent them forth, singing the *Marseillaise*,[1] to battle.

Committee of Public Safety

[1] A patriotic song, the words and music of which were composed in 1792 by Rouget de Lisle.

The mercenary troops of old Europe could not resist these citizen-soldiers. Filled with enthusiasm and in overwhelming numbers, they soon carried the war into enemy territory. The grand coalition dissolved under the shock. By the Treaty of Basel in 1795 Prussia ceded her provinces on the west bank of the Rhine to France, which thus secured the "natural boundary" so ardently desired by Louis XIV.[1] During this year Spain and Holland also made peace with France. Holland became the Batavian Republic under French protection.

Treaty of Basel, 1795

The Committee of Public Safety likewise dealt effectively with domestic insurrection. It resorted to a policy of terrorism, as a means of suppressing the anti-revolutionary elements. A law was passed which declared "suspect" every noble, every office-holder before the Revolution, every person who had had any dealings with an *émigré*, and every person who could not produce a certificate of citizenship. No one could feel safe under this law. As a wit afterwards remarked, all France in those days went about conjugating, "I am suspect, thou art suspect, he is suspect," etc. Special courts were set up in Paris and the provincial cities to try the "suspects" and usually to order them to the guillotine.

Terrorism

France endured the Reign of Terror for over a year. During this time several thousand persons were executed under form of law, while many more were massacred without the pretense of a trial. The carnage spread beyond the non-juring clergy and the aristocracy to include the *bourgeoisie* and even many artisans and peasants. Among the distinguished victims at Paris were Marie Antoinette, the sister of Louis XVI, the duke of Orléans (a member of the royal house who had intrigued to get himself raised to the throne), and the principal Girondist leaders. Then the Terror began to consume its own authors. Danton, who had wearied of the bloodshed and counseled moderation, suffered death. "Show my head to the people," he said to the executioner, "they do not see the like every day." The fanatical Robespierre now became

Reign of Terror, 1793–1794

[1] See the map facing page 388.

the virtual dictator of France. He continued the slaughter for a few months until his enemies in the National Convention secured the upper hand, and hurried him without trial to the death to which he had sent so many of his fellow-citizens.

Robespierre's execution ended the Reign of Terror. The policy of terrorism, however effective in crushing the enemies of the republic, had long since been perverted to party and personal ends. The inevitable reaction against Jacobin tyranny followed. The *bourgeoisie* gained control of the National Convention, which now resumed its task of preparing a constitution for republican France. The new instrument of government provided for a legislature of two chambers and vested the executive authority in a Directory of five members, with most of the powers of the former Committee of Public Safety.

The Constitution of 1795

Before the constitution went into effect, Paris became the scene of another mob outburst. Royalists and radicals joined forces and advanced to the attack of the Tuileries, where the National Convention was sitting. Here the rioters met such a cannonade of grape shot that they fled precipitately, leaving many of their number dead in the streets. The man who most distinguished himself as the defender of law and order was the young artillery general, Napoleon Bonaparte.

Napoleon and the National Convention

102. The Directory and Napoleon, 1795–1799

Napoleon Bonaparte was born at Ajaccio, Corsica, in 1769, only a year after that island became a French possession. He was the second son of an Italian lawyer of noble birth but decayed fortunes. Napoleon attended a preparatory school in France and went through the ordinary curriculum with credit, showed proficiency in mathematics, and devoted much of his leisure to reading history. After a brief military training in Paris, he entered an artillery regiment, thus realizing his boyish desire to be a soldier. He was then a youth of sixteen years, poor, friendless, and without family influence.

Early life of Napoleon

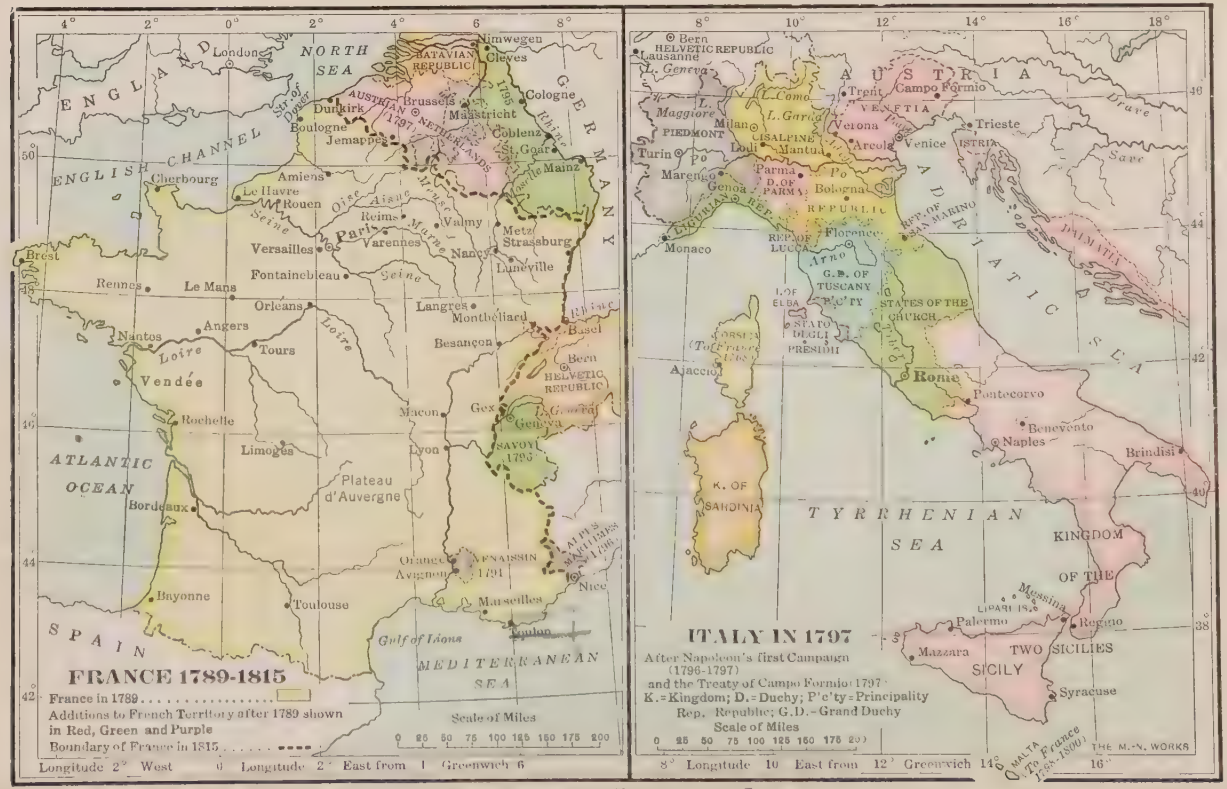
Napoleon took a keen interest in the reform movement then stirring France. A devoted admirer of Rousseau's philosophy, he hated all privileges, all aristocracy, and for a time, at least, he became a Jacobin. The Revolution gave him his first opportunities. He commanded the artillery which compelled the British to evacuate Toulon in 1793 and two years later he helped defend the National Convention against the Parisian mob. Shortly afterwards Carnot, who divined Napoleon's genius, persuaded his colleagues on the Directory to intrust the young man with the command of the French army in Italy.

Rise of Napoleon

Napoleon's Birthplace, Ajaccio

When the Directory assumed office, France still numbered Great Britain, Sardinia, and Austria among her foes. Great Britain could not be assailed, because of the weakness of the French navy, but the other two countries offered fronts open to attack through northern Italy. Napoleon's army, small and shabbily equipped, seemed a weak instrument for so formidable a task. But the "Little Corporal," as his men nicknamed him, overcame all difficulties. His brilliant strategy first separated the Sardinians from their Austrian allies. The king of Sardinia then purchased peace by the cession of Savoy and Nice to France. After another year of fighting, which turned the Austrians out of northern Italy and brought the French to within eighty miles of Vienna, the Hapsburg monarch also stooped to make terms with this ever-victorious republican general.

Napoleon in Italy, 1796–1797



REVOLUTIONARY FRANCE AND ITALY

Austria ceded to France the Austrian Netherlands, which had already been occupied by the republican armies, and agreed to the annexation by France of the Germanic lands west of the Rhine. She also recognized the independence of the Cisalpine Republic, one of Napoleon's creations in northern Italy. In return for these concessions, Austria received most of the Venetian territories conquered by Napoleon, including a valuable sea-coast along the Adriatic. France likewise profited by this Italian settlement, for both the Cisalpine Republic and the tiny Ligurian Republic (Genoa and the adjacent district) were under French influence.[1]

Treaty of Campo Formio, 1797

Great Britain now remained the only country to contest French supremacy in Europe. Napoleon determined to strike at her through her Oriental possessions. It was necessary, first of all, to wrest Egypt from the Ottoman Turks, for, as Napoleon never tired of asserting, "the power that is master of Egypt is master of India." Napoleon easily persuaded the Directory to give him the command of a strong expedition, which set sail from Toulon and reached Alexandria in safety. The Egyptian campaign had hardly begun before Lord Nelson, the British admiral, destroyed most of the French fleet, thus severing Napoleon's communications with Europe. The French soon overran Egypt, but met a severe check when they carried the war into Syria. Faced by the collapse of his Oriental dreams, Napoleon left his army to its fate and escaped to France. Here his highly colored reports of victories caused him to be greeted as the conqueror of the East.

Napoleon in Egypt, 1798-1799

Affairs had gone badly for France during Napoleon's absence in Egypt. Great Britain, Austria, and Russia formed a second coalition against the republic, put large armies in the field, and drove the French from Italy. This misfortune sapped the authority of the Directory and turned the eyes of most Frenchmen to Napoleon, as the one man who could guarantee victory abroad

Overthrow of the Directory, 1799

[1] See the map facing page 388.

and order at home. He took advantage of the situation to plan with Sieyès and other politicians a *coup d'état*.[1] Three of the directors were induced to resign; the other two were placed under military guard; and the bayonets of Napoleon's devoted soldiers forced the assemblies to dissolve. Napoleon now became virtually master of France. "I found the crown of France lying on the ground," he once remarked, "and I picked it up with the sword." Thus, within little more than ten years from the meeting of the Estates-General at Versailles, popular government gave way to the rule of one man. Autocracy supplanted democracy.

103. The Consulate, 1799–1804

After the *coup d'état* Napoleon proceeded to frame a constitution. It placed the executive power in the hands of three consuls, appointed for ten years. The First Consul (Napoleon himself) was really supreme. To him belonged the command of the army and navy, the right of naming and dismissing all the chief state officials, and the proposal of all new laws. Napoleon then submitted the constitution to the people for ratification. The popular vote, known as a plebiscite,[2] showed an overwhelming majority in favor of the new government.

The Constitution of 1799

The French accepted Napoleon's rule the more readily because of the threatening war-clouds in Italy and on the Rhine. Though Russia soon withdrew from the second coalition, Austria and Great Britain remained in arms against France. Napoleon now led his troops across the Alps by the pass of the Great St. Bernard, a feat rivaling Hannibal's performance, descended unexpectedly into Italy in the rear of the Austrian forces, and won a new triumph at Marengo. A few months later the French general Moreau inflicted a crushing defeat on the Austrians at Hohenlinden in Bavaria. These reverses brought the Hapsburg monarch

Marengo and Hohenlinden, 1800

[1] French for a "stroke of state."

[2] From the Latin *plebiscitum*, referring to a vote or decree of the common people (*plebs*).

NAPOLEON AS FIRST CONSUL

After the painting by J.-B. Isabey.
Versailles Gallery.

"1807"

A picture by Meissonier of the battle of Friedland. Napoleon is shown seated on his famous white charger and surrounded by his staff. As the cuirassiers advance to the attack, each horseman rises in the saddle and salutes the emperor. Soldiers of the "Old Guard," wearing the grenadier caps and white breeches, are seen drawn up in the rear. *Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.*

to his knees, and he agreed to a peace which reaffirmed the provisions of the Treaty of Campo Formio.[1]

Great Britain and France now took steps to end the long war between them. The former country was all-powerful on the sea, the latter, on the land; but neither could strike a vital blow at the other. The Peace of Amiens, which they concluded, proved to be a truce rather than a peace. However, it enabled the First Consul to drop the sword for a time and take up the less spectacular but more enduring work of administration. He soon showed himself as great in statecraft as in war.

Peace of Amiens, 1802

One of Napoleon's most important measures put the local government of all France directly under his control. He placed a prefect over every *département* and a subprefect over every subdivision of a *département*. Even the mayors of the larger towns and cities owed their positions to the First Consul. This arrangement enabled Napoleon to make his will felt promptly throughout the length and breadth of France. It survived Napoleon's downfall and still continues to be the French system of local government.

France centralized

The same desire for unity and precision led Napoleon to complete the codification of French law. Before the Revolution nearly three hundred different local codes had existed in France, giving force to Voltaire's remark that a traveler there changed his laws as often as he changed his post-horses. The National Convention began the work of replacing this multiplicity of laws — Frankish, Roman, feudal, and royal — by a single uniform code. Napoleon and the commission of legal experts over whose deliberations he presided finished the task after about four years' labor. The *Code Napoléon* embodied many revolutionary principles, such as civil equality, religious toleration, and jury trial, and carried these principles into the foreign lands conquered by the French. It is still the prevailing law of both France and Belgium, while the codes of modern Holland, Italy, and Portugal have taken it as a model.

The law codified

[1] Treaty of Lunéville (1801).

Napoleon also healed the religious schism which had divided France since the Revolution. Though not himself an adherent of any form of Christianity, he felt the necessity of conciliating the many French Catholics who remained faithful to Rome. An agreement, called the Concordat, was now drawn up, providing for the restoration of Catholicism as the state religion. Napoleon reserved to himself the appointment of bishops and archbishops, and the pope gave up all claims to the confiscated property of the Church. The Concordat formed a singularly politic measure, for by confirming the peasantry in their possession of the ecclesiastical lands it bound up their interests with those of Napoleon. It continued to regulate the relations between France and the Papacy for more than a century.[1]

The Church restored

Nor did Napoleon forget the *émigrés*. A law was soon passed extending amnesty to the nobles who had fled from France. More than forty thousand families now returned to their native land.

The émigrés repatriated

A long list might be drawn up of the other measures which exhibit Napoleon's qualities as a statesman. He founded the Bank of France, still one of the leading financial institutions of the world. He established a system of higher education to take the place of the colleges and universities which had been abolished by a decree of the National Convention. He planned and partly carried out a vast network of canals and inland waterways, thus improving the means of communication and trade throughout France. Like the Roman emperors, he constructed a system of military highways radiating from the capital city to the remotest districts, in addition to two wonderful Alpine roads connecting France with Italy. Like the Romans, also, he had a taste for building, and many of the monuments which make Paris so splendid a city belong to the Napoleonic era. Napoleon's conquests proved to be transitory, but what he accomplished for France in peaceful labors has endured to the present day.

Napoleon's other measures

[1] From 1802 to 1905.

104. The First French Empire, 1804

Napoleon's victories in war and his policies in peace gained for him the support of all Frenchmen except the Jacobins, who would not admit that the Revolution had ended, and the royalists, who wished to restore the Bourbon monarchy. When in 1802 the people were asked to vote on the question, "Shall Napoleon Bonaparte be consul for life?" the answering "ayes" numbered over three and a half millions, the "noes" only a few thousands. Another plebiscite in 1804 decided, by an equally large majority, that the First Consul should become emperor. Before the high altar of Notre Dame Cathedral at Paris and in the presence of the pope, the modern Charlemagne placed a golden laurel wreath upon his own head and assumed the title of Napoleon I, emperor of the French.

Napoleon, emperor of the French

CROSS OF THE LEGION OF HONOR

Instituted by Napoleon in 1802; given to both soldiers and civilians for distinguished services to the state. In the present order of the French Republic the symbolical head of the republic appears in the center, and a laurel wreath replaces the imperial crown.

Napoleon also proceeded to erect a monarchy on Italian soil. At Milan he crowned himself king, as Charlemagne had done, with the "Iron Crown" of the Lombards. North Italy thus became practically an annex of France.

Napoleon, king of Italy

The emperor-king set up again at the Tuileries the etiquette and ceremonial of the Old Régime. Already he had established the Legion of Honor to reward those who most industriously served him. Now he created a nobility. His relatives and ministers became kings, princes, dukes, and counts; his ablest generals became marshals of France. "My titles," Napoleon declared,

The imperial glory

"are a sort of civic crown; one can win them through one's own efforts."

France, intoxicated with the imperial glory, forgot that she had come under the rule of one man. What hostile criticism Frenchmen might have leveled against Napoleon was stifled by the secret police, who arrested and imprisoned hundreds of persons obnoxious to the emperor. The censorship of books and newspapers prevented any ex-

The imperial despotism

A Napoleonic Medal

A medal prepared by Napoleon to be issued at London in honor of his expected triumph. It represents Hercules overthrowing a merman and bears the legend *Frappée à Londres* — "Struck in London" — *1804*. After a cast in the British Museum.

pression of public opinion. Many journals were suppressed; the remainder were allowed to publish only articles approved by the government. Even the schools and churches were made pillars of the new order, and Napoleon went so far as to prepare a catechism setting forth the duty of good Christians to love, respect, and obey their emperor. In all these ways he established a despotism as unqualified as that of Louis XIV.

105. Napoleon at War with Europe, 1805–1807

The wars of the French Revolution, beginning in a conflict between democracy and monarchy, gradually became a means of gratifying the French lust for territorial expansion. With the advent of Napoleon they appeared still more clearly as wars of conquest. The "successor of Charlemagne," who carried the Roman eagles on his military standards, dreamed of universal sovereignty. Supreme in France, he would also be supreme in Europe. No lasting peace

The Napoleonic wars

was possible with such a man, unless the European nations submitted tamely to his will. They would not submit, and as a result the Continent for ten years was drenched with blood.

Austria in the revolutionary wars had been the chief opponent of France; in the wars of Napoleon Great Britain became his most persistent and relentless enemy. That island-kingdom, which had defeated the grandiose schemes of Philip II and Louis XIV, could never consent to the creation of a French empire restricting her trade in the profitable markets of the Continent and dominating western Europe. To preserve the European

Hostility of Great Britain to Napoleon

THE "VICTORY"

Nelson's flagship at the battle of Trafalgar. Now moored in Portsmouth Harbor, England.

balance of power Great Britain formed coalition after coalition, using her money, her ships, and her soldiers unsparingly, and at length successfully, in the effort.

The peace of Amiens lasted little over a year. The war between Great Britain and France being then renewed, Napoleon made every preparation to overthrow "perfidious Albion." He collected an army and a flotilla of flat-bottomed boats near Boulogne, apparently intending to "jump the ditch," as he called the Channel, and lead his soldiers to London. If this was indeed his intention, it became

Trafalgar, 1805

impossible of accomplishment after Lord Nelson's victory off Cape Trafalgar, over the combined French and Spanish fleets. Nelson received a mortal wound in the action, but he died with the knowledge that his country would henceforth remain in undisputed control of the seas. "England," said William Pitt,[1] "has saved herself by her own energy, and will, I trust, save Europe by her example."

Meanwhile, Pitt had succeeded in forming still another coalition against France and Napoleon. Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Sweden were the four allied powers. Before they could strike a blow, Napoleon suddenly broke up his camp at Boulogne, moved swiftly into Germany, captured an entire Austrian army at Ulm, and entered Vienna. These successes were followed by the celebrated battle of Austerlitz, a masterpiece of strategy, at which Napoleon with inferior numbers shattered the Austro-Russian forces. With his capital lost, his territory occupied, his armies destroyed, the Hapsburg monarch once more consented to an ignominious peace. The Venetian lands, which Austria acquired by the Treaty of Campo Formio, were now added to Napoleon's kingdom of Italy.[2]

Ulm and Austerlitz, 1805

Prussia was next to feel the mailed fist of Napoleon. Relying upon the help of Saxony and Russia, she attempted to stay his victorious progress, only to suffer the loss of two armies in the double battle of Jena. Napoleon soon entered Berlin in triumph. Russia still remained formidable, until a bad defeat at Friedland induced the tsar, Alexander I, to make overtures for peace.

Jena, 1806, and Friedland, 1807

The two emperors met at Tilsit on the river Niemen, near the frontier between Prussia and Russia, and concluded a bargain for the partition of Europe. The tsar agreed to throw over his allies and allow Napoleon a free hand in the West. Napoleon permitted the tsar to seize Finland from Sweden and promised French aid in expelling the Turks from Europe. When, however, the tsar, asked for

Peace of Tilsit, 1807

[1] Son of the earl of Chatham and prime minister, 1783–1801, 1804–1806.

[2] Treaty of Pressburg (1805).

the Turkish capital, Napoleon exclaimed, "Constantinople! Never! That would be the mastery of the world."

No sovereign in modern times was ever so powerful as Napoleon after Tilsit. If he had failed on the sea, he had won complete success on the land, and the triumphs of Ulm, of Austerlitz, of Jena, and of Friedland hid from view the disaster of Trafalgar. Napoleon's victories are explained only in part by his mastery of the art of war. The emperor inherited the splendid citizen-soldiery of the revolutionary era, a whole nation under arms and filled with the idea of carrying "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" throughout Europe. The hired troops of the absolute monarchies, on the contrary, had little enthusiasm for their cause. Slight wonder that in conflict with them Napoleon's legions always gained the day.

The Napoleonic armies

106. Napoleon's Reorganization of Europe

Napoleon at the zenith of his power ruled directly over a large part of western Europe. Even before the Peace of Tilsit he had added Genoa (the Ligurian Republic) and Piedmont to France and had converted Holland (the former Batavian Republic) into a dependent kingdom. Holland subsequently became a part of the French Empire. After Tilsit he annexed the German coast as far as Denmark, what remained of the States of the Church, including Rome, and the Illyrian provinces east of Italy. Imperial France touched the Baltic on the north, and on the south faced the Adriatic.

Imperial France

Beyond the empire stood a belt of dependencies. Northern Italy, including the former Cisalpine Republic and the ancient possessions of Venice, formed a separate kingdom, held by Napoleon himself and administered by his stepson, Eugène Beauharnais.[1] His brother Joseph governed the kingdom of Naples in central and southern Italy. Switzerland, enlarged by six new cantons added to the thirteen old cantons, became a vassal republic, which Napoleon

Dependent states

[1] Son of Napoleon's wife, Joséphine, by her first husband.

ruled with the title of Mediator. The sections of Polish territory seized by Prussia and Austria in the second and third partitions, went to form the Grand Duchy of Warsaw; not, however, under a Polish ruler, but under Napoleon's new ally, the king of Saxony. "Roll up the map of Europe," William Pitt had cried, when he heard the news of Austerlitz, "it will not be wanted these ten years."

Napoleon's power in central Europe rested upon the Confederation of the Rhine. This organization included Bavaria, Baden, and Würtemberg, and in its final form all the German states except Austria and Prussia. As sovereign of the league, under the title of Protector, Napoleon disposed of its military forces and conducted its foreign relations.

Confederation of the Rhine, 1806

The formation of the Confederation of the Rhine gave the death-blow to the Holy Roman Empire. That venerable institution, which went back to Otto the Great and Charlemagne, had become little more than a name, an empty form, a shadow without substance. When Napoleon declared that he would recognize it no longer, the Hapsburg ruler laid down the crown and contented himself with the title of emperor of Austria.

Extinction of the Holy Roman Empire, 1806

Many other European states not actually dependent on Napoleon were allied with him. They included Spain, which subsequently became a dependency, Denmark, Norway, the kingdom of Prussia, now reduced to about a half of its former size, and the weakened Austrian Empire. But Great Britain, mistress of the seas, still held out against the master of the Continent.

Allied states

107. The Continental System

The failure of Napoleon's Egyptian expedition prevented him from striking at Great Britain through her possessions in the East. His hope of invading her vanished at Trafalgar. His efforts to destroy her commerce by sending out innumerable privateers to prey upon it were foiled when British merchantmen sailed in convoys under the

Economic warfare

FIRST FRENCH EMPIRE. 1812 A.D.

protection of ships of war. One alternative remained. If British manufacturers could be deprived of their Continental markets and British ship-owners and sailors of their carrying trade, it might be possible to compel the "nation of shopkeepers" [1] to make peace with him on his own terms.

Napoleon's successes on land enabled him to devise a scheme for the strangulation of Great Britain. By two decrees issued at Berlin and Milan he placed that country under a commercial interdict. British ships and goods were to be excluded from France and her dependencies, while neutral vessels sailing from any British port were to be seized by French warships or privateers.

Berlin and Milan decrees, 1806–1807

Napoleon endeavored to enforce these decrees in the French Empire, the Italian kingdom, the Confederation of the Rhine, and the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. Russia and Prussia agreed to enforce them by the terms of the Peace of Tilsit. At one time or another all the states of Europe, except Great Britain and Turkey, came into the Continental System.

Extent of the Continental System

The British government replied to the Berlin and Milan decrees by various Orders in Council, which forbade neutral ships from trading with France, her dependencies, or her allies, under penalty of capture. As Napoleon sought to exclude Great Britain from Continental markets, so that country sought to shut out Napoleon from maritime commerce. The sea-power of Great Britain enabled her to blockade the Continent with some degree of effectiveness.

The Orders in Council

Napoleon, on the other hand, could not make the Continental System effective. British merchants always managed to smuggle large quantities of goods into the European countries. Some commodities which the French absolutely required, such as woolens, had to be admitted into France under special license. Napoleon clad his own armies in British cloth, and his soldiers marched in British shoes. Though Great Britain suffered acutely from the emperor's interference with her trade, the

The Continental System ineffective

[1] A Napoleonic phrase.

Continental nations, deprived of needed manufactures and colonial wares, suffered still more. The result was to excite great bitterness against Napoleon. Nevertheless, he persisted in the attempt to humble his only rival by this economic warfare; as we shall now see, he staked his empire on the success of the Continental System.

108. Revolt of the Nations, 1808–1814

Napoleon hitherto had been fighting kings, not nations; and he had been uniformly victorious. A change came after Tilsit. The emperor's treatment of the conquered peoples aroused the utmost hatred for him. They saw their sons dragged away by the conscription to fight and die in his armies; they paid excessive war taxes; above all, they had to endure the high prices resulting from the Continental System. The time was near at hand when these burdens could no longer be borne. Henceforth our chief interest is with the various nations which one after another rose against their common oppressor. France in arms made Napoleon; Europe in arms overthrew him.

National resistance to Napoleon

The little kingdom of Portugal had been linked to Great Britain by close commercial ties for more than a century. When the Portuguese refused to close their ports to British ships, as Napoleon demanded, he sent an army into the country, seized Lisbon, and drove the royal family to Brazil. Napoleon then proceeded to deprive his friend and ally, Ferdinand VII, of the Spanish crown and gave it to his brother Joseph. These high-handed acts enabled the emperor to extend the Continental System over the Iberian Peninsula. What he gained there was more than offset elsewhere. As soon as the Portuguese government removed to Brazil, it opened that country to British trade, and after the Spanish monarchy fell, its colonies revolted from the mother country and admitted British goods. Napoleon thus unwittingly created lucrative markets in Latin America for his rival.

Napoleon's interference in Portugal and Spain, 1807–1808

The Portuguese and Spaniards declined to accept their

French overlords and everywhere rose in revolt. Great Britain took a lively interest in the situation and sent an army commanded by Sir Arthur Wellesley, better known by his subsequent title of duke of Wellington, to help the insurgents. The French were soon driven out of Portugal, nor could they maintain themselves securely in Spain. The Peninsular War, as it is called, dragged on for years.

Revolt of Portugal and Spain

Encouraged by the Spanish resistance, Austria tried to throw off the Napoleonic yoke. The effort proved to be premature, though Austria, fighting this time alone, gave Napoleon far more trouble than when previously she had the help of allies. The French again occupied Vienna and won the hard battle of Wagram. The peace which followed cost the Hapsburg ruler additional territory and a heavy indemnity. It also cost him his daughter Maria Louisa, whose hand Napoleon demanded in marriage after divorcing Joséphine. When Maria Louisa presented the emperor with a son and heir, the so-called "king of Rome," it must have seemed to him that his dynasty was at length firmly fixed on the French throne.[1]

The Austrian revolt, 1809

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON

After a painting by Goya in the possession of the duke of Leeds.

[1] THE BONAPARTES

Charles Bonaparte m. Letitia Ramolino

- Joseph, king of Naples, 1806–1808; king of Spain, 1808–1813
- Napoleon I
  - Napoleon II, "king of Rome," d. 1832
  - Napoleon III
    - Napoleon, d. 1879
- Louis, king of Holland, 1806–1810
- Caroline, m. Murat, king of Naples, 1808–1815
- Jerome, king of Westphalia, 1807–1813

Europe, except in Spain and on the seas, now enjoyed peace for two years. It was a brief breathing-spell, while Napoleon made ready for a new and much more terrible contest. Until now he had induced Tsar Alexander to adhere to the Continental System, which pressed with special severity upon Russia, an agricultural country needing large imports of British manufactures. The tsar at length decided to break his shackles and renew trade relations between Russia and Great Britain. This decision left Napoleon no choice but to go to war with him, if the Continental System was to be preserved. Rather than give up hope of humbling Great Britain, the emperor, against the advice of his wisest counselors, threw down the gage of battle.

War with Russia, 1812

More than half a million men formed the Grand Army with which Napoleon began the invasion of Russia. About one-third of the soldiers were French; the rest were Germans, Italians, Poles, and other subjects of the empire. All western Europe had banded together under the leadership of one man to overthrow the only great state remaining unconquered on the Continent. The Russians offered at first little resistance, and the Grand Army reached the river Borodino before they turned at bay. A murderous conflict followed; the French won; and eight days later Napoleon entered Moscow.

The advance to Moscow

But to occupy Moscow was not to conquer Russia. The French did not dare follow their enemy farther into the wilderness, nor could they remain for the winter in Moscow, owing to the scarcity of food for men and horses. The Russian peasants burned their grain and fodder rather than supply the French. Moreover, a great fire, perhaps kindled by the Russians themselves, had destroyed much of the city just as the French entered it. Napoleon lingered for a month among the ruins of Moscow in the belief that Alexander would open negotiations for peace. But no message came from the tsar, and at last the emperor gave orders for the retreat. A southerly route, which the army attempted to follow, was blocked, and the troops had to return by the way

The retreat from Moscow

they had come, through a country eaten bare of supplies. Famine, cold, desertions, and the incessant raids of the Cossacks thinned their ranks; and at last only a few thousand broken fugitives recrossed the Niemen to safety. The Grand Army had ceased to exist.

This disaster, unparalleled in military annals, thrilled Prussia with hopes of freedom. Thanks to the labors of Baron vom Stein and other statesmen, it was a new Prussia which confronted Napoleon. Serfdom had been declared illegal; all occupations and professions had been opened to noble, commoner, and peasant alike; a state system of both elementary and secondary education had been established; and the army had been reorganized on the basis of military service for all classes. These reforms gave to Prussia many of the advantages of the French Revolution and aroused a patriotic spirit which united the entire nation in a common love of country. Prussia now joined forces with Russia and began the War of Liberation.

The Prussian revolt, 1813

Yet so vast were Napoleon's resources that he was soon able to recruit a new army and take the offensive in Germany. He gained fresh victories, but could not follow them up because of the lack of cavalry. Austria then threw in her lot with the Allies. Outnumbered and outmaneuvered, Napoleon fell back on Leipzig, and there in a three-days' "Battle of the Nations" suffered a sanguinary defeat. All Germany now turned against him, and he withdrew his shattered troops across the Rhine.

Battle of Leipzig, 1813

The Allies would have made peace with Napoleon, had he been willing to give up his claims to the overlordship of Europe. They offered him the Rhine, the Alps, the Pyrenees, and the Atlantic as the French boundaries, but he refused to accept the territorial limits that would have satisfied the ambitions of Louis XIV. Napoleon's campaigns during the early months of 1814 against three armies, each one larger than his own, are justly celebrated; they postponed but did not prevent his overthrow. After Paris surrendered, the emperor gave up the useless struggle and

Abdication of Napoleon, 1814

signed an act of abdication renouncing for himself and for his heirs the thrones of France and Italy.

109. Downfall of Napoleon, 1814–1815

Napoleon at Elba

The Allies treated Napoleon with marked consideration. They allowed him to retain the title of emperor and assigned him the island of Elba as a possession. He spent ten months in this tiny principality and ruled it with all his accustomed energy, meanwhile keeping a watchful eye upon the course of events in France.

The "Hundred Days," March–June, 1815

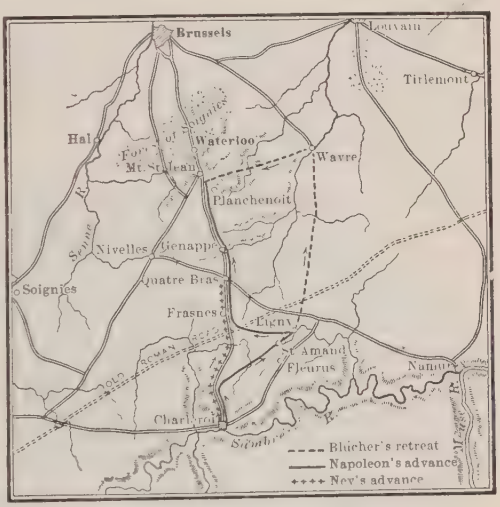
Suddenly Europe heard with amazement that Napoleon had returned to France and that Louis XVIII,[1] his Bourbon successor on the throne, was once more an exile. The enthusiastic welcome which greeted the emperor, as he advanced to Paris with only a small bodyguard, bore witness at once to the magnetism of his personality and to the unpopularity of the Bourbons. In a manifesto to the French people he declared that henceforth he would renounce war and conquest and would govern as a constitutional sovereign. The Allies, however, refused to accept the restoration of one whom they described as the "enemy and destroyer of the world's peace." The four great powers, Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, proclaimed Napoleon an outlaw and set their armies in motion toward France.

Battle of Waterloo, June 18, 1815

The allied armies lay in two groups behind the Sambre River. A mixed force of British, Belgians, Dutch, and Germans, under the duke of Wellington, covered Brussels, and the Prussians, under Blücher, held a position farther east. Napoleon hoped to overcome them separately before they could concentrate their overwhelming numbers. He did beat Blücher at Ligny, compelling the Prussian general to retreat northward to Wavre. Blücher's defeat made it necessary for Wellington to fall back on a strong defensive position near Waterloo,

[1] See page 379 and note 1. The young son of Louis XVI ("Louis XVII") is supposed to have died in a revolutionary prison in 1795.

twelve miles south of Brussels. Here, all through a hot Sunday in June, Napoleon hurled his infantry and cavalry in fierce but ineffectual attacks against the "Iron Duke's" lines. The timely arrival of the Prussians from Wavre — Napoleon supposed that they had retreated toward Namur — compelled the French to fight a double battle; their situation soon became desperate; and even a last charge of the Old Guard failed to restore the day. Repulse soon turned into a rout, and Napoleon's splendid army broke up into a mob of fugitives. The emperor himself escaped with difficulty to Paris.



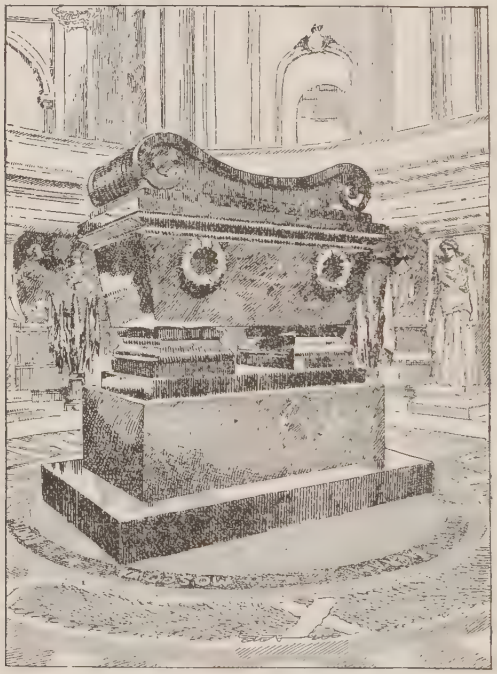
THEATER OF THE WATERLOO CAMPAIGN

Napoleon again abdicated and to avoid the Prussians (who had orders to take him dead or alive) threw himself upon the generosity of the British government. Then followed exile to the desolate rock of St. Helena, where the fallen emperor lived for six years, without wife or child, but surrounded by a few intimate friends to whom he dictated his memoirs. After his death, at the early age of fifty-two, France forgot the sufferings he had caused her and remembered only his glory. Poets, painters, and singers created out of the "Little Corporal" a purely legendary figure. The world-despot appeared as the heir of the Revolution, a crusader for liberty, a foe of tyrants; and in this guise he found his way irresistibly to the hearts of the French people.

The Napoleonic legend

After Napoleon's first abdication in 1814 the victorious Allies concluded with France a peace which stripped her of all her conquests. After the emperor's second abdication in 1815 the allied powers deemed it necessary to impose still more humiliating conditions of peace. Though

Treaties of Paris



THE TOMB OF NAPOLEON

In 1840 Napoleon's body was removed from St. Helena, taken with great pomp to Paris, and deposited in a sarcophagus of red Finland granite under the gilded dome of the Hôtel des Invalides. Twelve colossal statues, representing the chief victories of Napoleon, surround the tomb, and between the figures are battleflags captured at Austerlitz. Two of the emperor's brothers are buried in adjoining chapels.

France was not dismembered, she was reduced to substantially her old boundaries before the Revolution.[1] Furthermore, she had to restore all the works of art which Napoleon had pilfered

[1] See the map facing page 388.

from other countries, to pay an indemnity of seven hundred million francs, and for five years to support a foreign army in her chief fortresses. It is noteworthy, however, that the desire of Prussia for the French provinces of Alsace and Lorraine was not at this time gratified.

110. "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity"

The French Revolution differed sharply from previous revolutionary movements. The Puritan Revolution and the "Glorious Revolution" in England were carried out by men of the upper and middle classes, who wished to limit the royal power and establish the supremacy of Parliament. Even the American Revolution was guided by conservative statesmen, at least as solicitous for the rights of property as for the rights of man. The French Revolution also began mainly as a middle-class movement, but it soon reached the lower classes. Their principles found expression in the famous motto, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity."

Principles of 1789

Seal of the French Republic

"Liberty" meant the recognition of popular sovereignty. Government was to be no longer the privilege of a divine-right ruler, however benevolent or "enlightened"; henceforth, it was to be conducted constitutionally in accordance with the will of the people. Since the first constitution (that of 1791) the French have often changed their form of government, but they have always had a written constitution. Napoleon's plebiscites show that he paid at least lip homage to the principle of popular sovereignty, and it is certain that during both the consulate and the empire he enjoyed the support of the great majority of Frenchmen. On the

"Liberty"

other hand, he did not respect all the "rights of man" which the revolutionists had proclaimed with such enthusiasm. Freedom of worship prevailed under Napoleon, but the emperor allowed neither free speech nor a free press.

"Equality" meant the abolition of privilege. The Revolution made all citizens equal before the law. It opened to every one the positions in the civil service, the Church, and the army. It abolished serfdom and manorial dues, thus destroying the last vestiges of feudalism. It suppressed the guilds, thus releasing industry from medieval shackles. It canceled all exemptions from taxation and substituted a new fiscal system which taxed men according to their means. Most Frenchmen were content to accept Napoleon's rule largely because he retained and extended these achievements of the Revolution.

"Equality"

"Fraternity" meant a new consciousness of human brotherhood. The revolutionists set out to make France a better place for every one to live in. This fraternal feeling inspired all ranks and classes of the people. It led to a great outburst of patriotic and national sentiment, which enabled the French, single-handed, to withstand Europe in arms.

"Fraternity"

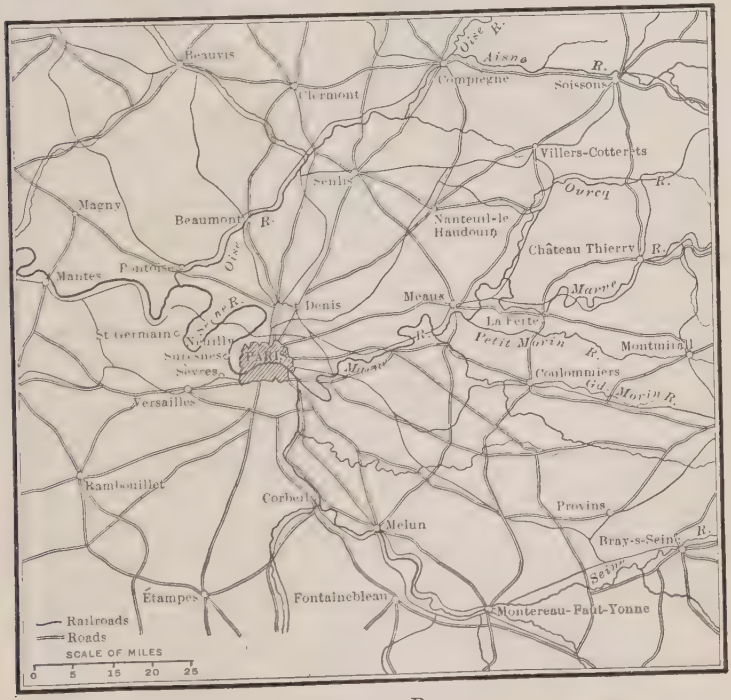
The principles of 1789 were not confined to France. The revolutionary and Napoleonic soldiers passed from land to land, bringing in their train the overthrow of the Old Régime. The effect was profound in the Netherlands, in western Germany, and in northern Italy, countries where the masses of the people had grievances and aspirations like those of the French. During the nineteenth century the revolutionary spirit permeated other European countries, resulting everywhere in a demand for the abolition of the established privileges of wealth, birth, and social position. Such has been the service of France as a liberator.

The spirit of 1789

Studies

1. "The principal cause of the ruin of royalty in France was the lack of a King." What does this statement mean? 2. Why is July 14 observed by the French as the "birthday of the nation"? 3. Compare the *assignats* with the paper money

issued by the Confederacy during the Civil War. 4. In your opinion was there greater or less justification for the execution of Louis XVI than of Charles I? 5. Mention some conspicuous instances of mob action during the French Revolution. 6. How did the First Consul, to use his own words, "close" the French Revolution and "consolidate" its results? 7. Why was Napoleon styled by the lawyers a new Justinian and by the clergy a new Constantine? 8. Is it correct to call Napoleon an "enlightened" despot? Is it incorrect to call him a "usurper"? 9. Compare as to results the battle of Trafalgar with the destruction of the Spanish Armada. 10. On an outline map indicate the Napoleonic Empire at its height, noting also the battle-fields mentioned in this chapter. 11. Why is Waterloo included among the world's "decisive battles"? Would it have been equally decisive if Napoleon, and not Wellington, had won? 12. Write a character sketch (400 words) of Napoleon, based partly on the statements in the text and partly on your outside reading. 13. "England is the mother of liberty, France, the mother of equality." Explain this statement. 14. What was meant by describing the French revolutionary armies as "equality on the march"?



VICINITY OF PARIS

CHAPTER XII

THE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT IN EUROPE, 1815–1848

111. Modern Democracy

THE idea of democracy, so emphasized by the American and French revolutions, has been a potent influence in molding modern history. What is democracy? The word comes from the Greek and means popular rule — "government of the people, by the people, and for the people." Democracy is thus distinguished from autocracy, the rule of one, and from aristocracy or oligarchy, the rule of a few.

What is democracy?

Ancient democracy was exclusive. All the people did not rule, even in the most democratic of Greek cities. Slaves, a very considerable element of the population, enjoyed no political rights, while freedmen and foreigners were seldom allowed to take part in public affairs. A democratic state at the present time does not recognize any slave class, freely admits foreigners to citizenship, and grants the suffrage to all native-born and naturalized men, irrespective of birth, property, or social condition. The recent extension of the suffrage to women in several progressive countries marks the final step in broadening the conception of "the people" to include practically all adult citizens.

"The people"

As a working system of government, democracy implies the sway of majorities. It is usually impossible to wait until all the people are of one mind regarding proposed measures or policies. A unanimous or nearly unanimous decision is best, of course; failing that, we must "count heads" and see which side has the more adherents. A democratic government which did not enforce the will of the majority would be a contradiction in terms. How far should the sway of a majority go? If it goes so far

Majorities and minorities

as to suppress free opinion, free speech, and free discussion in a public press, then there is little to choose between the absolutism of a democracy and the absolutism of an autocracy. A majority can be as tyrannical as any divine-right monarch. The danger of abusing majority rule makes it necessary to safeguard the rights of minorities, whether great or small. After a decision has been reached upon any question, the minority should still be entitled to convert (if it can) the majority to its views by free and open debate. In this way democratic government comes to rest upon common consent, upon the willing coöperation of all the citizens.

Democracy in antiquity was direct, while that of to-day is representative. Every citizen of Athens or Rome had a right to appear and vote in the popular assembly. With the growth of modern states this form of government became impossible. The population was too large, the distances were too great, for all the citizens to meet in public gatherings. Voters now simply choose some one to represent them in a parliament or congress.

Direct and representative democracy

The representative system, though not unknown to the Greeks and Romans, was little used by them. It developed during the Middle Ages, when such countries as Denmark, Sweden, the Netherlands, France, and England established legislative bodies representing the three "estates" of clergy, nobility, and commoners. Most of these medieval legislatures afterwards disappeared or sank into insignificance, but the English Parliament continued to lead a vigorous existence. It thus furnished a model for imitation, first by the American colonies, then by revolutionary France, and during the past hundred years by nearly all Europe.

Development of representation

We have already learned how the builders of the United States set up what may be called a presidential system.[1] They provided for a president elected for a fixed term, gave him executive authority, and sharply separated his functions from those of the legislature. In Great Britain, on the other hand, a so-called cabinet system

Presidential and cabinet systems

[1] See page 342.

arose during the eighteenth century, by which a cabinet, or body of ministers, executes the laws subject to the oversight and control of the legislature.[1] This system has now been extended by Great Britain to her self-governing Dominions in South Africa, Australasia, and Canada. It has also been adopted by most Continental states. Both presidential and cabinet systems are democratic. The differences between them relate simply to the machinery by which the people rule.

Republics and democratic monarchies

Democracy does not necessarily imply a republican form of government. The establishment of the United States did, indeed, lead almost immediately to the formation of the first French Republic, and the examples thus set were soon followed by the Spanish-American colonies after their separation from the mother country. On the other hand, Great Britain, Italy, and certain other European states have succeeded in developing governments which, though monarchical in form, are democratic in substance. The king still reigns by hereditary succession, but he does not rule. The popularly elected president of a republic often has more power than one of these democratic monarchs.

Constitutions

Modern democracy is constitutional in form. There is generally a written constitution, of a more or less liberal type, to guarantee the rights of the people. The first document of this sort for any country was the Union of Utrecht (1579), by which the northern provinces of the Netherlands bound themselves together, "as if they were one province," to maintain their liberties "with life-blood and goods" against Spain. The second was the Cromwellian Instrument of Government (1653). The third was the Constitution of the United States, framed in 1787. The fourth was the French constitution which went into effect in 1791. All these documents, it should be noticed, were of revolutionary origin; they testified to the success of armed rebellion against the legal government. The same thing will be found true of many other constitutions secured by European peoples during the nineteenth century.

[1] See page 483.

112. The Congress of Vienna

The close of the revolutionary and Napoleonic era found Europe in confusion. The French Revolution had destroyed the Old Régime in France, and Napoleon Bonaparte had given new rulers or new boundaries to almost every Continental state. While Napoleon was still at Elba, a great international congress met at Vienna to reorganize the European state-system and remake the European map. The powers represented were Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, Russia, Sweden, Portugal, Spain, and France.

Purpose of the congress

The congress formed a brilliant assemblage of emperors, kings, princes of every rank, and titled diplomats. A single drawing room sometimes held Alexander I, tsar of Russia; Francis I, emperor of Austria; Frederick William III, king of Prussia; the duke of Wellington, the German patriot Stein, the Austrian minister Metternich, and the French representative Talleyrand. The final decision as to all questions obviously lay with the four powers whose alliance had overthrown Napoleon, until Talleyrand's skillful management secured the admission of France to their councils as a fifth great power. When the wheels of diplomacy had been well oiled by banquets, balls, and other festivities, the monarchs and their advisers undertook the reconstruction of Europe.

Membership of the congress

The work of the congress was done privately by committees of plenipotentiaries, who made over certain earlier agreements of the victorious allies into treaties. The latter were then combined (June, 1815) into a single document called the Final Act of the Congress of Vienna. It is quite inaccurate, however, to ascribe to the Vienna Congress responsibility for all the settlements made by the allies in 1814–1815.

Nature of the congress

113. Restoration of the Dynasties

The allies who dictated the settlements were opposed, naturally enough, to all the democratic or liberal sentiments which had been awakened in Europe since 1789. The French

Revolution appeared to them as merely a revolt against authority, a revolt which had overturned the social order, destroyed property, sacrificed countless human lives, and introduced confusion everywhere. Blind to the true significance of the demand for liberty and equality, they sought to bring back the Old Régime of absolutism, privilege, and divine right. Their ideal was Europe *before* 1789.

Attitude toward democracy

One feature of the settlements was the restoration of old dynasties. Spokesmen for the allies asserted the right of European monarchs to govern their former subjects, irrespective of the latter's wishes or of the claims of the rulers whom Napoleon had established. Talleyrand dignified this principle under the name of "legitimacy."

"Legitimacy"

Louis XVIII, who now went back to France, was an old gentleman of sixty, and so fat and gouty that he could not sit a horse. This cool, cautious Bourbon wanted to enjoy his power in peace; like Charles II of England, he had no desire to set out on his travels again. He realized that to most Frenchmen absolutism had become intolerable and that the main results of the revolutionary and Napoleonic era must be preserved. Accordingly, Louis XVIII retained such institutions as the Code, the Concordat, the Bank of France, and the imperial nobility, and renewed a charter or constitution, which he had granted in 1814. It guaranteed freedom of the press, religious toleration, and the inviolability of sales of land made during the Revolution. The restoration of the Bourbon monarchy did not mean the restoration of the Old Régime in France.

Louis XVIII in France

Ferdinand VII, another king whom Napoleon had dethroned, went back to Spain. This Spanish Bourbon had no sooner recovered his crown than he began to sweep away all traces of revolutionary ideas and institutions introduced by the French. A constitution, modeled upon that of France, which the Spaniards had framed in 1812, was suppressed, because it denied divine right and asserted the sovereignty of the people. The old privileges of the clergy

Ferdinand VII in Spain

THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA, 1814–1815

The ten figures in the foreground are, in order: Wellington, Hardenberg (seated), Löwenhjelm, Noailles, Metternich, Nesselrode, Palmella (seated), Castlereagh (seated), Talleyrand (seated), and Stackelberg (seated).

PRINCE METTERNICH

After the painting by Sir Thomas Lawrence.
In the possession of Prince Richard Metternich-Winneburg.

and nobility were reaffirmed. The censorship of books and newspapers, the prohibition of public meetings, and the imprisonment or banishment of all those suspected of liberal opinions showed clearly the reactionary character of the new government.

Still other dispossessed monarchs profited by the principle of "legitimacy." The king of Sardinia regained Nice, Savoy, and Piedmont on the mainland, together with the former republic of Genoa as an additional protection against France. "Republics are no longer fashionable," said the tsar to a Genoese deputation which had objected to this arbitrary arrangement. Sicily and Naples were again combined to form the kingdom of the Two Sicilies under a Bourbon ruler. The pope, whom Napoleon had deprived of temporal sovereignty, recovered the States of the Church. All these restored princes governed without constitutions or parliaments. They used their absolute power to get rid of every trace of the revolutionary era, even uprooting French plants in the botanical gardens and abolishing vaccination and gas street lamps as nefarious French innovations. The restorations in Italy also spelled reaction.

Restorations in Italy

114. Territorial Readjustments

As we have already learned, the fraternal or patriotic feelings so deeply stirred during the revolutionary and Napoleonic era put renewed emphasis on the rights of nationalities. Patriots in one country after another boldly declared that no nation, however small or weak, should be governed by foreigners. Every nation, on the contrary, ought to be free to choose its own form of government and manage its own affairs. To such "submerged nationalities" as the Belgians, Bohemians, Poles, and Magyars this principle held out the hope of independence; to the Italians and the Germans it held out the hope of unification. Like the "enlightened despots," however, the allied rulers and diplomats willfully disregarded all national aspirations. They treated the European peoples as so many pawns in the game of diplomacy.

Attitude toward nationalism

In general, the territorial readjustments made by the treaties were intended to compensate the great powers for their exertions against Napoleon. Land hunger thus influenced the settlements of 1814–15, as it had influenced the earlier treaties of Utrecht and Westphalia. The principle of "compensations," however, had to be modified by the assumed necessity of strengthening the neighbors of France against future aggression on the part of that country. The total result was a new map of Europe.

"Compensations"

The oldest and most successful of Napoleon's enemies, Great Britain, did not desire Continental territories. She received colonial possessions as payment, including Helgoland in the North Sea and Malta and the Ionian Islands in the Mediterranean. Great Britain also retained the former Dutch colonies of Ceylon, Cape Colony, and Guiana, which had been appropriated during the Napoleonic wars.[1]

Great Britain

A new state arose across the Channel. In order to compensate the Dutch for the loss of their possessions overseas and at the same time to set up a strong bulwark against France, the powers united the Austrian Netherlands — modern Belgium — with Holland. The kingdom of the Netherlands, as thus established, was under the rule of the house of Orange. This arbitrary union of Belgians and Dutch soon led to acute friction between the two peoples.

Kingdom of the Netherlands

As compensation for the cession of the Austrian Netherlands, Austria secured Lombardy and Venetia, the two richest provinces in Italy. She also received the Illyrian lands along the Adriatic coast, part of Poland (Galicia), and all the other territory taken from her by Napoleon. Austria was now a state geographically compact, centering round the middle Danube and controlling North Italy and the northern Adriatic.

Austria

The Prussian kingdom, whose limits had been so reduced by Napoleon, recovered part of Poland (Posen), took over from Sweden what remained of western Pomerania, and ab-

[1] A part of Guiana (Surinam) was kept by the Dutch.

EUROPE
AFTER THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA
1815 A.D.
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400
German Confederation
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BLACK SEA
SWEDEN AND NORWAY
DENMARK
Copenhagen
Stockholm
Bergen
Christiania
Reval
St. Petersburg
Novgorod
Nijni-Novgorod
Moscow
Borodino
Smolensk
Riga
Konigsberg
Friedland
Eylau
Danzig
Posen
Warsaw
Kiev
Dnieper
Ekaterinoslav
Lemberg
Cracow
Breslau
Leipzig
Jena
Berlin
Hamburg
Schleswig
HOLSTEIN
HELGOLAND (Br.)
KINGDOM OF THE NETHERLANDS
HANOVER
PRUSSIA
GERMAN CONFEDERATION
Waterloo
Lille
Rhine
Bayreuth
Austerlitz
Wagram
Pressburg
Vienna
AUSTRIA
EMPIRE
Buda
Pesth
HUNGARY
Temesvar
WALLACHIA
Bukharest
Danube
Dniester
BESSARABIA
Pruth
MOLDAVIA
Kherson
Sea of Azov
Crimea
Sevastopol
Varna
Constantinople
Adrianople
Scutari
Gallipoli
Larissa
Smyrna
ANATOLIA
Athens
Patras
GREECE
CRETE (Candia)
RHODES
CYPRUS
Durazzo
Salonika
Scutari
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
BULGARIA
Sofia
Belgrade
BOSNIA
SERBIA
Trieste
Save
Drave
Ulm
Munich
Hohenlinden
Innsbruck
SWITZERLAND
Milan
Marengo
Bologna
Lucca
Florence
Nice
Toulon
Marseilles
Toulouse
Bordeaux
Angoulême
Lyons
Dijon
Tours
Orleans
Paris
Rouen
Havre
Brest
Strassburg
Lille
English Channel
CHANNEL IS.
Loire
Rhone
FRANCE
Bay of Biscay
Bayonne
Corunna
C. Finisterre
Oporto
Burgos
Madrid
Douro
Ebro
Tagus
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
Valencia
Guadalquivir
Seville
Granada
Cadiz
C. Trafalgar
Tangier (Sp.)
Gibraltar (Br.)
Algiers
KINGDOM OF SARDINIA
Rome
Naples
KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES
Palermo
Reggio
Messina
Brindisi
CORFU
ADRIATIC SEA
Longitude East 5 from Greenwich 10
THE M-N WORKS

sorbed about half of Saxony, a state which had been one of Napoleon's allies. Prussia also annexed much additional territory on the lower Rhine. In spite of these territorial acquisitions, Prussia remained almost as unformed as in the eighteenth century, with her dominions scattered throughout Germany. **Prussia**

Another great power widened its boundaries at this time. Russia kept Finland, taken from Sweden in 1809, and Bessarabia, wrested from Turkey in 1812. In addition, Russia obtained the lion's share of Napoleon's Grand Duchy of Warsaw. Tsar Alexander proceeded to set up a kingdom of Poland, with himself as king. **Russia**

For the cession of western Pomerania to Prussia and of Finland to Russia, Sweden found compensation in taking Norway from Denmark. The only excuse for this action was the former alliance of the Danes with Napoleon, an alliance which had been practically forced upon them. The Norwegians themselves resented the new arrangement, preferring a Danish to a Swedish ruler. Though compelled to submit, they succeeded in keeping their own government, constitution, and laws. Their union with the Swedes lasted just ninety years. **Sweden**

The Swiss Confederation, or Switzerland, whose independence had been recognized at the Peace of Westphalia, received its final form at the Congress of Vienna. Three new cantons were added to the nineteen in existence before 1815. The great powers also signed a treaty promising never to declare war against Switzerland or to send troops across the Swiss borders. The little Alpine republic became in this way a neutral buffer state in the heart of Europe. **Switzerland**

The settlement of Vienna left Italy a mosaic of nine states.[1] Of these, Sardinia formed an independent kingdom. Lombardy and Venetia were Austrian provinces. Parma, Modena, Tuscany, and Lucca were duchies, all but the last under rulers belonging to the Hapsburg family. Austrian influence also prevailed in the States of the Church **Disunion of Italy in 1815**

[1] Eleven, if Monaco and San Marino be included. See the map on page 454.

and in the Two Sicilies. Thus Austria, a foreign power, fixed its grip upon the Italian peninsula. Italy, in Metternich's contemptuous phrase, was only "a geographical expression."

Disunion of Germany in 1815

Germany after the settlement of Vienna included thirty-eight states and free cities, of which the most extensive were the Austrian Empire and the five kingdoms of Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, Würtemberg, and Hanover. Stein and his fellow-patriots wished to bring them all into a strongly knit union. This proposal encountered the opposition of Metternich, who feared that a united Germany would not serve Austrian interests. Metternich found support among the German rulers themselves, not one of whom would surrender any particle of his authority. The outcome was the creation of the Germanic Confederation, a loose association of sovereign princes with a Diet or assembly presided over by a representative of the Austrian emperor.[1]

Europe after 1815

The rulers and diplomats did not make a permanent settlement of the affairs of Europe. They failed to satisfy either the democratic or national aspirations of European peoples and so left many troublesome problems unsolved. The political history of the last century is, in fact, largely concerned with the movements toward democracy and nationalism and the consequent changes of territory and government. Nevertheless, the rulers and diplomats deserve credit for real accomplishments. They reconciled the claims and desires of the chief states, or at least of the ruling classes. There was now a new alignment of states, with Great Britain and France in the west, Austria and Prussia in the center, and Russia in the east. No one of these great states was strong enough to dominate the others. The outbreak of another international war was thus postponed for the next forty years. Europe entered on a period of profound peace, during which, as we shall learn subsequently, man made rapid progress in almost every field of culture.

[1] Both the kingdom of Prussia and the Austrian Empire contained territories not included in the confederation. See the map facing page 462.

115. "Metternichismus" and the Concert of Europe, 1815–1830

Austria, now the leading Continental state, consisted of more than a score of territories inhabited by uncongenial Germans, Magyars, Slavs, Rumanians, and Italians. To keep them united under a single scepter, the Hapsburgs deliberately repressed all agitation for independence or self-government. The Hapsburgs felt it equally necessary to discourage every popular movement, which, starting in Italy or Germany, might spread like an infection to their own dominions. "My realm," confessed the emperor Francis I, "is like a worm-eaten house; if a part of it is removed, one cannot tell how much will fall." Force of circumstances thus placed Austria at the forefront of the reaction against democracy.

Reactionary Austria

The spirit of reactionary Austria seemed incarnate in Prince Clemens Metternich. He belonged to an old and distinguished family from the Rhinelands, entered the diplomatic service of Austria, and during the Napoleonic era rose to be the chief representative of the Hapsburg emperor at Paris. An aristocrat to his finger-tips, polished, courtly, tactful, clever, this man soon became the real head of the Austrian government and the most influential diplomat in Europe. To the rule of Napoleon succeeded the rule of Metternich. The German word *Metternichismus* has been coined to express the ideas which he championed and the measures which he enforced.

Metternich

Metternich regarded absolutism and divine right as the pillars of stable government. Democracy, he declared, could only "change daylight into darkest night." All demands for constitutions, parliaments, and representative institutions must consequently be opposed to the uttermost. In order to stamp out the "disease of liberalism," let spies and secret police be multiplied, press and pulpit kept under gag-laws, the universities sharply watched for dangerous teachings, and all agitators exiled, imprisoned, or executed.

The Metternich system

Such measures of repression seemed quite feasible at a time when the majority of European peoples were ignorant peasants, far removed from public life. Democratic ideas could only find followers among the workingmen of the cities and in the educated *bourgeoisie*, both very small and defenseless when confronted by the powerful forces at the disposal of governments. Metternich first established his system in Austria and then found in the Concert of Europe the means of extending it to other parts of the Continent.

Formation of the Concert

The states whose coalitions overthrew Napoleon became in 1815 the arbiters of Europe. Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia renewed their alliance, in order to preserve the dynastic and territorial arrangements made by the Congress of Vienna. In 1818 France under Louis XVIII was admitted into the sacred circle of the alliance. The French, during three years' probation, had fulfilled the obligations imposed upon them by the Allies after Waterloo and, as far as appearances went, had extinguished forever their revolutionary fires. These five great powers, as long as they worked in harmony, could enforce their will on all the smaller states. They formed, in effect, a European Concert.

Defects of the Concert

The agreements establishing the Concert pledged its members to the maintenance of "public peace, the tranquillity of states, the inviolability of possessions, and the faith of treaties." High sounding words! Europe in 1815 was not ready for a genuine international league to safeguard the rights of each country, whether big or little. The defects of the Concert were obvious. First, it did not extend to Turkey in Europe, whose Christian inhabitants languished under the tyranny of the Sultan. Second, it was dynastic rather than popular in character — a union of sovereigns instead of peoples. Of the five leading states, all but Great Britain were divine-right monarchies. Third, it lacked effective machinery for reconciling the contrary interests, ambitions, and jealousies of the members. The Concert, in short, formed only a distant approach to the ideal of a confederated Europe, of a commonwealth of nations.

One of the clauses of the treaty of alliance between the powers had provided that they should hold congresses from time to time for consideration of the measures "most salutary for the repose and prosperity of nations and for the peace of Europe." Four such congresses[1] were convoked by Metternich, whose diplomatic genius turned them into agencies of reaction. At the Congress of Troppau in 1820 he even succeeded in inducing the sovereigns of Austria, Prussia, and Russia to sign a protocol, or declaration, formally outlawing all revolutions. According to the principle there announced, a state which underwent a revolutionary change of government was to be brought back, peacefully or by force, "into the bosom of the Great Alliance."

International congresses

The Protocol of Troppau announced a doctrine new to international law. The European autocrats now boldly asserted their right, and even their duty, to intervene in the affairs of any country for the suppression of democratic or national movements. France did not sign this outrageous document. Neither did Great Britain. Her statesmen, members of a government which dated from the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688, had now begun to comprehend the real character of the Concert as directed by Metternich, and to see in it a deadly menace to the liberties of Europe. Undaunted by British protests, however, the three eastern powers prepared for armed intervention.

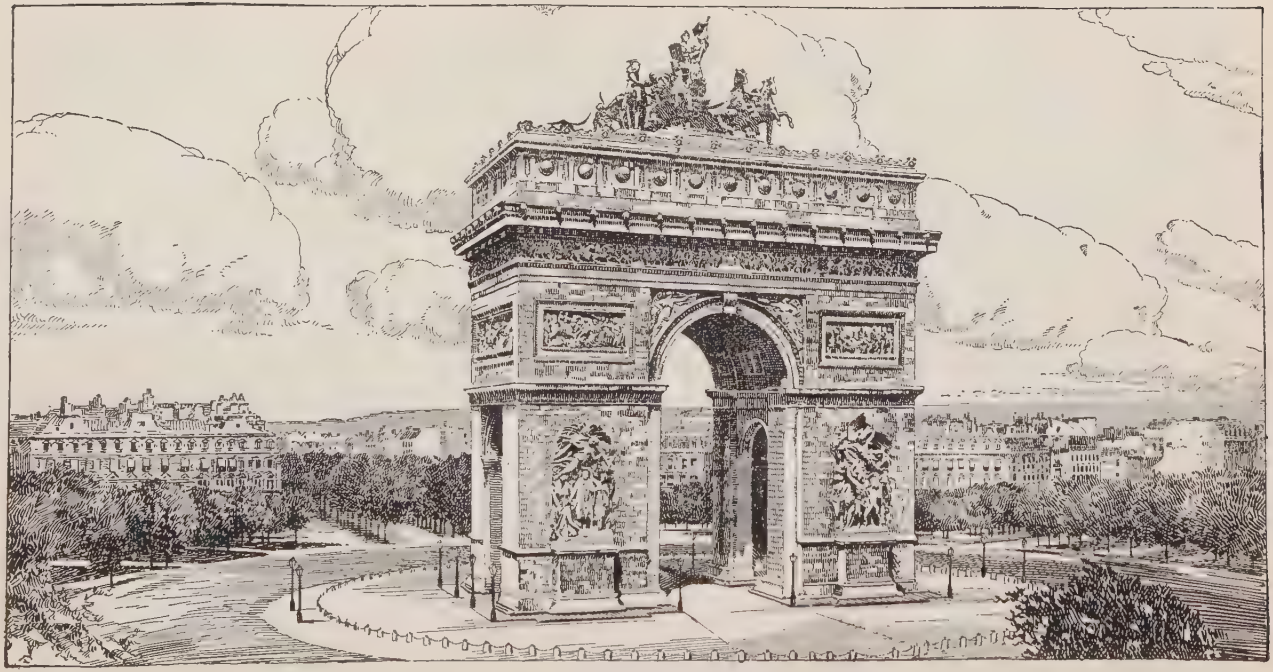
Armed intervention

1820 was a year of revolutions. A widespread uprising in Spain against Ferdinand VII forced that tyrannical monarch to restore the constitution of 1812 and to convene a liberal parliament. An insurrection in Portugal overthrew the regency which had governed there since the removal of the royal family to Brazil during the Napoleonic era.[2] John VI, then reigning in Brazil, returned to Portugal and promised to rule as a constitutional sovereign. Encouraged by these successes, the people of Naples (a part of the

Revolutions of 1820

[1] Aix-la-Chapelle (1818), Troppau (1820), Laibach (1821), and Verona (1822).

[2] See page 400.



ARC DE TRIOMPHE, PARIS

In the center of the Place de l'Étoile, from which twelve broad avenues radiate in all directions. Commenced by Napoleon in 1805, but not completed until the reign of Louis Philippe. It is the largest triumphal arch in the world, being 162 feet high and 147 feet wide. The monument is adorned with groups of sculptures representing the military triumphs of the revolutionary and Napoleonic armies.

kingdom of the Two Sicilies) compelled their Bourbon prince to grant a constitution.

Metternichismus did not long remain on the defensive. An Austrian army quickly occupied Naples and restored "order" and absolutism. In the reaction which followed the liberal leaders were hurried to the dungeon and the scaffold. Almost at the same time a revolt in the Sardinian kingdom (Piedmont) collapsed under the pressure of eighty thousand Austrian bayonets. Metternich felt well satisfied with his work. "I see the dawn of a better day," he wrote. "Heaven seems to will it that the world shall not be lost."

Revolution suppressed in Italy, 1821

Armed intervention soon registered another triumph. The three eastern powers commissioned France to act as their agent to subdue the turbulent Spaniards. Great Britain protested vigorously against this action and asserted the right of every people to determine its own form of government. Her protests were unheeded. French troops crossed the Pyrenees and put Ferdinand once more on his autocratic throne. The king then proceeded to inaugurate a reign of terror, exiling, imprisoning, and executing liberals by the thousands. It is a sorry chapter in Spanish history.

Revolution suppressed in Spain, 1823

The sovereigns were now ready to crusade against freedom in Spain's American colonies, which had revolted against the mother land. Both Great Britain and the United States felt thoroughly alarmed at the prospect of European interference in the affairs of the New World. George Canning, the British foreign minister, made it clear to the governments of France, Austria, Prussia, and Russia that, as long as Great Britain controlled the seas, no country other than Spain should acquire the colonies either by cession or by conquest. Canning's policy received the emphatic support of President Monroe in his message to Congress (1823), in which he said: "We owe it, therefore, to candor, and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers, to declare that we should consider any

Breaches in the European Concert

attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety." [1] Shortly afterwards both the United States and Great Britain recognized the independence of the Spanish-American republics. A second breach in the European Concert opened when Russia, absolutist but orthodox, supported a rebellion of the Greeks against their Turkish oppressors. It remained, however, for another democratic revolution in France to deal the most effective blow against Metternich and all his works.

116. France and the "July Revolution," 1830

Reign of Louis XVIII. 1814–1824

Though Louis XVIII called himself king "by the grace of God" and kept the white flag of the Bourbon family, he ruled in fact as a constitutional monarch. The Charter of 1814 [2] established a legislature of two houses, the upper a Chamber of Peers appointed for life, the lower a Chamber of Deputies chosen for a term of years. A high property qualification for the suffrage restricted the right of voting for deputies to less than one hundred thousand persons out of a population of twenty-nine million. The mass of the citizens — *bourgeoisie*, workingmen, and peasants — could neither elect nor be elected to office. The French government thus remained far removed from democracy.

Reign of Charles X. 1824–1830

As long as Louis XVIII lived, he kept some check upon the royalists, who wished to get back all their old wealth and privileged position. The accession of his brother, the count of Artois,[3] under the title of Charles X, seated the reactionary elements firmly in the saddle. It was well said of Charles X that after long years of exile he had "learned nothing and forgotten nothing." A thorough believer in absolutism and divine right, the king tried to rule as though the Revolution had never taken place. His disregard of the constitution and arbitrary conduct soon provoked an uprising.

Paris in July, 1830, as in July, 1789, was the storm-center of the revolutionary movement. Workingmen and students raised

[1] The so-called Monroe Doctrine. [2] See page 414. [3] See page 379 and note 2.

barricades in the narrow streets and defied the government. After three days of fighting against none-too-loyal troops, the revolutionists gained control of the capital. Charles X fled to England, and the tricolor once more flew to the breeze in France.

Divine right overthrown

Those who carried through the uprising in Paris wanted a republic, but they found little support among the liberal *bourgeoisie*. Men of this class feared that a republican France would soon be at war with monarchical Europe. Largely influenced by the aged Lafayette, the Republicans agreed to accept another king, in the person of Louis Philippe, duke of Orléans. He took the crown now offered to him by the Chamber of Deputies, at the same time promising to respect the constitution and the liberties of Frenchmen.

Constitutionalism preserved

LOUIS PHILIPPE
After a painting made in 1841.

The new sovereign belonged to the younger, or Orléans, branch of the Bourbon family.[1] He had participated in the

[1] BOURBON DYNASTY

Henry IV (1589–1610)

Louis XIII (1610–1643)

Louis XIV (1643–1715)

Louis XV (1715–1774)
great-grandson of Louis XIV

Louis the Dauphin (d. 1765)

Louis XVI (1774–1792)

"Louis XVII" (d. 1795)

Louis XVIII (1814–1824)
count of Provence

Charles X (1824–1830)
count of Artois

Philippe, duke of Orléans

Louis Philippe (executed 1793)

Louis Philippe (1830–1848)
great-great-great-grandson of Philippe

events of 1789, had joined the Jacobin Club, had fought in revolutionary battles, and during a visit to the United States had become acquainted with democratic ideals and principles. To this "Citizen King," who reigned "by the grace of God and by the will of the people," France now gave her allegiance.

The "Citizen King"

117. The "July Revolution" in Europe

The events in France created a sensation throughout Europe. The reactionaries were horrified at the sudden outburst of a revolutionary spirit which for fifteen years they had endeavored to suppress; the liberals were encouraged to renewed agitation for self-government and national rights. Widespread disturbances in the Netherlands, Poland, Italy, and Germany compelled Metternich to abandon all thought of intervening to restore "legitimacy" in France.

Effect of the "July Revolution"

The union between the former Austrian Netherlands and Holland, made by the Congress of Vienna, proved to be very unfortunate. Differences of language, religion, and culture kept the two countries apart. Though about one-half of the Belgians were Flemings and hence closely akin to the Dutch in blood and speech, the other half were French-speaking Walloons. Both Flemings and Walloons felt a religious antipathy to the Protestant Dutch. Both alike had French sympathies and looked toward Paris for inspiration rather than toward The Hague. The antagonism between the two peoples might have lessened in time, had not the government of Holland incensed Belgian patriots by imposing upon them Dutch law, Dutch as the official language, and Dutch control of the army, the civil service, and the schools.

Antagonism between Belgians and Dutch

Just a month after the uprising in Paris, Brussels responded to the revolutionary signal. The insurrection soon spread to the provinces and led to a demand for complete separation from Holland. The French government under Louis Philippe naturally favored this course, and Great Britain, a champion of small nationalities,

The insurrection in Belgium

also gave it her approval. The three eastern powers would gladly have intervened to prevent such a breach of the Vienna settlement, but Austria and Russia had disorders of their

own to quell, and Prussia did not dare, single-handed, to take action which might bring her into collision with France.

Under these circumstances an international conference met at London in 1831. It decided that Belgium should be "an independent and perpetually neutral state," with Leopold of Saxe-Coburg as the first ruler. The British had to blockade the Dutch coast and the French to occupy Antwerp before the king of Holland would consent to this arrangement. He did not recognize the independence of Belgium until 1839. In that year Belgian neutrality was further guaranteed by a treaty to which Great

Independent and neutral Belgium

Article VII

La Belgique, dans les limites indiquées aux Articles I, II, et IV, formera un Etat independant et perpétuellement neutre. Elle sera tenue d'observer cette même neutralité envers tous les autres Etats

FACSIMILE OF ARTICLE VII OF THE TREATY OF 1839

"Belgium, within the limits specified in Articles I, II and IV, shall form an independent and perpetually neutral state. It shall be bound to observe such neutrality toward all other states."

Britain, France, Austria, Prussia, and Russia pledged their faith. Thus a new state, under a new dynasty, was added to the European family of nations.

The disposition of the grand duchy of Luxemburg (originally a part of the Holy Roman Empire) formed a troublesome problem for the powers. The Congress of Vienna had made it a member of the Germanic Confederation, intrusting its sovereignty and vote in the confederation to the king of the Netherlands. The decision reached in 1831 was to give eastern Luxemburg, together with Limburg, to Holland, while the Walloon or western part of Luxemburg remained under Belgium. The Dutch king accepted this partition eight years later.[1]

Luxemburg

[1] Upon the dissolution of the Germanic Confederation in 1866, Limburg was incorporated with Holland. Dutch Luxemburg became an independent state in

Like the Belgians, the Poles were one of the "submerged nationalities" of the nineteenth century. The Congress of Vienna, it will be remembered, had maintained the results of the former partitions, giving the greater part of Poland to Russia, but allowing Prussia and Austria to keep, respectively, Posen and Galicia. Russian Poland became a self-governing, consti-

Antagonism between Poles and Russians

POLAND IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

tutional state, with the tsar, Alexander I, as its king. This experiment in liberalism did not last long. Alexander I, who fell more and more under Metternich's reactionary influence, proceeded to curtail Polish rights and privileges, and the

1867, with its neutrality guaranteed by the European powers, including Prussia. Until 1890, however, it was ruled by the kings of Holland.

accession in 1825 of his brother, Nicholas I, placed on the throne an inflexible opponent of free institutions. Such was the situation when news of the revolution in Paris reached Warsaw.

The insurrection which now broke out in the capital soon became general throughout the country. It found no support with the Austrian and Prussian governments, while France and Great Britain were too far away to lend effective aid. Having crushed the revolt, Tsar Nicholas determined to uproot all sense of nationality among the Poles. He revoked their constitution, abolished their Diet, suppressed their flag, and exiled or executed thousands of Polish patriots. Poland was flooded with Russian agents, the Russian tongue was made the official language, and the Polish army was incorporated with the imperial troops. Poland became, as far as force could make her, simply another province of Russia.

The insurrection in Poland

Revolution in Italy proved to be likewise abortive. This time not the Sicilian and Sardinian kingdoms, but the States of the Church and Parma and Modena formed the centers of disturbance. The revolutionists raised a new tricolor of red, white, and green (which subsequently became the Italian flag), declared the pope deposed from temporal power, and drove out the sovereigns of the two duchies. No help reached the patriots from Louis Philippe, as they had expected, nor did the people of the other Italian states rally to their support. The result might have been foreseen. Metternich's Austrian soldiers quickly extinguished the insurrectionary fires and restored the exiled rulers. Italy remained a Hapsburg province.

The situation in Italy

The discontent which had been smoldering in Germany since 1815 also flamed forth into revolution. Popular outbreaks led in Saxony to the grant of a constitution, and in Hanover and Brunswick, which already enjoyed constitutional government, to further liberal measures. But the movement made no more progress, for the great states, Austria and Prussia, remained quiet. The Diet of the confederation, upon Metternich's motion, passed a decree

The situation in Germany

declaring all concessions wrung from a sovereign by violent means to be null and void; while another decree announced that a parliament which refused taxes to the head of a state might be coerced by the confederation's troops. These repressive measures had their effect in reducing Germany to its former condition of political stagnation.

Notwithstanding the setbacks to the cause of democracy and nationalism in Poland, Italy, and Germany, the year 1830 marks an important stage in the decline of *Metternichismus* and the system of armed intervention. Both the overthrow of the restored Bourbon monarchy in France and the disruption of the kingdom of the Netherlands threatened the stability of the treaties made in 1815. In the one case, the powers had to abandon, as far as France was concerned, the precious doctrine of "legitimacy" and to acquiesce in the right of the French nation to determine its own form of government. In the other case, they had to submit to a radical modification of the territorial settlement of Vienna.

Significance of 1830

The next eighteen years of European history witnessed no conspicuous triumphs for either democracy or nationalism on the Continent. Italy and Germany remained as disunited as ever. Bohemia and Hungary continued to be subject to the Hapsburgs, and Poland, to the Romanovs. Metternich, though growing old and weary, still kept his power at Vienna. The new rulers who came to the throne at this time — Ferdinand I[1] in Austria and Frederick William IV[2] in Prussia — were no less autocratic than their predecessors. But beneath the surface discontent and unrest intensified, becoming all the stronger because so sternly repressed by the governments. Journalists, lawyers, professors, and other liberal-minded men, who might have been mere reformers, adopted radical and even revolutionary views and sought with increasing success to impress them upon the working classes of the cities, the hungry proletariat who wanted freedom and who wanted bread. From time to time mutterings of the coming storm were heard; it burst in France.

From 1830 to 1848

[1] Son of Francis I (1792–1835). [2] Son of Frederick William III (1797–1840).

118. The "February Revolution" and the Second French Republic, 1848

Louis Philippe posed as a thorough democrat. He liked to be called the "Citizen King," walked the streets of Paris unattended, sent his sons to the public schools, and opened the royal palace to all who wished to come and shake hands with the head of the state. It soon became clear, however, that under an exterior of republican simplicity Louis Philippe had all the Bourbon itching for personal power. A semblance of parliamentary government was indeed preserved, but by skillful bestowal of the numerous public offices and by open bribery the king managed to keep a subservient majority in the Chamber of Deputies. In spite of franchise reforms which raised the number of voters from about 100,000 to 200,000, the majority of citizens continued to be excluded from political life. The French people found that they had only exchanged the rule of clergy and nobles for that of the upper *bourgeoisie*. Bankers, manufacturers, merchants — the wealthy middle class — now had a monopoly of office and law-making.

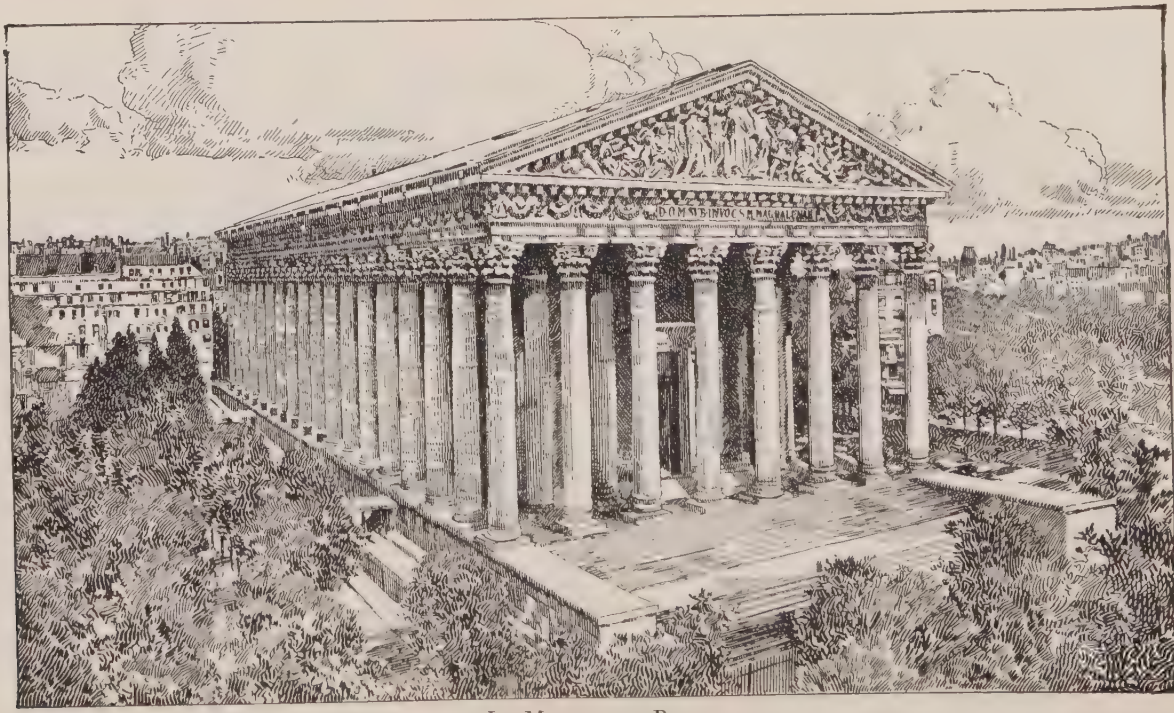
The Orléans monarchy

Few Frenchmen, outside of the *bourgeoisie*, supported their sovereign. Both the Legitimists, as the adherents of Charles X were called, and the Bonapartists, who wished to restore the Napoleonic dynasty, cordially hated him. The Republicans, who had brought about the "July Revolution" and felt themselves cheated by its outcome, held him in even greater detestation. No less than six attempts to assassinate the "Citizen King" were made in the course of his reign.

Opposition to the Orléans monarchy

The growing discontent produced a number of plots and insurrections, which Louis Philippe met with the time-honored policy of repression. All societies were required to submit their constitutions to the government for approval. Editors of outspoken newspapers were jailed, fined, or banished. Criticism or caricature of the king in any form was forbidden. Adolphe

Repressive measures of Louis Philippe



LA MADELEINE, PARIS

Begun by Napoleon in 1806; not completed until 1842, during the reign of Louis Philippe. Napoleon planned it as a "hall of fame" to commemorate his victories, but it now serves as a church. The structure has the lines of a Roman temple, with a colonnade of Corinthian pillars. The pediment of the south façade is filled with a colossal group of sculptures representing Christ as the Judge of the World.

Thiers, the liberal prime minister, was displaced by Guizot, a famous historian but a thorough reactionary. Louis Philippe, like his predecessor, seemed quite determined that his throne should not be "an empty armchair."

A revolution begun

Affairs did not become critical in Paris until 1848. On Washington's birthday of that year vast crowds assembled on the Place de la Concorde and clamored for Guizot's resignation. He did resign the next day, and the frightened king promised concessions; but it was too late. Workingmen armed themselves, threw up barricades, and raised the ominous cry, "Long live the republic!" Louis

Caricature of Louis Philippe

Philippe, losing heart and fearing to lose head as well, at once abdicated the throne and as plain "Mr. Smith" sought an asylum in England.

A republic proclaimed

His abdication and departure did not save the Orléans monarchy. The revolutionists in Paris proclaimed a republic and summoned a national assembly, to be elected by all Frenchmen above the age of twenty-one, to draw up a constitution. Their action found favor in the *départements*, which as usual followed the lead of the capital city.

The Constitution of 1848

The constitution of the second French Republic formed a thoroughly liberal document. It guaranteed complete freedom of speech and of assembly, prohibited capital punishment for political offenses, and abolished all titles of nobility. There was to be a parliament of a single chamber, a responsible ministry, and a president chosen by universal manhood suffrage. This extension of the suffrage to include the masses marks an epoch in the history of democ-

racy. The revolutions of 1789 and 1830 destroyed absolute monarchy and privileged aristocracy in France; the revolution of 1843 overthrew middle-class government and established political equality.

The voters elected to the presidency Louis Napoleon, a nephew of the great emperor and the eldest representative of his family. During the reactionary rule of the Bourbons and the dull, *bourgeois* monarchy of Louis Philippe, the legend[1] of a Napoleon who was at once a democrat, a soldier, and a revolutionary hero had grown apace. The stories of every peasant's fireside, the pictures on every cottage wall, kept his memory green. To the mass of the French people the name Napoleon stood for prosperity at home and glory abroad; and their votes now swept his nephew into office.

Louis Napoleon, president of France

119. The "February Revolution" in Europe

France had once more lighted the revolutionary torch, and this time eager hands took it up and carried it throughout the Continent. Within a few months half of the monarchs of Europe were either deposed or forced to concede liberal reforms. No less than fifteen separate revolts marked the year 1848. Those in the Austrian Empire, Italy, and the German states assumed most importance.

Effect of the "February Revolution"

Vienna, the citadel of reaction, was one of the first scenes of a popular uprising. Mobs, which the civic guard refused to suppress, fired Metternich's palace and compelled the white-haired old minister to resign office. Quitting the capital in disguise and with a price set upon his head, he made his way to England, there to compare experiences with that other exile, Louis Philippe. Thus disappeared from view the man who for nearly forty years had guided the destinies of Austria, one whose name has been handed down as a synonym for illiberal and oppressive government.

Fall of Metternich

Metternich's fall left the radical elements in control at Vienna.

[1] See page 405.

Democratic Vienna

The city was ruled for a time by a revolutionary committee of students and citizens. The Hapsburg emperor, Ferdinand I, who so hated the very word "constitution" that he is said to have forbidden its use in his presence, had to grant a constitutional charter for all his dominions, except Hungary and Lombardy-Venetia. A parliament,

MEDAL IN HONOR OF KOSSUTH

Kossuth visited the United States in 1851, to secure American intervention in behalf of Hungary. The medal reproduced was struck off at this time.

universal suffrage, free speech, and a free press were also promised by the emperor — promises which he conveniently ignored at the first opportunity.

Nationalism in Bohemia and Hungary

What had begun as a democratic movement among the Germans of Vienna speedily became a national movement among other peoples of the Hapsburg realm. The Czechs of Bohemia believed that the hour had struck to regain their liberties, suppressed by Austria since the Thirty Years' War. They demanded a large measure of self-government. The Magyars also revolted and established an independent Hungarian Republic, with the patriot Kossuth as president.

Czechs and Magyars overcome

The Austrian Empire was saved from dissolution at this time by the bitter conflicts of its various nationalities among themselves, by the loyalty of the army to the Hapsburg dynasty, and by foreign intervention. The Bohemian insurrection first collapsed. The Magyars, however, resisted so sternly that Francis Joseph I,[1]

[1] Nephew of Ferdinand I (1835–1848).

who had recently come to the throne, had to call in the aid of his brother-monarch and brother-reactionary, the tsar. Nicholas I, fearing lest an independent Hungary should be followed by an independent Poland, joined his troops to those of the Austrians, and together they overwhelmed the Magyar armies. Kossuth escaped to Turkey. The other leaders of revolution perished on the gallows or before a firing squad.

The revolutionary flood also spread over the Italian Peninsula. Milan, the capital of Lombardy, expelled an Austrian garrison. Venice did the same and set up once more the old Venetian Republic, which Napoleon had suppressed. Charles Albert, king of Sardinia, declared war on hated Austria. To his aid came troops from the duchies of Parma, Modena, and Tuscany, from the States of the Church, and from the Two Sicilies. Charles Albert's proud boast, "Italy will do it herself," seemed likely to be justified.

Revolts in Italy

The splendid dream of a free, united Italy quickly faded before the realities of war. The patriotic parties would not act together and failed to give the king of Sardinia hearty support. The pope, Pius IX, fearing a schism in the Church, decided that he could not afford to attack Catholic Austria. The Bourbon ruler of the Two Sicilies also withdrew his troops. Sardinia, fighting alone, was no match for Austria. After losing the battle of Novara (1849), Charles Albert abdicated and went into voluntary exile. His son and successor, Victor Emmanuel II, made peace with Austria.

Sardinia defeated

A republic set up in Rome by the revolutionary leader, Mazzini, also came to grief. Pius IX, who had been deprived of his temporal possessions, called in the assistance of Catholic France. To the pope's appeal Louis Napoleon lent a willing ear, since he did not wish to allow all Italy to be subjugated by Austria. A French army soon expelled the republican leaders and restored the States of the Church to the pope. The revolution in Italy thus brought only disappointment to patriotic hearts.

The Roman Republic overthrown

Almost all the German states experienced revolutionary disturbances during 1848. The cry rose everywhere for con-

stitutions, parliaments, responsible ministries, a free press, and trial by jury. Berlin followed the example of Vienna and threw up barricades. Frederick William IV bowed before the storm. He promised a constitutional government for Prussia and even consented to ride in state through the streets of the pacified capital, wearing the black, red, and gold colors of the triumphant revolution.

Revolution in Germany

The German people at this time also took an important step toward unification. A national assembly, chosen by popular vote, with one representative for every fifty thousand inhabitants, met at Frankfort to devise a form of government for the united Fatherland. It was decided to establish a new federation, including Prussia, but excluding the non-Germanic territories of Austria. The learned members of the assembly had all the scholarship necessary for the solution of constitutional questions. Unfortunately, they lacked power. The revolutionary movements had not affected the armies, which, under their aristocratic officers, remained faithful to the princes of Germany. As long as the princes kept this weapon, the assembly could wield only a moral authority. It might pass decrees, but it possessed no means of executing them.

The Frankfort Assembly

Though some of the members of the Frankfort Assembly wanted to set up a republic, the majority favored a federal empire with a hereditary sovereign. The imperial title was offered to Frederick William IV. He declined it. That Prussian ruler had no desire to exchange his monarchy by divine right for a sovereignty resting on the votes of the people; he would not accept a "crown of shame" from the hands of a popular assembly. Moreover, he knew that the house of Hapsburg would never consent willingly to the assumption of the imperial dignity by a Hohenzollern. Prussia thus made "the great refusal," which destroyed the hope of creating by peaceful means a democratic German Empire.

"The great refusal"

Rebuffed by Prussia and faced with the opposition of Austria, the Frankfort Assembly dwindled out of existence. Some of the more radical Germans in Saxony, Baden, and the Rhenish

Palatinate then attempted to set up a republic by force of arms. Their efforts were in vain. Prussian troops bloodily suppressed the revolution and sealed the doom of the first German Republic.

Revolution suppressed, 1849

The "February Revolution" died down in Europe, seemingly having accomplished little. Almost everywhere the old autocracies remained in the saddle. The Austrian constitution was revoked when Francis Joseph I, an apt pupil of Metternich, came to the throne. The constitution which Frederick William IV granted to Prussia in 1850 did, indeed, provide for representative government, but otherwise turned out to be a very illiberal document. In France, also, the new republic soon drifted upon the rocks of reaction. Discouraged by these failures, the European peoples now gave over to some extent the agitation for democratic reforms. They turned, instead, to the task of nation building.

Significance of 1848–1849

Studies

1. Why is it better for a nation to make mistakes in the course of self-government than to be ruled, however wisely, by an irresponsible monarch? 2. "The nineteenth century is precisely the history of the work which the French Revolution left." Comment on this statement. 3. Mention some instances of the disregard of nationalism by the treaties of 1814–15. 4. Why was the neutrality of Switzerland guaranteed by the great powers in 1815? Has Swiss neutrality been violated since this time? 5. May any excuses be offered for the "shortcomings" of the Congress of Vienna? 6. "The name of Metternich has become a synonym for reaction and conservatism." Explain this statement. 7. What justification can be given for *Metternichismus?* 8. To what extent was the Concert of Europe, as established in 1815–1818, a League of Peace? 9. Why has the Concert been called a "mutual insurance society of sovereigns"? 10. Why may the period between 1815 and 1822 be called the era of the congresses? 11. What is the meaning of Canning's remark, "I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old"? 12. Who was the last divine-right ruler of France? 13. Why did Paris and not the provinces play the chief part in the French revolutionary outbreaks from 1789 to 1848? 14. Why has France been called the "magnetic pole" of Europe? 15. Compare the "July Revolution" in France with the "Glorious Revolution" in England, and Charles X with James II. 16. What precedent existed for the action of the powers in neutralizing Belgium? 17. Compare the advantages received by France from the revolution of 1848 with those received from the revolutions of 1830 and 1789. 18. Give reasons for the preservation of the Austrian Empire from dissolution in 1848–1849. 19. How was Austria the "fire department" of Italy in 1821, 1830, and 1848–1849? 20. Enumerate the non-Germanic territories of the Hapsburgs at the middle of the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER XIII

THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT IN EUROPE, 1848–1871 [1]

120. Modern Nationalism

SINCE the close of the eighteenth century, the idea of nationalism has been at least as potent as that of democracy in molding modern history. What is a nation? The word should not be confused with "state," which means the entire political community, nor with "government," which refers to the legislative, executive, and judicial organization of the state. A "nation" may be defined as a people or group of peoples united by common ideals and common purposes.

What is a nation?

National feeling does not depend on identity of race, for that can be found nowhere. The inhabitants of every European country are greatly mixed in blood. It does depend, in part, on sameness of speech. There is always difficulty in uniting populations with different languages. The examples of bilingual Belgium and trilingual Switzerland show, however, that nations may exist without unity of language. Sameness of religion also acts as a unifying force; nevertheless, most modern nations include representatives of diverse faiths. National feeling, in fact, is essentially a historic product. That which makes a nation is a common heritage of memories of the past and hopes for the future. Ireland has long been joined to England, but Irish nationality has not disappeared. Bohemia, long subject to the Hapsburgs, never lost her national spirit. The Polish nation still lived, though after the partitions Poland disappeared from the map of Europe. The Jews have been scattered throughout the world for many centuries, yet they continue to

The sentiment of nationality

[1] Webster, *Readings in Medieval and Modern History*, chapter xxxiv, "Bismarck and the Unification of Germany."

look forward to their reunion in the Holy Land. While national feeling endures, a nation cannot perish.

Nationalism scarcely existed among the ancient Greeks, who made the town or the city their typical social unit. It was equally unfamiliar to the Romans, who created a world-wide state. It lay dormant throughout most of the Middle Ages, when feudalism was local and the Church and the Empire were alike international. Only toward the close of the medieval period did a sense of nationality arise in England, France, Spain, and some other countries. This was due to various reasons: the development of the king's power as opposed to that of the feudal nobles; the growth of the Third Estate, or *bourgeoisie*, always far more national in their attitude than either nobility or clergy; the rise of vernacular languages and literatures, replacing Latin in common use; finally, the danger of conquest by foreigners, which greatly stimulated patriotic sentiments. The spread of education and of facilities for trade, travel, and intercourse during modern times made it possible for ideas of nationalism to permeate the masses of the people in each land. They began to feel themselves closely bound together and to call themselves a nation.

Rise of nationalism

The French Revolution did most to develop this national sentiment. The revolutionists created the "fatherland," as we understand that term to-day. They substituted the French nation for the French kingdom; for loyalty to a monarch they substituted love of country. When an attempt was made to crush the Revolution, they rose as one man, and to the inspiring strains of the *Marseillaise* drove the invaders from the "sacred soil" of France.

Nationalism and the French Revolution

But not satisfied with defending the Revolution at home, the French started to spread it abroad, and in doing so became aggressive. They posed as liberators; very speedily they proved to be subjugators. A republican general, Napoleon Bonaparte, transformed their citizen levies into professional soldiers devoted to his fortunes and led them to victory on a score of battle-fields. Napoleon, himself a man

Napoleon and nationalism

without a country, felt no sympathy for nationalism. Out of a Europe composed of many independent and often hostile states, he wished to create a unified Europe after the model supplied by Charlemagne's empire. He even intended, had he been successful in the Russian campaign, to move the capital of his dominions, and by the banks of the Tiber to revive the glories of imperial Rome.

Napoleon carried all before him until he came into conflict with nations instead of sovereigns. The sentiment of nationalism, which had saved republican France, now inspired the British in their long contest with the French emperor, spurred the Portuguese and Spaniards to revolt against him, and strengthened the will of Austrians, Prussians, and Russians never to accept a foreign despotism. What the Hapsburgs, Hohenzollerns, and Romanovs failed to do, their subjects accomplished. The national resistance to Napoleon, aroused throughout the Continent, destroyed his empire.

National resistance to Napoleon

The reaction which followed the Congress of Vienna checked, but could not destroy, the national aspirations of European peoples. As we have learned in the preceding chapter, nationalism combined with all the liberal or democratic sentiments aroused by the French Revolution to provoke the revolutionary upheavals between 1815 and 1848. These met only partial success, but during the next twenty-three years nationalism won its most conspicuous triumphs in the unification of Italy and of Germany.

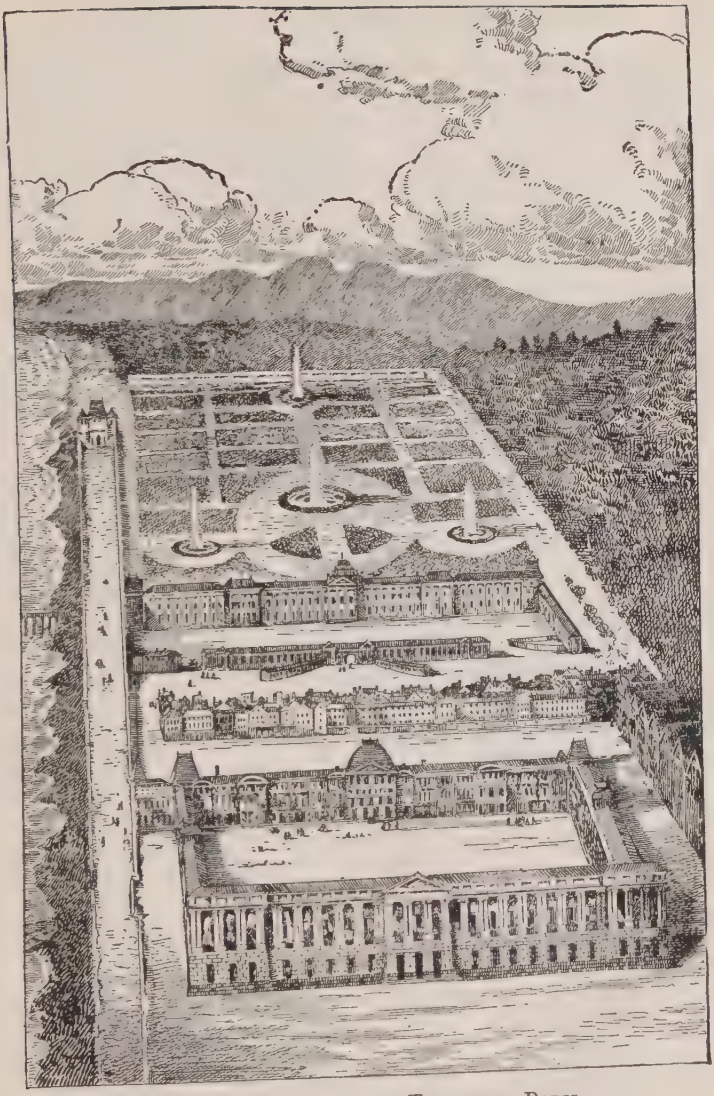
Nationalism, 1815–1848

121. Napoleon III and the Second French Empire, 1852–1870

European history from 1848 to 1871 is dominated by the personality of the second French emperor, Louis Napoleon, who influenced the fortunes of France, Italy, Germany, Austria, and Russia almost as profoundly as did Napoleon Bonaparte half a century earlier. He was the son of Napoleon's brother Louis, at one time king of Holland, and after the death of "Napoleon II" became the recognized head of the house of Bonaparte.[1] His early life had been

Louis Napoleon

[1] See the genealogical table, page 401, note 1.



THE LOUVRE AND THE TUILERIES, PARIS

After an old print. The palace of the Louvre was begun by Francis I in the sixteenth century and continued by his successors, especially Louis XIV. Important additions were made during the nineteenth century. The Tuileries palace, so named from the tile kilns (*tuileries*) which once occupied the site, was burned in 1871. Nothing remains of the structure except two wings connected with the Louvre.

a succession of adventures. Exiled from France at the time of the Bourbon restoration, he found his way to many lands, and in Italy even became a member of a revolutionary secret society. Twice he tried to provoke an uprising in France against the Orléans monarchy and in favor of his dynasty. On the first occasion he appeared at Strasbourg, wearing his uncle's hat, boots, and sword, but these talismans did not prevent his capture and deportation to the United States. A second imitation of the "return from Elba" led to his imprisonment for six years in a French fortress. He then escaped to England and waited there, full of faith in his destiny, until the events of 1848 recalled him home. His election to the presidency of the French Republic soon followed.

An ambitious president

Louis Napoleon, upon becoming president of France, swore to remain faithful to the republic and "to regard as enemies of the nation all those who may attempt by illegal means to change the form of the established government." Events soon showed how well the oath was kept. His uncle had progressed by rapid steps from the consulate to the empire; he himself determined to use the presidency as a stepping-stone to the imperial crown. The recent adoption of universal manhood suffrage by the French made it necessary for him to enlist the support of all classes of the population. The army, of course, welcomed a Bonaparte at its head. The peasantry and *bourgeoisie* felt reassured when Louis Napoleon, far from being a radical, disclosed himself as a guardian of landed property and business interests. The workingmen, who had largely carried through the "February Revolution," were conciliated by the promise of special laws for their benefit. So skillfully did the prince-president curry favor with these different groups of opinion in France that it was not long before he attained his goal.

The coup d'état, 1851

The republican constitution had limited the president's term to four years, without the privilege of reëlection. Louis Napoleon did not intend to retire to private life, and determined to carry through a *coup d'état*. On the anniversary of the battle of Austerlitz, loyal troops occu-

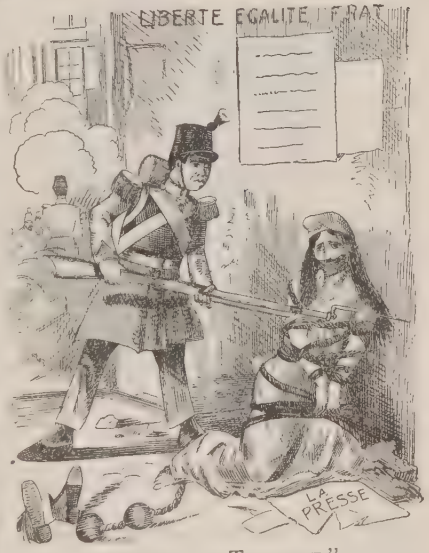
pied Paris, dissolved the legislature, and arrested the president's chief opponents. An insurrection in the streets of the capital was ruthlessly suppressed by the soldiers, and throughout France thousands of Republicans were imprisoned, exiled, or transported to penal colonies across the seas. The French people, when called upon by a plebiscite to express an opinion as to these proceedings, ratified them by a large majority. Louis Napoleon then made over the government in such a way as to give himself well-nigh absolute power.

A new emperor of the French, 1852

It needed only a change of name to transform the republic into an empire. An almost unanimous popular vote in 1852 authorized the president to accept the title of Napoleon III, hereditary emperor of the French.

Domestic policy of Napoleon III

France under Napoleon III had a constitution, universal manhood suffrage, and a legislature—all the machinery of popular rule. But France was free in appearance only. The emperor kept control of law-making, diplomacy, the army and navy, and the entire administrative system. France the more readily acquiesced in the loss of freedom because under the Second Empire she enjoyed material prosperity. Napoleon III felt a sincere interest in the welfare of all classes, including the hitherto neglected proletariat. By charitable gifts, endowments, and subsidies he tried to show that the idea of improving the lot of those who



"France is Tranquil"

A cartoon, with Napoleon III's favorite phrase as its text, which appeared in *Harper's Magazine*.

are "the most numerous and the most poor" lay ever present in his mind. His was a government of cheap food, vast public works to furnish employment, and many holidays. "Emperor of the workmen" his admirers called him. On the other hand, business men profited by the remarkable development during this period of banks, factories, railways, canals, and steamship lines. The progress made was strikingly shown at the first Paris Exposition in 1855, when all the world flocked to the beautiful capital to see the products of French industry and art.

NAPOLEON III AND EUGÉNIE
From a lithograph made in 1855.

The imperial court

Having failed to marry into the royal families of Europe, who looked askance at an adventurer, Napoleon III wedded for love a Spanish lady, Eugénie de Montijo. Her beauty and elegance helped to make the court at the Tuileries such a center of European fashion as it had been under the Old Régime. The birth of an heir, the ill-fated Prince-Imperial,[1] seemed to make certain the perpetuation of the Napoleonic dynasty. Fortune had indeed smiled upon the emperor.

"The empire means peace," Napoleon III had announced shortly before assuming the imperial title. Nevertheless, he proceeded to make war. Like his uncle, he believed that all that the French people wanted to satisfy them was military glory. The emperor had not been two years on the throne before he embarked

Foreign policy of Napoleon III

[1] Killed in 1879, while fighting with the British against the Zulus in South Africa. The former Empress Eugénie died in 1920.

upon the Crimean War against Russia. It terminated victoriously for him in the Treaty of Paris, the most important diplomatic arrangement in Europe since that of Vienna. A few years later success still more spectacular attended his intervention in the Austro-Sardinian War for the liberation of Italy.

122. Disunited Italy

It might seem from a glance at the map as if Italy, with the Mediterranean on three sides and the Alps on the fourth, was specially intended by nature to be the seat of a unified nation. But the map is deceptive. The number, position, and comparative lowness of the Alpine passes combine to make Italy fairly accessible from the north and northwest; from before the dawn of history these passes, together with the river valleys which approach them, have facilitated the entrance of invading peoples. The extreme length of the peninsula in proportion to its breadth, its division into two unequal parts by the Apennines, and the separateness of the Po basin from the rest of the country are also unfavorable to Italian unity.

Geography and Italian unity

Historical circumstances have been even more unfavorable. The Lombards, Franks, Normans, and Germans — to say nothing of the Moslems and Byzantines — who established themselves in Italy during the Middle Ages, divided the peninsula into small, weak, and mutually jealous states. In later times Spaniards, French, and Austrians annexed part of the country and governed much of the remainder through its petty princes. The popes also worked throughout the medieval and modern period to keep Italy fragmentary. They realized that unification meant the extinction of the States of the Church, or at least papal dependence on the secular power, and they felt that this would interfere with the impartiality which the head of the Church ought to exercise toward Roman Catholics in all lands. Furthermore, the Italians themselves lacked national ideals and preserved from antiquity the tradition of separate city-communities, ruled, it may be, by despots or else self-governing, but in any case inde-

History and Italian unity

pendent. Such were medieval Genoa, Pisa, Milan, Florence, and Venice.

Italy before the French Revolution

Italian history, for the century and a half between the Peace of Westphalia and the outbreak of the French Revolution, is almost a blank. The glories of Renaissance art, literature, scholarship, and science were now but a memory. Centuries of misrule and internecine strife crushed the creative energies of the people, while their material welfare steadily declined after the discovery of America and the Cape route to the Indies shifted trade centers from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic. Divided, dependent, impoverished, Italy had indeed fallen on evil days.

Italy during the revolutionary and Napoleonic era

The Italians describe their national movement as a *Risorgimento*, a "resurrection" of a people once the most civilized and prosperous in Europe. It dates from the shock of the French Revolution. The armies of revolutionary France drove out the Austrians, set up republics in the northern part of the peninsula, and swept away the abuses of the Old Régime. Italy began to rouse herself from her long torpor and to hope for unity and freedom. Napoleon Bonaparte, himself an Italian by birth, continued the unifying work of the French revolutionists. All Italy, except the islands of Sardinia and Sicily, was either annexed to France or made dependent on France.[1] Throughout the country the French emperor introduced personal freedom, religious toleration, equality before the law, and the even justice of the *Code Napoléon*.

The Carbonari

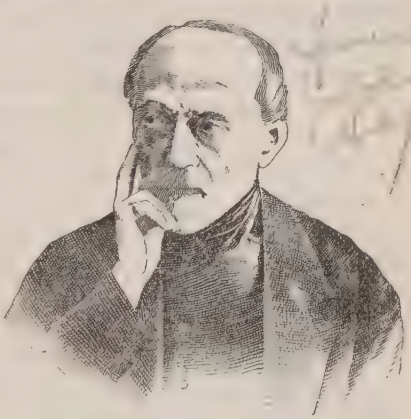
The year 1815 was one of cruel disappointment to patriotic Italians, who saw their country again dismembered, subject to Austria, and under reactionary princes.[2] Men who had once experienced Napoleon's enlightened rule would not acquiesce in this restoration of the Old Régime. The great mass of the *bourgeoisie*, many of the nobles, and some of the better educated artisans now began to work for the expulsion of Austria from the peninsula and for the formation of a constitutional government in the various states.

[1] See the map facing page 388. [2] See pages 415 and 417.

Unable to agitate publicly, these Italians of necessity resorted to underground methods. A secret society, the *Carbonari* ("charcoal burners"), sprang out of the Freemasons, spread throughout Italy, and incited the first unsuccessful revolutions (those of 1820–1821, 1830) against Austria. After their failure the society ceased to have much importance and made way for another revolutionary organization, Mazzini's "Young Italy."

Giuseppe Mazzini, the prophet of modern Italy, was born at Genoa of a middle-class and well-to-do family. Endowed with all a prophet's enthusiasm and moral fervor, Mazzini from early manhood gave himself to the regeneration of his country. He hated the Austrians, and he hated the princes and princelings who served Austria rather than Italy. At a time when the obstacles in the way seemed insuperable, he believed that twenty millions of Italians could free themselves, if only they would sink local interests and jealousies in a common patriotism. It was Mazzini's great service that he inspired multitudes of others with this belief, thus converting what had seemed a utopia to his contemporaries into a realizable ideal. In 1831 Mazzini founded the secret society called "Young Italy." It included only men under forty, ardent, self-sacrificing men, who pledged themselves to serve as missionaries of liberty throughout Italy. Its motto was "God and the people"; its purpose, the creation of a republic.

Mazzini and "Young Italy"



MAZZINI

After a portrait by Madame Venturi about 1847.

As far as practical results were concerned, "Young Italy" proved to be as ineffective as the *Carbonari* had been. Never-

theless, the society kept alive the enthusiasm for Italian nationalism during more than a decade. Meanwhile, other political parties began to take shape. Many patriotic men who did not favor republican principles hoped to form a federation of the Italian states under the presidency of the pope. Many more pinned their faith to a constitutional monarchy under the Sardinian king.

Italian parties

123. Victor Emmanuel II and Cavour

The kingdom of Sardinia, the student will remember, included not only the island of that name but also Savoy and Piedmont[1] on the mainland. At the middle of the nineteenth century Sardinia ranked as the leading state in Italy. It was, moreover, the only Italian state not controlled by Austria since 1815, and in 1848–1849 it had warred bravely, though unsuccessfully, against that foreign power. After Pope Pius IX had shown himself unwilling to head the national movement, and after Mazzini had failed in his attempt to create a Roman Republic, Italian eyes turned more and more to Victor Emmanuel II as the most promising leader in the struggle for independence.

Sardinia and Italian unity

Victor Emmanuel II

Victor Emmanuel II in 1849 mounted the throne of a country crushed by defeat, burdened with a heavy war indemnity, and without a place in the councils of Europe. The outlook was dark, but the new ruler faced it with resolution. Though not a man of brilliant mind, he possessed much common sense and had personal

Victor Emmanuel II

[1] Piedmont ("Foot of the Mount") extended from the Alps to the plains of Lombardy. In 1815 Genoa had been added to Piedmont.

qualities which soon won him wide popularity. He was a devoted Churchman. He was also a thorough liberal. His father in 1848 had granted a constitution to the Sardinians; he maintained it in spite of Austrian protests, when all the other Italian princes relapsed into absolutism. Patriots of every type — Roman Catholics, republicans, and constitutionalists — could rally about this "Honest King," who kept his plighted word.

Fortunately for Italy, Victor Emmanuel II had a great minister in the Piedmontese noble, Count Cavour. His plain, square face, fringed with a ragged beard, his half-closed eyes that blinked through steel-bowed spectacles, and his short, burly figure did not suggest the statesman. Cavour, however, was finely educated and widely traveled. He knew England well, admired the English system of parliamentary government, and felt a corresponding hatred of absolutist principles. Unlike the poetical and speculative Mazzini, Cavour had all the patience, caution, and mastery of details essential for successful leadership. It must be added, also, that his devotion to the cause of unification made him sometimes unscrupulous about the methods to be employed: upon occasion he could stoop to all the tricks of the diplomatic game. As the sequel will show, his "fine Italian hand" seldom lost its cunning.

Camillo di Cavour

Cavour became the Sardinian premier in 1852, a position which he continued to fill, with but one brief interruption, until his death nine years later. Faithfully supported by Victor Emmanuel II, Cavour bent every effort to develop the economic resources of the kingdom, foster education, and reorganize the army. He made Sardinia a strong and liberal state; strong enough to cope with Austria, liberal enough to attract to herself all the other states of Italy.

Sardinia under Cavour

Not less successful was Cavour's management of foreign affairs. Upon assuming office he had declared that Sardinia must reëstablish in Europe "a position and prestige equal to her ambition." The Crimean War gave an opportunity to do so. Though Sardinia had only a remote interest in the Eastern Question, nevertheless she sent twenty thousand soldiers to fight with the British and

Sardinia and the Crimean War

French against the Russians. For her reward she secured admittance, as one of the belligerents, to the Congress of Paris, which ended the war. Sardinia now had an honorable place at the European council-table, and two powerful friends in Great Britain and France.

Always practical and clear-headed, Cavour began to seek a military ally in the coming struggle with Austria. Public opinion in Great Britain sided with the Italian patriots, but her statesmen considered themselves still bound by the Vienna settlement and could not be relied upon for material assistance. On the other hand, France, under the ambitious and adventurous Napoleon III, held out the prospect of an alliance. The emperor seems to have had a genuine sympathy for Italy; he liked to consider himself the champion of oppressed nationalities: and he felt no hesitation about tearing up the treaties of 1815, treaties humiliating to his dynasty and to France. In return for the duchy of Savoy and the port of Nice, he now promised an army to help expel the Austrians from Italy.

Cavour and Napoleon III

The bargain once struck, Cavour had next to provoke the Austrian government into a declaration of war. It was essential that Austria be made to appear the aggressor in the eyes of Europe. Cavour's agents secretly fomented disturbances in Lombardy and Venetia. Francis Joseph I, the Hapsburg emperor, in an outburst of reckless fury, finally sent an ultimatum to Sardinia, offering the choice between disarmament or instant war. Cavour joyfully accepted the latter. "The die is cast," he exclaimed, "and we have made history."

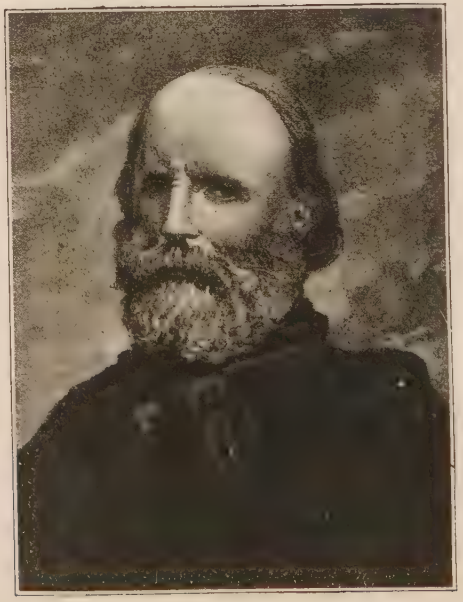
Quarrel between Austria and Sardinia

124. United Italy, 1859–1870

The fighting which ensued lasted only a few months. Sardinia and France carried everything before them. The allied victory of Magenta compelled the Austrians to evacuate Milan; that of Solferino, to abandon Lombardy. Every one now expected them to be driven out of Venetia as well. Napoleon III, however,

Austro-Sardinian War

CAVOUR



GARIBALDI

considered that he had done enough. He had never contemplated the unification of all Italy, but only the annexation of Lombardy and Venetia to the Sardinian kingdom. The outburst of national feeling which accompanied the war promised, however, to unite the entire peninsula, thus creating a strong national state as a near neighbor of France. Furthermore, Prussia, fearful lest the victories of the French in Italy should be followed by their advance into Germany, had begun to mobilize on the Rhine. For these and other reasons Napoleon III decided to make an end of his Italian venture. He sought a personal interview with Francis Joseph I and privately concluded the armistice of Villafranca.

The armistice terms, as finally incorporated in the peace treaty, ceded Lombardy to Sardinia. Venetia, however, remained Austrian. Victor Emmanuel II and Cavour, thus left in the lurch by their ally, had to accept an arrangement which dashed their hopes just on the point of realization. Losing for once his habitual caution, Cavour urged that Sardinia should continue the war alone. The king more wisely refused to imperil what had been already won. He would bide his time and wait. He did not have to wait long.

Lombardy ceded to Sardinia, 1859

The people of central Italy, unaided, took the next step in unification. Parma, Modena, Tuscany,[1] and Romagna[2] expelled their rulers and declared for annexation to Sardinia. This action met the hearty support of the British government. Even Napoleon III acquiesced, after Cavour handed over to him both Savoy and Nice, just as if the French emperor had carried out the original agreement and had freed Italy "from the Alps to the Adriatic." An ironical diplomat described the transaction as Napoleon's *pourboire* (waiter's tip.)

Central Italy annexed, 1860

The third step in unification was taken by Giuseppe Garibaldi, a sailor from Nice, a soldier of liberty, and a picturesque, heroic

[1] Lucca had been incorporated in Tuscany since 1847.

[2] The northern part of the States of the Church. Umbria and The Marches — also papal territories — joined Sardinia later in the year 1860.

figure. At the age of twenty-four Garibaldi joined "Young Italy," participated in an insurrection, for which he was condemned to death, escaped to South America, and fought there many years for the freedom of the Portuguese and Spanish colonies. Returning to Italy during the uprising of 1848, he won renown in the defense of Mazzini's Roman Republic. The collapse of the revolutionary movement made him once more a fugitive; he lived for some time in New York; later became the skipper of a Peruvian ship; and finally settled down as a farmer on a little Italian island. The events

Garibaldi

of 1859 called him from retirement, and he took part effectively in the campaign against Austria.

When the Sicilians threw off Bourbon rule in 1860, Garibaldi went to their aid with one thousand red-shirted volunteers. It seemed — it was — a foolhardy expedition, but to Garibaldi and his "Red Shirts" all things were possible. Within a month they had conquered the entire island of Sicily. Thence they crossed to the mainland and soon entered Naples in triumph. The Two Sicilies voted for annexation to Sardinia. Garibaldi then handed over his conquests to Victor Emmanuel II, and the two liberators rode through the streets of Naples side by side, amid the plaudits of the people.

The Two Sicilies annexed, 1860

"The Right Leg in the Boot at Last."

A cartoon which appeared in the English journal *Punch* for November 17, 1860.

The diplomacy of Cavour, the intervention of Napoleon III, Garibaldi's sword, and the popular will thus united the larger part of Italy within two years. A national parliament met at Turin in 1861 and conferred the Italian crown upon Victor Emmanuel II. Cavour passed away soon afterwards. "Let me say a prayer for you, my son," said a priest to the dying statesman. "Yes, father," was the reply, "but let us pray, too, for Italy."

Kingdom of Italy, 1861

The new kingdom was not quite complete. Venice and the adjoining region were held by Austria. Rome and a fragment of the States of the Church were held by the pope. Two great European conflicts gave Victor Emmanuel II both of these

territories. Venetia fell to Italy in 1866, as her reward for an alliance with Prussia in the Austro-Prussian War.[1] A plebiscite of the Venetians, with only sixty-nine votes registered in the negative, approved this action.

Winning of Venetia, 1866

Four years later the Franco-German War [2] broke out, compelling Napoleon III to withdraw the French garrison from Rome. An Italian army promptly occupied the city. The inhabitants, by an immense majority, voted for annexation to the monarchy. In 1871 the city of the Seven Hills, once the capital of imperial Rome, became the capital of the kingdom of Italy.

Winning of Rome, 1870

Even these acquisitions did not quite round out the Italian kingdom. There was still an *Italia Irredenta*, an "Unredeemed Italy." The district about Trent in the Alps (the Trentino) and the district about Trieste at the head of the Adriatic, though largely peopled by Italians, remained under Austrian rule. The desire to recover her lost provinces was one of the reasons which led Italy in 1915 to espouse the cause of the Allies in the World War.

"Unredeemed Italy"

125. Disunited Germany

The political unification of Germany formed another striking triumph for nationalism, even though it did not involve, as in the case of Italy, the removal of a foreign yoke. National unity could not be won as long as a motley crowd of kingdoms, duchies, principalities, and free cities encumbered German soil. These states — the heritage of feudalism — had been practically independent since the close of the Thirty Years' War. Each made its own laws, held its own court, conducted its own diplomacy, and had its own army, tariff, and coinage. Only a map or a series of maps on a large scale can do justice to the German "crazy-quilt." Here was a country, large, populous, and wealthy, which lacked a national government, such as had existed in England, France, Spain, and even Russia for centuries.

The German states

[1] See page 462.

[2] See page 464.

The Holy Roman Empire furnished no real bond of union for Germany. Within the Empire were princes who also held territories outside. The Hohenzollerns ruled over East Prussia and part of Poland; the Hapsburgs, over Hungary and other non-Germanic lands. At the same time the kings of Great Britain, Denmark, and Sweden, by virtue of their possessions in Hanover,[1] Holstein, and western Pomerania, respectively, ranked among the imperial princes. Here was an empire which lacked a common center or capital, such as London, Paris, Madrid, and St. Petersburg were for their respective states.

The Empire

It is one of the ironies of history that Germany owes to Napoleon Bonaparte the first measures which made possible her later unification. By the Treaty of Campo Formio and subsequent treaties Napoleon secured for France the Germanic lands west of the Rhine, thus dispossessing nearly a hundred princes of their territories.[2] He subsequently reorganized much of Germany east of the Rhine, with the idea of setting up a few large states as a barrier between France on the one side and Austria and Prussia on the other.[3] This work survived the emperor's downfall. Germany in 1815 included only thirty-eight independent states, as compared with more than three hundred in 1789. The destruction of the Holy Roman Empire by Napoleon involved another breach with the past; henceforth one could conceive of a new and genuine empire, thoroughly German, in which Austria had no place.

Napoleon and unification

The impulse to German nationalism also came from Napoleon. By sweeping away so many small states he not only simplified the political map, but also forced Germans to abate somewhat their jealousies and hatreds and to regard one another as countrymen. The War of Liberation against Napoleon banded them together, at least for the moment, in behalf of a common cause. Prussians,

Napoleon and nationalism

[1] The king of Great Britain was the sovereign of Hanover between 1714 and 1837. The accession of Queen Victoria at the latter date led to the separation of the two countries, since by Hanoverian law a woman could not occupy the throne.

[2] See page 389.

[3] See page 398.

Saxons, and Bavarians rose in arms, not to seek world conquests, but to free themselves from an intolerable tyranny. "I have only one fatherland," wrote Stein in 1812, "that is called Germany." The famous war song, *What is the German Fatherland?* expressed the same patriotic spirit.[1]

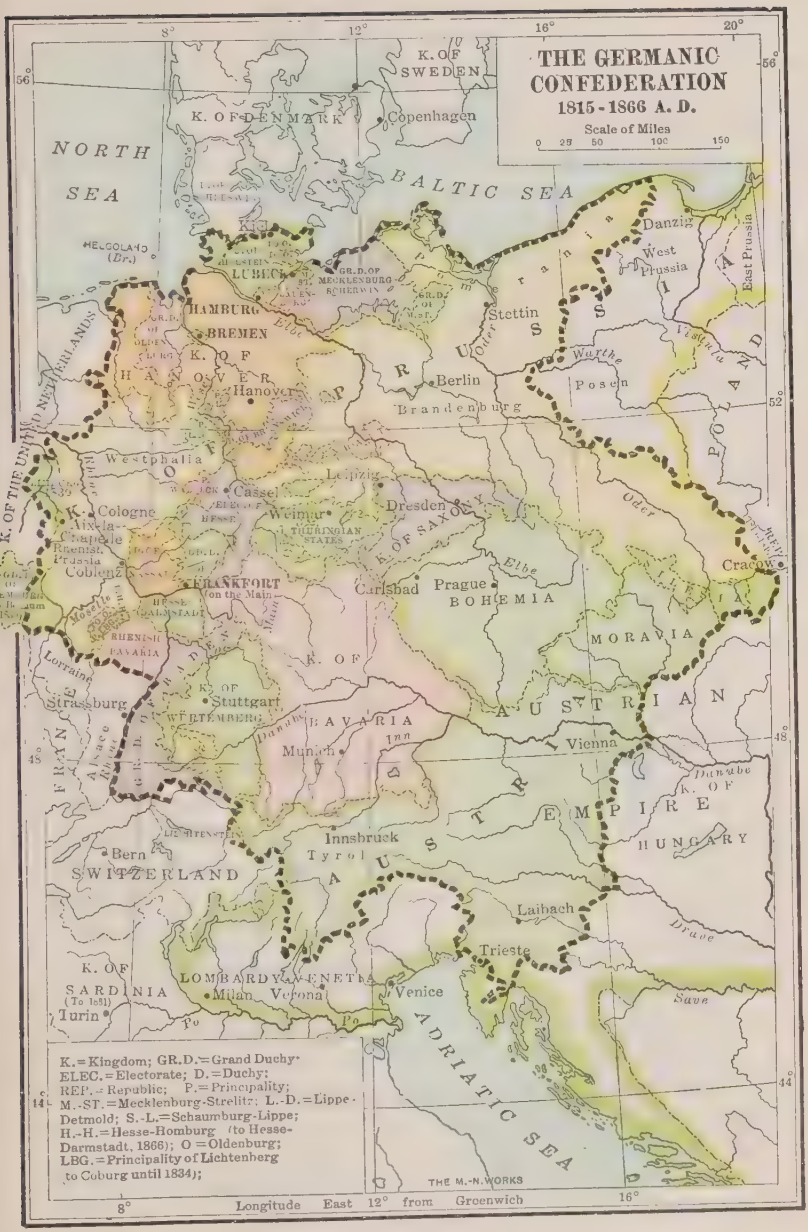
The Germanic Confederation, 1815

The hopes of German nationalists were dashed by the Congress of Vienna. The Germanic Confederation, which now replaced the Holy Roman Empire, was not, properly speaking, a union of states, but rather of sovereigns: six kings, six grand dukes, nine dukes, eleven princes, and four free cities, together with the king of the Netherlands (for Luxemburg) and the king of Denmark (for Holstein). Each member of the confederation continued to be independent, except in foreign affairs, which a Diet, meeting at Frankfort-on-Main, controlled. The delegates to the Diet were all appointed by the sovereigns and were subject to their instructions. What little authority the delegates had was limited by the rule requiring a unanimous vote for the passage of any important measure. It is easy to see how under such circumstances the Diet became a synonym for feebleness and futility.

The Zollverein

Germany, while still politically divided, became economically one. The tariff duties levied by each member of the confederation against the goods of every other member greatly hampered commerce and industry. To meet this difficulty Prussia formed a *Zollverein* (Customs Union), which by 1834 included eighteen states. All the others, except Austria, afterwards joined it. Complete free trade prevailed between its members, while high protective duties shut out foreign competition. The *Zollverein* showed the German people some of the advantages of union and encouraged them to look to Prussia for its attainment. The growth of the *Zollverein* coincided with the introduction of railways in Prussia and other states, thus binding Germany still more closely together in one economic system.

[1] *Die Wacht am Rhein*, Germany's national anthem, was not written until 1840. The song, *Deutschland, Deutschland über alles*, appeared a year later.


THE GERMANIC CONFEDERATION
1815 - 1866 A. D.
Scale of Miles
0 25 50 100 150
K. OF SWEDEN
K. OF DENMARK
Copenhagen
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
HELGOLAND (Br.)
Kiel
LUBECK
GR.D. OF MECKLENBURG SCHERWIN
HAMBURG
BREMEN
K. OF HANOVER
Hanover
PRUSSIA
Stettin
Danzig
West Prussia
East Prussia
Berlin
Brandenburg
Posen
POLAND
Westphalia
Cassel
Leipzig
Dresden
Cologne
Weimar
Coblenz
FRANKFORT on the Main
Carlsbad
Prague
BOHEMIA
Cracow
MORAVIA
Strassburg
Stuttgart
BAVARIA
Munich
Vienna
AUSTRIAN EMPIRE
HUNGARY
Innsbruck
Tyrol
Bern
SWITZERLAND
Laibach
Trieste
Venice
LOMBARDY-VENETIA
Milan
Verona
K. OF SARDINIA
Turin
ADRIATIC SEA
K.=Kingdom; GR.D.=Grand Duchy;
ELEC.=Electorate; D.=Duchy;
REP.=Republic; P.=Principality;
M.-ST.=Mecklenburg-Strelitz; L.-D.=Lippe-Detmold; S.-L.=Schaumburg-Lippe;
H.-H.=Hesse-Homburg (to Hesse-Darmstadt, 1866); O=Oldenburg;
LBG.=Principality of Lichtenberg to Coburg until 1834);
THE M.-N. WORKS
8° Longitude East 12° from Greenwich 16°
56°
52°
48°
44°

126. William I and Bismarck

The Prussian kingdom seemed to be, indeed, the natural center of unity. Her population, except the Poles, was entirely German; she had led Germany in the heroic struggle against Napoleon; and since 1850 she had possessed a constitution, which, if not democratic, at least established some measure of parliamentary government. The interests of Austria, on the contrary, were divided between her German and numerous non-German peoples, and the Austrian government was the apotheosis of reaction. Neither nationalists nor democrats could expect help from the Hapsburgs. As for the central and southern states — Saxony, Bavaria, Würtemberg, Baden, Hanover, and the rest — none of them was large enough or strong enough to attempt the arduous task of unification. But if the Hohenzollerns undertook it, how would they carry it through? Would they serve Germany by merging Prussia in a German nation, as Sardinia had been merged in Italy, or would they rule Germany? Answers to these questions were soon forthcoming.

Prussia and German unity

WILLIAM I
After a photograph taken in 1862.

The death of Frederick William IV in 1861 called to the throne, at the age of sixty-four, his abler brother, William I. The new king had industry, conscientiousness, a thoroughly practical mind, and, what was still more important, the faculty of finding capable servants and of trusting them absolutely. A firm believer in divine right, he did not allow the constitution granted by his predecessor to interfere with the royal authority. His ideals, to which he steadily adhered through a long reign,

William I

were those of the "enlightened despots" in the eighteenth century.

William I was above everything a soldier. The Prussian mobilization at the time of the Austro-Sardinian War convinced him that the army needed strengthening, if it was again to be, as in the days of Frederick the Great, the most formidable weapon in Europe. With the assistance of Albrecht von Roon as war minister and Helmuth von Moltke as chief of the general staff, the king now brought forward a scheme for army reform. Universal military service had been adopted by Prussia during the Napoleonic wars, but many men were never called to the colors or were allowed to serve for only a short time. William I proposed to enforce strictly the obligation to service and in this way to more than double the size of the standing army.

Army reform

The scheme met strenuous opposition on the part of Prussian liberals, who saw in it a detestable alliance between militarism and autocracy. So large an army, they argued, could only be intended to overawe the people and stifle all democratic agitation. The liberals held a majority in the lower house of parliament and refused to sanction the increased expenditures necessary for army reform. William I decided to abdicate if he could not be supreme in military matters. A deadlock ensued. It was only broken when the king summoned Otto von Bismarck to be his chief minister.

Parliamentary opposition

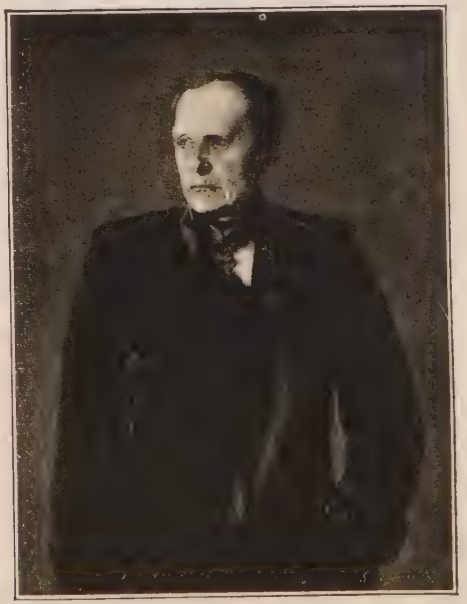
The man who crippled German liberalism and created militaristic, imperial Germany belonged to the *Junker* class,[1] which from the beginning had been the chief support of Hohenzollern absolutism. Birth, training, and inclination made him an aristocrat, an enemy of democracy, a foe of parliamentary government. He was born in Brandenburg of a wealthy country family and received his education at Göttingen and Berlin, acquiring, however, in these universities a reputation for beer-drinking and dueling rather than for studiousness. Young Bismarck entered the Prussian parliament and quickly became prominent as an outspoken champion

Otto von Bismarck

[1] See page 311.

BISMARCK

After a painting by Franz von Lenbach in 1894.



MOLTKE

After a painting by Franz von Lenbach.

of divine-right monarchy. Then followed eight years of service as the Prussian delegate to the Frankfort Diet, where he gained an unrivaled insight into German politics. Appointments as ambassador to the Russian and the French courts completed his diplomatic training. Such was the man, now forty-seven years of age, tall, powerfully built, with a mind no less robust than his body, who had come to the front in Prussia.

Ministers, under the Prussian constitution, were neither appointed by the parliament nor responsible to that body. It was therefore possible for a resolute minister, supported by the king and army, to govern in defiance of the legislature. This is what Bismarck proceeded to do. For four years he ruled practically as dictator. Each year, when the parliament refused to vote necessary supplies, Bismarck levied, collected, and spent taxes without an accounting to the people's representatives. The necessary military reforms were then carried out by the masterly hands of Roon and Moltke. The country as a whole seems to have acquiesced in this bold violation of the constitution. Public opinion, except that of the liberal middle classes, reëchoed Bismarck's famous and oft-quoted words: "Not by speeches and majority resolutions are the great questions of the day to be decided — that was the mistake of 1848 and 1849 — but by blood and iron."

"Blood and iron"

127. United Germany, 1864–1871

Successful at home, Bismarck now turned his attention abroad. He and his royal master were firmly determined to place Prussia at the head of Germany. This meant a conflict with Austria, for Bismarck's experience at Frankfort had convinced him that Austria would never willingly surrender her place in the Germanic Confederation. From the moment of becoming chief minister he had disclosed an anti-Austrian bias. He refused to admit Austria to the *Zollverein* and recognized the new Italian kingdom with unfriendly haste; finally, he opposed Austrian policy in the so-called Schleswig-Holstein Question.

Bismarck and Austria

The Schleswig-Holstein Question

The duchies of Schleswig and Holstein — the one partly Danish and partly German in population, the other entirely German — had been united to Denmark by a personal union through its ruler. They remained otherwise independent and stoutly resisted all efforts to incorporate them in the Danish kingdom. Since 1815, moreover, Holstein had been a member of the Germanic Confederation. Matters came to a head in 1863, when the sovereign of Denmark imposed a constitution upon the duchies which practically destroyed their independence. This action aroused deep resentment among German nationalists, who wished to have Schleswig and Holstein united with the Fatherland.

The Danish War, 1864

Bismarck saw clearly what the possession of the two duchies, with their strategic position between the Baltic and the North Sea and fine harbor at Kiel, would mean for the development of German sea-power. Their annexation was the goal which he kept steadily before his eyes. Accordingly, he proposed joint intervention by Austria and Prussia. Austria assented. A brief war followed, in which the Danes were overcome by weight of numbers. Denmark had to sign a treaty ceding Schleswig and Holstein to the victors jointly.

Quarrel between Austria and Prussia

As Bismarck anticipated, Austria and Prussia could not agree concerning the disposition of the conquered duchies. The quarrel between them furnished a pretext for the conflict which he had determined to provoke between the house of Hapsburg and the house of Hohenzollern. Before hostilities began, his astute diplomacy isolated Austria from foreign support. Napoleon III engaged to remain neutral, on the strength of Bismarck's promises (never meant to be kept) of territorial "compensations" to France from a victorious Prussia. Alexander II, the tsar of Russia, also preserved neutrality, as a return for Bismarck's recent offer of Prussian troops to suppress an insurrection of the Poles. With Italy Bismarck negotiated a treaty of alliance, promising her Venetia for military assistance to Prussia. Austria, on her side, had the support of Saxony, Hanover, and lesser German states.

UNIFICATION OF GERMANY,
1815-1871 A. D.
Prussia in 1815 A. D.
Acquisitions by Prussia, 1815-1866 A.D.
North German Confederation, 1867-1871 A. D.
Imperial Territory of Alsace-Lorraine, 1871 A.D.
Scale of Miles
0
50
100
150
200
THE M.-N. WORKS
Longitude East from 15° Greenwich
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
DENMARK
SWEDEN
HOLLAND
BELGIUM
FRANCE
SWITZERLAND
AUSTRIA
RUSSIA
PRUSSIA
HELGOLAND
German 1890
Prussian 1891
Schleswig
Holstein
LÜBECK
HAMBURG
BREMEN
OLDENBURG
MECKLENBURG
Hanover
BRUNS
LIPPE
WALDECK
ANHALT
HESSE
Nassau
THURINGIAN STATES
SAXONY
BAVARIA
WÜRTEMBERG
BADEN
TO BAVARIA
ALSACE-LORRAINE
Königsberg
Danzig
Stettin
Berlin
Potsdam
Posen
Breslau
Münster
Cologne
Coblenz
Cassel
Leipzig
Dresden
Sadowa
Königgrätz
Frankfort
Darmstadt
Nuremberg
Munich
Stuttgart
Carlsruhe
Strassburg
Metz
Verdun
Nancy
Toul
Montbéliard
Rhine
Elbe
Oder
Vistula
Danube
Main
5°
10°
15°
20°
50°
55°

Thanks to the careful organization of the Prussian army by Roon and to Moltke's brilliant strategy, the war turned out to be a "Seven Weeks' War." The Prussians at once took the offensive and quickly overran the territory of Austria's German allies. The three Prussian armies which invaded Bohemia crushed their Austrian adversaries in the great battle of Sadowa (Königgrätz). Francis Joseph I then sued for peace.

Austro-Prussian War, 1866

The negotiations which followed revealed Bismarck's statesmanship. His royal master wished to enter Vienna in triumph, impose a heavy indemnity, and take a large slice of the Hapsburg realm. Bismarck would not agree, for he did not desire to create any lasting antagonism between Austria and Prussia which would prevent their future alliance. William I finally yielded to his imperious minister and consented to bite "the sour apple" of a moderate peace. By the Treaty of Prague, Austria lost no territory except Venetia to Italy and her claims upon Schleswig-Holstein to Prussia. She consented, however, to the dissolution of the Germanic Confederation.

Treaty of Prague

Bismarck had now a free hand in Germany. His first step was the annexation to Prussia of the Schleswig-Holstein duchies, together with the kingdom of Hanover, the electorate of Hesse-Cassel, the duchy of Nassau, and the free city of Frankfort-on-Main. The Prussian dominions for the first time stretched without a break from Poland to the frontier of France. All the independent states north of the Main — twenty-one in number — were then required by Bismarck to enter a North German Confederation, under the presidency of Prussia. The four states south of the Main,[1] which had thrown in their lot with Austria, did not enter the new confederation. They secretly agreed, however, to place their armies at the disposal of Prussia, in the event of war with France.

North German Confederation, 1867

For Bismarck a Franco-German War "lay in the logic of

[1] Bavaria, Würtemberg, Baden, and Hesse-Darmstadt. The latter state was henceforth called simply Hesse.

history." He believed it necessary, for joint action by the North German and South German states against a common foe would quicken national sentiment and complete the work of unification under Prussia. He also believed it inevitable, in view of the traditional French policy of keeping Germany disunited in order to have a weak neighbor across the Rhine. Napoleon III had now begun to regret his neutrality in the Austro-Prussian War and to realize that if German unity was to be prevented France must draw the sword. The emperor did not shrink from a struggle which he believed would satisfy French opinion and, if victorious, would firmly consolidate his dynasty. After 1867 both governments prepared for the war which both desired.

Bismarck and France

In 1870 a single spark set the two countries aflame. A revolution had broken out in Spain, and the liberals there had offered the crown to a cousin of William I. Napoleon III at once informed the Prussian monarch that he would regard the accession of a Hohenzollern as a sufficient justification for war. William then gave way and induced his cousin to refuse the crown. Thereupon Napoleon went further and demanded William's pledge never to allow a Hohenzollern to become a candidate in the future. This pledge William declined to make, and from the watering-place of Ems, where he was staying, telegraphed his decision to Bismarck at Berlin. After learning from Roon and Moltke of Prussia's complete readiness for hostilities, Bismarck sent the king's statement to the newspapers, not in its original form, but so abbreviated as to be insulting. Bismarck himself said later that the Ems dispatch was intended to have "the effect of a red flag upon the Gallic bull." Soon after receiving it, France declared war.

The Spanish incident

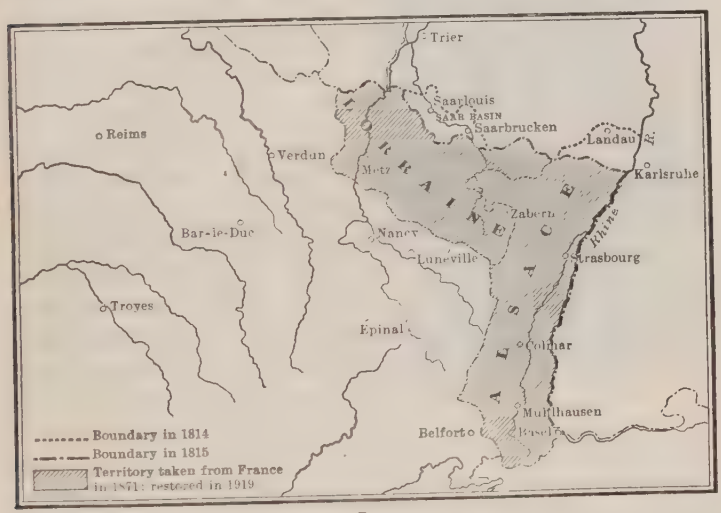
What followed took away the breath of Europe. Fighting began in mid-July; by mid-August a French army under Bazaine was shut up in Metz; and on September 2 the other army, commanded by MacMahon, was defeated and captured at Sedan. Napoleon III himself became a prisoner. Bazaine surrendered Metz in Octo-

Franco-German War, 1870–1871

ber. Meanwhile, the Germans pressed forward the siege of Paris. It held out for four months and then capitulated (January, 1871) to cold and hunger rather than to the enemy. The war now ended.

Bismarck's harsh treatment of France contrasts sharply with his previous moderation toward Austria. By the Treaty of Frankfort, France agreed to pay an indemnity of one billion dollars within three years and to support a German army of occupation until this sum was forth-

Treaty of Frankfort



ALSACE-LORRAINE

coming. She also ceded to Germany Alsace, including Strasbourg, and a large part of Lorraine, including Metz. These two fortified cities were regarded as the "gateways" to Germany.

As far back as 1815 Prussia had tried to secure Alsace and Lorraine, in order to provide a more defensible frontier for her Rhenish possessions.[1] Bismarck took them, ostensibly to regain what had once been German territory,[2] but really because of their economic resources (Lorraine is rich in coal and iron) and their value as a barrier against

The "Lost Provinces"

[1] See page 407.

[2] See page 299.

future French aggression.[1] France could never reconcile herself to the loss of the two provinces; after 1871 she always hoped to win them back. The majority of the inhabitants themselves continued to be French in language and feeling, despite German schools, German military training, and a heavy German immigration. Alsace and Lorraine thus became another open sore on the face of Europe. More than anything else, their annexation helped to unsettle the peace of the world for nearly half a century.

"VÆ VICTIS!"

"Woe to the vanquished!" A cartoon by Sir John Tenniel which appeared in the English journal *Punch* for March 11, 1871. William I, in the garb of an ancient Germanic chieftain, rides his charger over the body of prostrate France. The Crown Prince, Bismarck, and other leaders appear in the background.

The German Empire

Paris had not capitulated, the Treaty of Frankfort had not been signed, before united Germany came into existence. The four South German states yielded to the national sentiment evoked by the war and agreed with Prussia to enter the North German Confederation, rechristened the German Empire. On January 18, 1871, in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles, William I took the title of German Emperor.

Europe in 1871

The national movement between 1848 and 1871 turned much of Europe upside down. Austria had been driven out of Italy and Germany, which were now transformed into great unified states. Denmark had lost her duchies. France had lost Alsace-Lorraine. All this meant the end of the balance of power established in 1815. Napoleon III, Cavour, and Bismarck, between them, thus destroyed the Vienna settlement. The national movement did not stop

or even lag after 1871. Combined henceforth more inextricably with democracy, nationalism continued to be a moving force in European history during the forty-three years which were yet to elapse before the outbreak of the World War.

Studies

1. Differentiate the meanings of the terms "nation," "people," "state," and "government." 2. "Similarity of language invites the unity of a people, but does not compel it." Comment on this statement. 3. "Nationalism is simply the tangible outward manifestation of the growth of democracy." Does this seem to be a defensible statement? 4. Mention some of the "submerged nationalities" of Europe at the middle of the nineteenth century. 5. "Nations are seldom born except on the field of battle." Illustrate this statement. 6. Compare the *coup d'état* of Louis Napoleon with that of Napoleon Bonaparte. 7. Show that the Alps provide a less satisfactory boundary for Italy than the Pyrenees for Spain. 8. Why has the Po Valley been called the "cockpit of Europe"? 9. Why should Garibaldi, rather than Cavour, be the national hero of Italy? 10. How could Bismarck justify his policy of unification through "blood and iron"? 11. Why was Austria excluded from unified Germany? 12. Why did Prussia treat Austria mildly in 1866 and France harshly in 1871? 13. "The Seven Years' War may be looked upon as the first act of the drama that was played out at Sadowa and Sedan." Explain this statement. 14. What is meant by the saying that "Prussia was hatched from a cannon ball"? 15. Show that the German Empire, as established in 1871, was not a continuation or restoration of the Holy Roman Empire. 16. Compare William I with Victor Emmanuel II and Cavour with Bismarck. 17. Contrast the methods employed in the unification of Italy and Germany, respectively.

CHAPTER XIV

THE UNITED KINGDOM AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE[1]

128. Parliamentary Reform, 1832

At the opening of the nineteenth century the people of Great Britain had a constitutional monarchy limited by Parliament. The concessions which they wrung from their reluctant sovereigns in the seventeenth century were embodied in famous state papers, including the Petition of Right, the Habeas Corpus Act, and the Bill of Rights. To these documents of political liberty was added the Act of Settlement in 1701, which led, thirteen years later, to the accession of George I, the first of the Hanoverians. He and his son naturally favored the Whigs, who had passed the Act of Settlement. The Whig Party included many great lords, most of the bishops and town clergy, the Nonconformists, and the merchants, shopkeepers, and other members of the middle class. The Tories, whose strength lay in the landed gentry and rural clergy, were very unpopular, being supposed to desire a second restoration of the Stuarts. The Whigs, in consequence, monopolized office during the reigns of George I and George II.

The Whig ascendancy

Whig rule came to an end ten years after the accession of George III in 1760. It was the Tory ministry of Lord North which plunged Great Britain into the contest with the Thirteen Colonies. William Pitt, the Younger, who became head of the government shortly after the fall of Lord North's ministry, reorganized the Tory Party. It remained in office during the remainder of George III's reign and that of his son and successor, George IV (1820–1830).

The Tory ascendancy

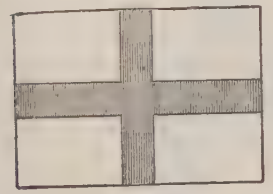
A hundred years ago Great Britain was still an undemocratic

[1] Webster, *Historical Source Book*, No. 22, "Chartist Petition, 1838."

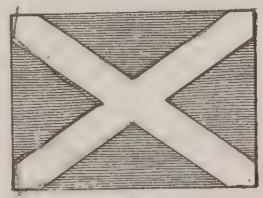
country. The House of Lords, composed of nobles and bishops who sat by hereditary right or by royal appointment, continued to be a stronghold of aristocracy. Even the House of Commons, the more popular branch of Parliament, represented only a fraction of the British people.

Undemocratic Great Britain

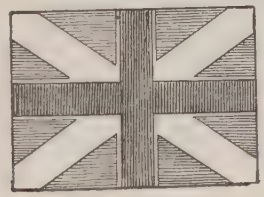
According to the representative system which had been fixed in medieval times, each of the counties (shires) and most of the towns (boroughs) of Great Britain and Ireland had two members in the House of Commons. Representation, however, bore no relation to the size of the population in either case: a



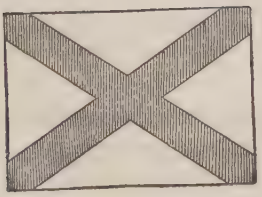
1. England



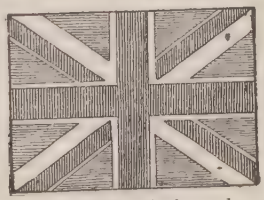
2. Scotland



3. Great Britain



4. Ireland



5. Great Britain and Ireland

THE UNION JACK

The Act of Union with Scotland (1707) required that England and Scotland should have one flag made of the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew combined. After the union with Ireland (1801) the cross of St. Patrick was incorporated in the flag. The name "Jack" comes from the French *Jacques*, referring to James I, the first sovereign of Great Britain.

large county and a small county, a large town and a small town, sent the same number of representatives. Some flourishing places, such as Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, and Sheffield, which had grown up since the Middle Ages, were without representation. Other places — the so-called "rotten" boroughs — continued to enjoy representation long after they had so decayed

The unreformed House of Commons

CANVASSING FOR VOTES

One of Hogarth's Election Prints, made in 1757. The scene is laid before an inn. The landlord in the middle foreground is seen contending with an officer of the Crown for the vote of a newly arrived farmer, who slyly takes bribes from both.

that nothing remained of them but a single house, a green mound, a park, or a ruined wall. The electoral system was equally antiquated. Only landowners could vote in the counties, while in many of the boroughs a handful of well-to-do people alone exercised the franchise. Not more than five per cent of all the adult males in Great Britain had the right to vote. There were some "pocket" boroughs, where a rich man, generally a nobleman, had acquired the privilege of naming the representatives.

The restricted franchise in the boroughs made it easy to corrupt elections to the House of Commons. Bribery of voters reached its height under George III, who fostered the system in order to strengthen his own authority. Not only were individual voters bribed, but "rotten" and "pocket" boroughs were often sold outright to the highest bidder. Thanks to the custom of open polling, voters in the counties were particularly subject to intimidation by landlords, employers, and officials. The evils of bribery and coercion were increased in borough and county alike by the drunkenness and turmoil which prevailed during elections.

Corruption and intimidation in elections

Efforts to improve these conditions began in the eighteenth century, but for a long time accomplished nothing. Sober people, alarmed by the events in France, coupled parliamentary reform with revolutionary designs against the government. After 1815, however, the Reign of Terror and Napoleon Bonaparte were no longer bogeys; and public opinion grew steadily more hostile to a system of representation which excluded so many educated, prosperous members of the middle class from political power. Great Whig nobles also espoused the liberal cause and made it a party question. The Tories, on their side, stood rock-like against anything which savored of democracy. The duke of Wellington, who had become the Tory prime minister, even declared that nothing better than the existing system could be devised "by the wit of man." This obstinate refusal to make even the slightest concessions caused the downfall of the duke's ministry. In 1830, the year of the "July Revolution" in France, the Whigs returned to office, under pledge to introduce a measure for parliamentary reform.

Agitation for parliamentary reform

The events which followed cast much light on British methods of government. The Reform Bill introduced by Earl Grey, the Whig prime minister, failed to pass the House of Commons. Parliament was then dissolved, in order to test the sentiment of the country by means of a general election. "The bill, the whole bill, and nothing

Passage of the First Reform Act

but the bill," cried the reforming Whigs. They triumphed, and another Reform Bill passed the new House of Commons by a large majority. The House of Lords, staunchly Tory, threw it out. During the next session yet a third bill was put through the Commons. The Lords insisted upon amendments which the ministry would not accept. Meanwhile, popular excitement rose to fever pitch, and in one mass meeting after another the Lords were denounced as a corrupt and selfish oligarchy. Earl Grey advised the king [1] to create enough Whig peers to carry the measure in the upper chamber. The king refused to do so; the premier and his associates resigned; and the duke of Wellington tried without success to form another Tory ministry. Earl Grey then resumed office, having secured the royal promise to create the necessary peers. This extreme step was not taken, however, for the mere threat of it brought the Lords to terms. In 1832 the long-debated bill quietly became law.

Provisions of the First Reform Act

The First Reform Act achieved two results. It suppressed most of the "rotten" and "pocket" boroughs, thus setting free a large number of seats in the House of Commons for distribution among towns and counties which were either unrepresented or insufficiently represented. It also gave the franchise to many persons who owned or rented buildings in the towns or who rented land in the country. Workingmen and agricultural laborers — the majority of the population — still remained without a vote.

Advent of the middle class

The First Reform Act effected a momentous change in British politics. The Revolution of 1688–1689 had transferred the chief power from the sovereign to the upper class, or landed aristocracy.[2] The parliamentary revolution of 1832 shifted the balance to the middle class of merchants, manufacturers, and professional men — the Continental *bourgeoisie*. Henceforth for many years it continued to rule Great Britain.

The events of 1832 have another significance as well. They proved that the Tory aristocracy, entrenched in the House of Lords, could not permanently defy the popular will, that "it

[1] William IV (1830–1837), a brother of George IV.

[2] See page 294.

was impossible for the whisper of a faction to prevail against the voice of a nation." The Lords yielded, however ungraciously, to public opinion. Their action meant that for the future Great Britain would progress by peaceful, orderly reform, rather than by revolution. That country is the only considerable state in Europe which during the past century has not undergone a revolutionary change of government.

Reform versus revolution

129. Political Democracy, 1832–1867

The passage of the First Reform Act profoundly affected the two historic parties. The Whigs appeared henceforth as the particular champions of all liberal, progressive measures. They soon discarded their old name and began to call themselves Liberals. The Tories, now known as Conservatives, were in theory opposed to further changes, but when holding office generally went as far as their opponents in the direction of reform. Both parties realized that the time had come for Great Britain to correct old abuses and to modernize her institutions.

Liberals and Conservatives

The next thirty-five years constituted a veritable era of reform in almost every field. During these years Parliament abolished slavery throughout the British Empire, enacted laws to reduce pauperism, passed legislation ameliorating conditions of employment in factories and mines, modified the harshness of the criminal code, began to establish a system of popular education, and adopted free trade. Nothing was done, however, toward further extension of the suffrage.

An era of reform

The failure of Parliament to enfranchise the masses produced much popular discontent, and during the early years of Queen Victoria's reign [1] the movement known as Chartism began to make headway among workingmen. The Chartists derived their name from a charter of liberties which they proposed to secure. It demanded Six

Chartism

[1] Victoria (1837–1901) was the niece of George IV and William IV.

Points: (1) universal manhood suffrage; (2) secret voting; (3) equal electoral districts; (4) removal of the property qualifications for membership in Parliament; (5) payment of members of Parliament; and (6) annual parliamentary elections. All but the last of these demands, which seemed so radical at the time, have since been granted.

The Chartist Petition, 1848

The "February Revolution" in Paris, reverberating in London, led to preparations for a great Chartist demonstration. Six million persons, it was announced, had signed a petition for the Six Points, and half a million men, many of them armed, made ready to carry it to Parliament. The government took alarm and put a large force of special constables under the command of the aged but still courageous duke of Wellington, to protect life and property. The government's firm attitude, coupled with a downpour of rain on the day appointed for the procession, dampened the spirits as well as the bodies of the Chartists, and they dispersed. Their monster petition, upon examination, was found to contain less than half the boasted number of signatures, and of these many were fictitious. This exposure discredited the whole Chartist movement.

QUEEN VICTORIA

After Sir Edwin Landseer's picture of Victoria at the age of twenty. In Windsor Castle.

New political leaders

The collapse of Chartism did not end the agitation for a more democratic Great Britain. The popular movement there owed much to the outcome of the American Civil War, which was regarded as a triumph for democracy. It began to seem anomalous that British workingmen should be denied the vote about to be granted negroes in the United States. Two great statesmen — one a Liberal and the

Windsor Castle

The town of Windsor lies on the west bank of the Thames, about twenty-one miles from London. Its famous castle has been the chief residence of English sovereigns from the time of William the Conqueror. The massive round tower, which forms the most conspicuous feature of the castle, was built by Henry III about 1272, but Edward III wholly reconstructed it about 1344. The state apartments of the castle include the throne room, a guard room with medieval armor, a reception room adorned with tapestries, picture galleries, and the royal library.

other a Conservative — perceived this clearly, and each became an advocate of further parliamentary reform. The two statesmen were Gladstone and Disraeli.

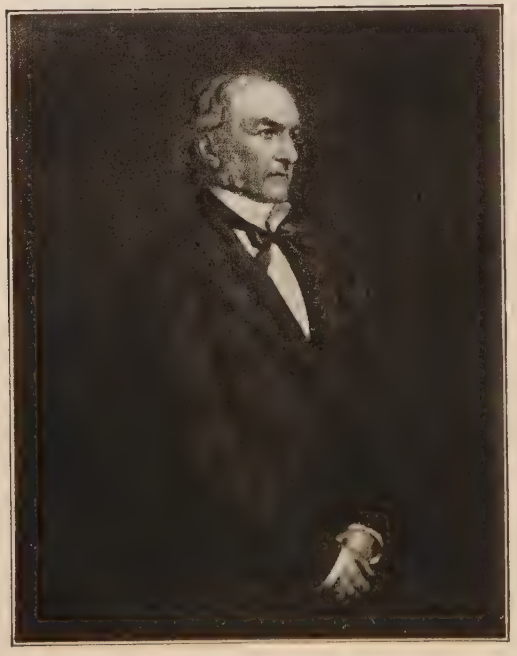
Gladstone, 1809–1898

William Ewart Gladstone, the son of a rich Liverpool merchant of Scottish birth, had been educated at aristocratic Eton and Oxford. When only twenty-four years old, he entered Parliament from a "pocket" borough. Gladstone's rise was rapid, for he had wealth, family influence, an attractive personality, wide knowledge both of books and of men, enormous energy, and oratorical gifts of a high order. All things considered, no Englishman of Gladstone's generation equaled him as a public speaker. His voice, singularly clear and far-reaching, his eagle glance, his command of language, and his earnestness made him an impressive figure, whether in the House of Commons or on the platform. This "rising hope of the stern, unbending Tories," in time disappointed his political backers by joining the Liberal Party. It was as a Liberal that Gladstone four times became prime minister of Great Britain.[1]

Disraeli, 1804 1881

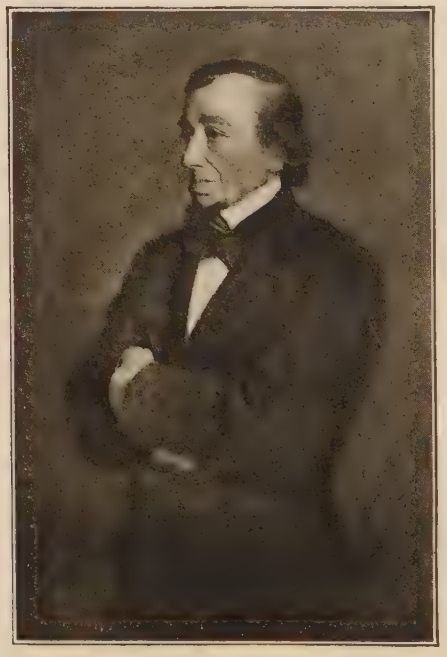
Benjamin Disraeli belonged to a converted Jewish family of London. His father, a well-known author, had him educated privately. He first appeared before the public as a novelist, and in one book after another proceeded to heap ridicule upon the upper classes. Entering Parliament as an independent radical, Disraeli's florid speech and eccentricities of dress — he wore bright-colored waistcoats and decked himself with rings — at first only provoked derision. Gradually, however, the young man's cleverness and courage overcame the prejudice against him. His own radical viewpoint altered, and before long he became a Conservative, posing henceforth as a staunch defender of the Crown, the Established Church, and the aristocracy. Disraeli proved to be an expert parliamentarian, always formidable in debate. For thirty years he absolutely dominated the Conservative Party and twice he realized a once "wild ambition" to be prime minister.[2]

[1] In 1868–1874, 1880–1885, 1886, and 1892–1894. [2] In 1868 and 1874–1880.



GLADSTONE

After the painting by Sir J. E. Millais.
National Gallery, London.



DISRAELI

In 1866 Gladstone, then leader of the House of Commons, introduced a measure for franchise reform. Such old-fashioned Liberals as were opposed to further concessions to democracy combined with the Conservatives to defeat the bill and overthrow the ministry. **Passage of the Second Reform Act**

The Conservatives then returned to power, with Disraeli the real, though not the titular, chief of the party. The Conservative ministry was even less friendly to reform than its Liberal predecessor, but popular demonstrations throughout the country convinced Disraeli that an extension of the suffrage could no longer be delayed. He decided "to dish the Whigs" by granting it himself. This was done in 1867.

The Second Reform Act gave the vote in the boroughs to all householders, whatever the value of their property, and to all lodgers who paid ten pounds or more a year for unfurnished rooms. By thus enfranchising workingmen, it almost doubled the electorate. The only considerable class still without the vote was that of the agricultural laborers. **Provisions of the Second Reform Act**

130. Political Democracy, 1867–1918

Disraeli expected that the Second Reform Act would unite under the Conservative banner both aristocrats and working people against the great middle class represented by the Liberals. He was disappointed. The next election showed that the enfranchised workingmen preferred Gladstone's Liberal leadership. In 1872 Gladstone, who had now become premier, secured the passage of a bill providing for the secret or Australian[1] ballot, in place of open elections. The Ballot Act did away with the old-time corruption and intimidation in elections. **Ballot Act, 1872**

During his second ministry Gladstone carried democratic reform still further by the passage of the Third Reform Act. It made the county franchise practically identical with that of the boroughs, thus giving the vote to agricultural laborers.

[1] First used by British colonists in Victoria, Australia, and now found in the United States and many other countries.

Most Conservatives and many Liberals thought it dangerous to go to such lengths. But Gladstone answered: "I take my stand upon the broad principle that the enfranchisement of capable citizens, be they few or be they many — and if they be many so much the better — is an addition to the strength of the state."

Third Reform Act, 1884

The United Kingdom after 1884 enjoyed virtually universal manhood suffrage, such as had already been established in France (1848), Germany (1871), and the United States. But the demand for "votes for women," which began to be heard from about this time, only aroused the anger or ridicule of Liberals and Conservatives alike. Nevertheless, woman suffrage organizations were formed, debates were held on the platform and in the newspapers, and equal franchise bills were introduced into Parliament. The movement for many years made slow progress, though some women received the right to vote in local elections.

Agitation for woman suffrage

The World War gave women the vote in the United Kingdom. Their patriotic service in the hospitals, in munition factories, and on the farms had its reward in 1918, when both parties in Parliament assented to an Equal Franchise Act. This measure ranks in importance with the three acts of 1832, 1867, and 1884. It not only confers the franchise for the House of Commons upon substantially every man over twenty-one years of age in Great Britain and Ireland, but also confers it upon every woman over thirty years of age who has hitherto voted in local elections or is the wife of a local elector. There are now about twenty-one million voters in the United Kingdom, or nearly one-half of the population.

Equal Franchise Act, 1918

After almost a century of gradual reform Great Britain has thus definitely abandoned the old theory, rooted in feudal conceptions, of the franchise as a *privilege* attached to the ownership of property, especially land. Voting henceforth becomes a *right* to be enjoyed by every citizen, whether man or woman. A general election for members of Parliament is now an appeal to a responsible people,

Democratic Great Britain

and the will of the majority of the people must be carried out by Parliament. Politically, Great Britain ranks among the most democratic of modern countries.

131. Government of the United Kingdom

The written constitution of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland[1] consists, first, of royal charters, second, of parliamentary statutes, third, of the Common Law as expressed in court decisions, and fourth, of international treaties. Besides such documents, it includes a large mass of customs and precedents, which, though unwritten, are none the less binding on Crown and Parliament. The British constitution, easily modified and ever growing with the increase of law and legislation, affords a sharp contrast to that of the United States, which can be amended only slowly and with difficulty. The one is a "flexible" constitution, the other, a "rigid" constitution.

The British constitution

As far as appearances go, the sovereign of Great Britain and Ireland is a divine-right monarch. Coins and proclamations still recite that he rules "by the grace of God" (*dei gratia*), and the opening words of the British national anthem are "God Save Our Lord and King." He is also, as far as appearances go, an absolute monarch. Whatever the government does, from the arrest of a criminal to the declaration of a war, is done in his name. But every one knows that the British sovereign now only acts by and with the advice of his responsible ministers. Should George V attempt to revive the absolutism of James II, he would meet the fate of James II.

The Crown

This figurehead king occupies, nevertheless, a useful place in the British governmental system. As the representative of the nation, he often exercises a restraining, moderating influence upon public affairs, especially through his consultations with politicians of both parties. He himself stands above party. A common loyalty to the Crown, as an

Position of the Crown

[1] Ireland by the Act of Union (effective in 1801) was joined to Great Britain to form the United Kingdom.

ancient, dignified, and permanent institution, also helps to bind together the self-governing commonwealths of the British Empire. It is a symbol of imperial unity such as could scarcely be afforded by an elective and constantly changing Presidency. The rising tide of republicanism has thus failed to affect the British monarchy, and the personal popularity of Queen Victoria, Edward VII, and George V seems to have established it more solidly than a century ago in the esteem of their subjects.

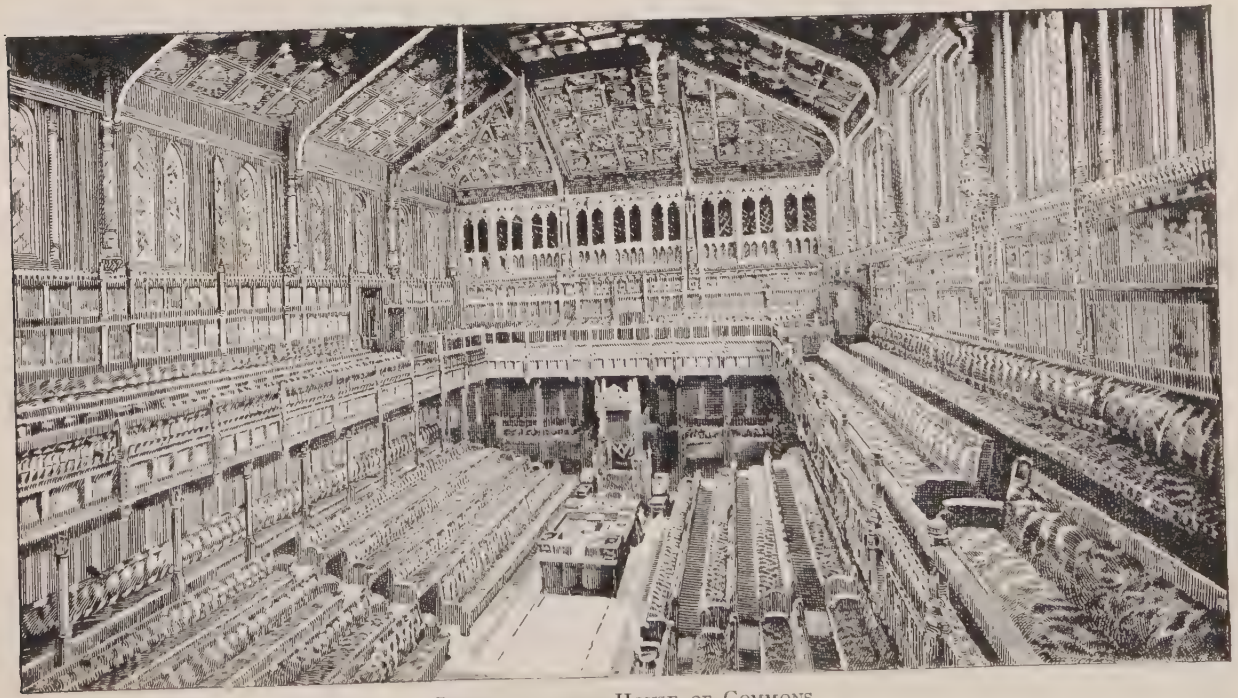
Parliament

British legal theory makes Parliament consist of the Crown, the House of Lords, and the House of Commons. The share of the Crown is now limited to expressing assent to a bill after its passage by the Commons and the Lords. Such assent the king must give. The royal veto has not been expressly taken away, but Queen Anne in 1707 was the last sovereign to exercise this former prerogative. Nor may the courts set aside an act of Parliament as unconstitutional, for every statute is a part of the constitution. An American student, accustomed to the water-tight division of powers between President, Congress, and the federal courts, finds it hard to appreciate the legal omnipotence of the British Parliament. The only check upon it is the political good sense of the British people.

House of Lords

The House of Lords contains upwards of seven hundred members: the Lords Spiritual (archbishops and bishops) and the Lords Temporal (princes of the royal blood, all English peers, and a certain number of Scotch and Irish peers). There are also four law lords, who, with the Lord Chancellor, form the highest court of appeal for certain cases. The Lord Chancellor presides over the House of Lords. The power to create new peers belongs to the Crown, but usually the prime minister decides who shall be selected for this honor. Distinction in any field is frequently recognized by the grant of a peerage. Lawyers, authors, artists, scientists, and generals rub shoulders with gentlemen landlords, capitalists, and politicians on the floor of the House of Lords.

The House of Lords was the dominant chamber until the passage of the First Reform Act. Since then it has been understood



INTERIOR OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

The narrow room in which the House of Commons holds its sessions contains seats for less than 350 of the 615 members. The discomfort in crowding is compensated for by the ease of hearing. The representatives sit on benches facing one another across the aisle. The Speaker of the House occupies a chair at the end of the room. On his right are the members of the Ministry; on his left, the Opposition. The Speaker's symbol, the mace, is carried before him when he formally leaves and enters the House, and remains on the table while he occupies the chair.

that the Lords might not oppose the Commons on any measure supported by a majority of the electorate. This purely conventional restriction was written into the constitution by the Parliament Act of 1911. The Lords agreed to it only when confronted, as in 1832, with the prospect of being "swamped" by a large number of newly created Liberal peers. The Parliament Act deprives the upper chamber of all control of money bills, that is, bills levying taxes or making appropriations. Such measures become laws one month after being sent from the Commons to the Lords, whether accepted by the latter or not. The act further provides that every other bill, passed by the Commons in three successive sessions (extending over two years at least) and rejected by the Lords at each of the three sessions, shall become law. The House of Lords is thus left with only a "suspensive veto" of legislation.

Parliament Act, 1911

The hereditary House of Lords is so frankly an anachronism in democratic Great Britain that from time to time various proposals have been made for its "mending or ending." Many reformers would like to see it become an elective upper chamber like the French and American Senates. Some radicals would abolish the House of Lords altogether, thus doing away with the bicameral system. There seems reason to believe, however, that in one form or another it will survive for many years. Birth and family still count for much in British society, and the average citizen retains a profound respect for the aristocracy.

Position of the House of Lords

The House of Commons consists of six hundred and fifteen members, chosen by universal suffrage from equal electoral districts in Great Britain and in Ireland. Commoners serve for five years, which is the maximum life of a single Parliament. This period is curtailed whenever the Crown, on the advice of its ministers, dissolves the House of Commons and orders a new general election. Voting does not take place on one day throughout the United Kingdom; it may extend over as much as two weeks. Nor need a candidate be a resident of the district which he proposes to represent.

The House of Commons

HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, LONDON

Designed by Sir Charles Barry; begun in 1840; completed in 1857. The edifice is in the richest style of Tudor Gothic architecture. It occupies an area of eight acres, contains eleven courts or quadrangles, and cost $15,000,000. The principal façade, overlooking the Thames, measures 940 feet in length. There are three towers: the Clock Tower, containing the famous bell Big Ben, whose resonant note may be heard over the greater part of London; the Central Tower, used as a ventilating shaft; and the great Victoria Tower, 336 feet high. When Parliament is in session, a light is shown in the Clock Tower by night, and a flag flies from the Victoria Tower by day.

Defeat in one constituency, therefore, does not necessarily exclude a man from Parliament; he may always "stand" for another constituency. Prominent politicians, as a rule, retain seats in the House of Commons year after year. The property qualification for members of the House of Commons has been abolished, and since 1911 they have received salaries.

Parliament works through a committee known as the cabinet.[1] This body, which developed during the eighteenth century, exists purely by custom and has no place whatever in the written constitution of the United Kingdom. The cabinet usually includes about twenty commoners and lords, who belong to the party in power. During the World War, however, a "coalition" cabinet, representing both parties carried on the government. Members of the cabinet are selected by a caucus of the majority party in Parliament, always, of course, with the approval of the prime minister, who is the recognized leader of the party. The cabinet acts together in all matters, thus presenting a united front to Parliament and the country.

The cabinet

The cabinet shapes legislation, determines policy, and administers the laws. In secret sessions it drafts the more important measures to be laid before the House of Commons. That body may amend bills thus presented to it, but amendments are usually few and unimportant. Should a cabinet measure fail to pass the Commons, or should the Commons vote a resolution of "no confidence,"

Cabinet government

House of Commons Mace

[1] The terms "cabinet" and "ministry" are used interchangeably. The ministry, however, contains a large number of administrative officers who do not attend cabinet meetings.

custom requires the cabinet to resign or "go to the country." In the former case, the king "sends for" the leader of the opposite party and invites him to form a cabinet which will have the support of the Commons. In the latter case, the king dissolves Parliament and calls a general election. The return of a majority favorable to the cabinet permits it to remain in office; otherwise the prime minister and his associates give way to a cabinet formed by the Opposition.

No. 10, Downing Street

The larger of the two houses here shown is the official residence of the British prime minister. It faces a little street opening into Whitehall and near the Parliament buildings.

Public opinion and the cabinet

However powerful, the cabinet is not an irresponsible oligarchy. Public opinion prevails in Great Britain as in other democratic countries. Proposals for new legislation, as a rule, are thoroughly discussed in newspapers and on the platform before and after their submission by the cabinet to the House of Commons. No cabinet would think of backing a measure which in its judgment was not favored by the great body of the electorate. As has been noted, general elections must be held at least every five years and may be held at any time in order to secure an expression of the popular will. Furthermore, a defeat at a general election or a defeat or vote of censure in the House of Commons is not always necessary for the downfall of a cabinet. The prime minister sometimes resigns office even when he retains a majority in the Commons, if he feels that his policies are no longer acceptable to the country at large. Public opinion thus affects all legislative measures and determines the rise and fall of cabinets.

The Liberals and Conservatives continue in control of Parliament throughout the nineteenth century. The twentieth century has seen the rise of the Labor Party, which in 1924 became strong enough for a time to form a cabinet and select its prime minister. From the middle 'eighties the Irish Nationalists, who advocated Home Rule for Ireland, formed an important minority party, usually in alliance with the Liberals. The Nationalists, however, gave way to the Sinn Feiners, whose program was an independent Ireland.

Political parties

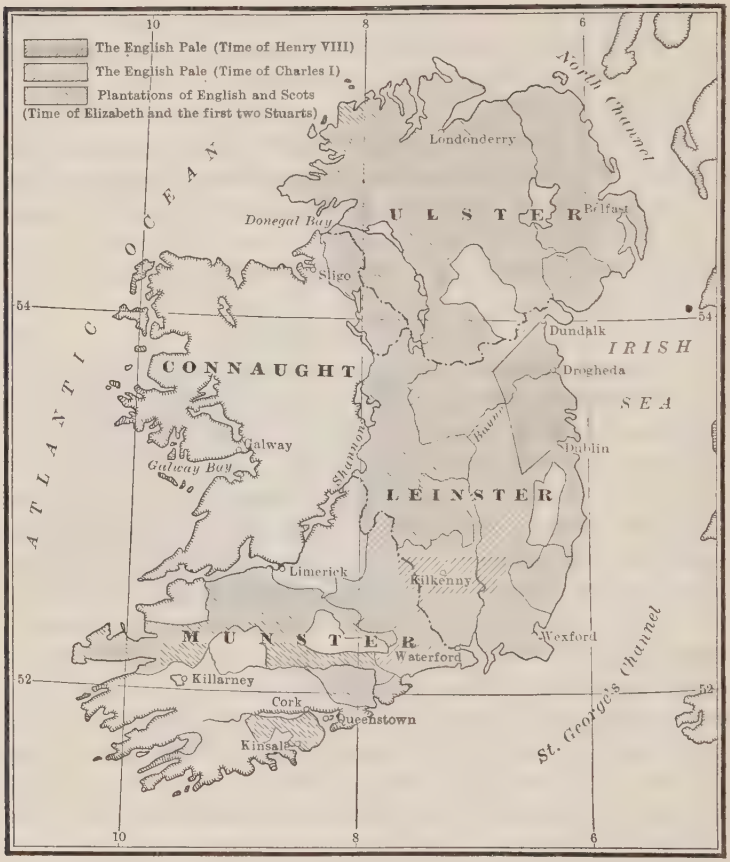
132. The Irish Question

The English entered Ireland during the reign of Henry II in the twelfth century. They first occupied the region around Dublin, which received the name of the Pale. Later sovereigns, especially Henry VIII and Queen Elizabeth, extended English dominion throughout the island and sought to Anglicize it by introducing the English language, the Common Law, and the Anglican Church. The Irish, however, would not give up their own Celtic speech, their tribal customs, and their Roman Catholic faith. Ireland constantly seethed with rebellion, and it required the iron hand of Oliver Cromwell to bring peace to the distracted country. At the time of the "Glorious Revolution" the Roman Catholic Irish espoused the side of James II, but William of Orange (William III) completely defeated James II at the battle of the Boyne in 1690. For the next century Ireland remained quiescent under alien rule.

The English in Ireland

The government of England in its efforts to subdue Ireland early adopted the policy of colonizing parts of it with immigrants, who would be more tractable than the natives. Early in the reign of James I Protestant Scotch and English were settled in the province of Ulster, where they received ample estates and privileges. After Cromwell's pacification of Ireland, other "plantations" of Englishmen took place in Leinster and Munster. William III subsequently rewarded his adherents by granting them more than a million acres of Irish soil.

Land confiscations



IRELAND

These confiscations gave rise to an acute agrarian problem in Ireland. Much of the country belonged to the heirs and successors of the Englishmen who had received Irish estates. They usually lived in England, seldom or never visited Ireland, and took no interest in the welfare of the Irish tenantry. The management of their property was left to hard-hearted agents, who seized every opportunity to raise the rents of tenants.

Absentee landlordism

Such opportunities constantly arose. There were few ways

of earning a living in Ireland except from the soil, and keen competition among the peasantry for farms forced up rentals to an exorbitant amount. The landlord, as a rule, received everything above a bare subsistence for the tenant and his family. "Rack-renting" increased the misery of the peasants. All improvements on a farm had to be made by the tenant, but if he made them his rent was immediately raised. Refusal to pay it meant eviction from his cottage home. No wonder that under this system the soil was wretchedly cultivated.

"Rack-renting"

Year after year Irish peasants sank deeper in poverty. The high rents and the scanty yield of the ill-used soil kept them constantly on the verge of starvation. They did starve whenever there was a failure of the potato crop, on which they chiefly relied for food.[1] Conditions were worst during the Potato Famine of 1846–1847. Eighty thousand persons, it is estimated, perished at this time, in spite of charity and government aid. The survivors emigrated in great numbers to America. Within four years the population of the country decreased by more than a million. The decline continued to the end of the nineteenth century, until Ireland had lost by mortality and emigration half of its people.

The Potato Famine

Many years elapsed before the British government made a resolute attempt to remedy agrarian distress in Ireland. Gladstone's Land Act in 1881 marks the first constructive legislation to meet the Irish demand for the three "F's" — fair rent (a rent fixed by public authority instead of by competition), fixity of tenure (the right of a peasant to hold his land as long as he paid rent), and free sale (his right to sell to his successor any improvements made by him). The Land Purchase Acts, passed by the Conservative Party in 1891 and 1903, create a state fund from which tenants may borrow money on easy terms to buy their holdings. Thousands of Irishmen have already availed themselves of this opportunity to get rid of the hated landlords and become independent proprietors. The agrarian problem in Ireland bids fair soon to be solved.

Land legislation

[1] The potato had been introduced into Ireland from America.

The religious problem has already been solved. Ireland, it will be remembered, did not become Protestant at the time of the Reformation, and to this day three-fourths of the population remain attached to the Roman Catholic faith. Nevertheless, Irish Catholics had to pay tithes for the support of the Anglican Church in Ireland, until after the middle of the nineteenth century. Gladstone's first ministry removed this grievance by disestablishing the Anglican Church in Ireland. Disestablishment meant that Ireland would no longer have a state church to which all the people, irrespective of their religious beliefs, were obliged to contribute.

Disestablishment, 1869

The third problem is that of Home Rule. After the Act of Union in 1801, Ireland continued to be governed by the British Parliament, in which the English and Scots hold an overwhelming majority. Irishmen objected to this arrangement and demanded the restoration of the former Irish Parliament, which sat in Dublin. The first leader of the Home Rule agitation was the celebrated orator and patriot, Daniel O'Connell. His failure to secure by constitutional means the repeal of the Act of Union led to the formation of a Young Ireland Party, which unsuccessfully imitated the Continental revolutions of 1848.

Home Rule

During the 'seventies and 'eighties of the last century the cause of Home Rule found its ablest advocate in Charles Stewart Parnell. He was a landlord and a Protestant, but nevertheless won the enthusiastic support of all Irish patriots. Parnell took the leadership of the Irish Nationalists, a political party devoted to Home Rule. When Gladstone entered upon his third ministry in 1886, the Nationalists were numerous enough to hold the balance of power in the House of Commons. Gladstone could only secure their support by introducing a Home Rule Bill. So bitter was the opposition to it that nearly a hundred Liberals deserted their party and joined the Conservatives, thus defeating the measure. In 1893 the "Grand Old Man," now premier for the fourth time, brought in his second Home Rule Bill. It passed the Commons but met defeat in the Lords. Mr. Asquith's Liberal ministry

Home Rule bills

subsequently introduced a third Home Rule Bill. Having thrice passed the House of Commons, it became a law in 1914, notwithstanding its rejection by the House of Lords. The outbreak of the World War, however, suspended the operation of the measure. It proved to be so unpopular with all classes of Irishmen that in 1920 Mr. Lloyd George secured the enactment of still another Home Rule Bill. It provided for the creation of two legislative bodies, one in the north of Ireland (Ulster) and one in the south, with a council selected by the two legislatures to form a connecting link between them. They were to control all local matters and most of the administrative machinery except the army and navy, and were to have extensive powers over taxation. The two legislatures might at any time agree to combine into a single legislature for all Ireland. Had this compromise scheme gone into effect, the representation of Ireland in the British Parliament at Westminster would have been reduced to forty-two members.

Meanwhile, an agitation in favor of complete independence had made rapid progress everywhere in Ireland except in Ulster. It owed much to a group of quiet scholars, who devoted themselves to the revival of Irish literature, the old Irish language (Erse), and the sentiment of Irish nationality. This national movement gave birth to the Sinn Fein[1] Party. The members insisted upon the entire separation of Ireland from Great Britain. In the spring of 1916 they allied themselves with radical workingmen of Dublin, and proclaimed an Irish Republic. British troops put down the insurrection and executed some of its leaders. Though the Sinn Feiners secured nearly all the Irish representation in Parliament at the general election in 1918, they refused to take their seats at Westminster. Members of the organization then entered upon negotiations with Great Britain in the effort to secure for Ireland, if not complete freedom, at least complete self-government.

The Sinn Fein

These negotiations have now been crowned with success. Their result, in 1922, was the creation of the Irish Free State, with its capital at Dublin. Great Britain grants to it the same

[1] Irish for "Ourselves alone."

measure of freedom that is enjoyed by Canada and the other self-governing Dominions of the British Empire. Ulster, however, has insisted upon exclusion from the Free State and maintains its own "Government of Northern Ireland," as provided for in the Home Rule Act of 1920. The Irish have thus secured the right to govern themselves, but Great Britain still keeps some measure of control over them in military and international matters.

Irish Free State

133. The British Empire

The United Kingdom is the cradle and present center of the British Empire. That empire is of comparatively recent formation. In 1603, at the accession of James I, England did not possess a mile of foreign territory, excepting the Channel Islands. Since then imperial expansion has gone on in India, Africa, Australia, North America, and the islands of the seas, until now the Union Jack floats over a quarter of the land surface of the globe.

Growth of the empire

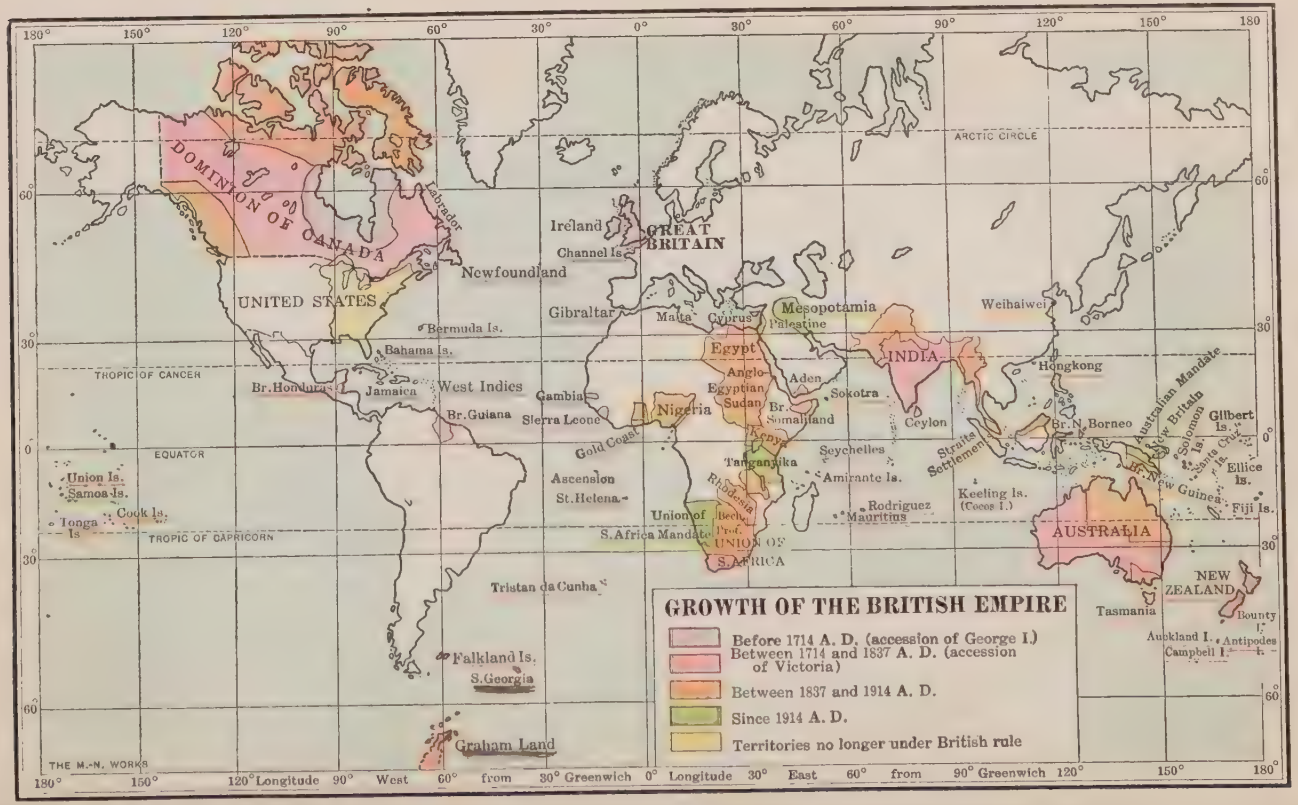
The British Empire, unlike most of the great empires of the past, does not stretch continuously on land. Its territorial possessions are found in every continent. Its trade routes and lines of communication by steamship and submarine cable lie across thousands of miles of water. Without sea-power, the empire would speedily break into fragments, some becoming independent countries and others being annexed by their stronger neighbors.

Sea-power and the empire

Sea-power depends primarily on superiority of naval force, which the British secured by their maritime warfare with the Dutch and French in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. The World War, resulting in the capture or destruction of most of the German fleet, confirmed Great Britain's position as mistress of the seas. This position, however, she surrendered in 1922 by her agreements (in company with the United States, France, Italy, and Japan) at the Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armament.

The British navy

Sea-power is also dependent to some degree upon the existence of naval bases, where warships may obtain coal and other


GROWTH OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE
Before 1714 A. D. (accession of George I.)
Between 1714 and 1837 A. D. (accession of Victoria)
Between 1837 and 1914 A. D.
Since 1914 A. D.
Territories no longer under British rule
DOMINION OF CANADA
UNITED STATES
GREAT BRITAIN
Ireland
Channel Is.
Newfoundland
Labrador
Bermuda Is.
Bahama Is.
Gibraltar
Malta
Cyprus
Mesopotamia
Palestine
Egypt
Anglo-Egyptian Sudan
Aden
Sokotra
INDIA
Weihaiwei
Hongkong
Br. Honduras
Jamaica
West Indies
Br. Guiana
Gambia
Sierra Leone
Nigeria
Br. Somaliland
Ceylon
Br. N. Borneo
Australian Mandate
Br. Solomon Is.
Gilbert Is.
Santa Cruz
Ellice Is.
Br. New Guinea
Fiji Is.
Gold Coast
Kenya
Tanganyika
Seychelles
Amirante Is.
Straits Settlements
Keeling Is. (Cocos I.)
Ascension
St. Helena
Rhodesia
Union of S. Africa
Rodriguez
Mauritius
S. Africa Mandate
UNION OF S. AFRICA
AUSTRALIA
NEW ZEALAND
Tasmania
Bounty I.
Auckland I.
Antipodes I.
Campbell I.
Union Is.
Samoa Is.
Cook Is.
Tonga Is
Tristan da Cunha
Falkland Is.
S. Georgia
Graham Land
ARCTIC CIRCLE
TROPIC OF CANCER
EQUATOR
TROPIC OF CAPRICORN
180° 150° 120° 90° 60° 30° 0° 30° 60° 90° 120° 150° 180°
Longitude West from Greenwich
Longitude East from Greenwich
THE M.-N. WORKS

	Africa	*Asia*	*Oceania*	*America*
GREAT BRITAIN	Ascension Island, St. Helena, Gambia, Sierra Leone, Gold Coast Colony, Ashanti, Western Togo, Nigeria, Union of South Africa (Cape of Good Hope, Natal, Orange Free State, Transvaal), Southwest Africa, Basutoland, Swaziland, Bechuanaland Protectorate, Rhodesia, Nyasaland Protectorate, Zanzibar, Tanganyika Territory, Kenya Colony, Uganda Protectorate, British Somaliland, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Mauritius, Seychelles	Cyprus, Aden, Sokotra, Perim, Ceylon, Maldive Islands, British India (Madras, Bombay, Bengal, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Punjab, Bihar and Orissa, Central Provinces and Berar, Northwest Frontier Province, Ajmir-Merwara, Coorg, Delhi, Baluchistan, Assam, Burma, Andaman and Nicobar Islands), Feudatory Indian States, Malay States, Straits Settlements, Hongkong, Weihaiwei	British North Borneo, Brunei, Sarawak, Papua or British New Guinea, New Britain, New Ireland, Solomon Islands, Santa Cruz Islands, Australian Commonwealth (New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, Western Australia, Tasmania), New Zealand, Fiji Islands, Tonga Islands, Cook Islands, Gilbert Islands, Western Samoa	Newfoundland and Labrador, Dominion of Canada (Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta British Columbia, Yukon, Keewatin, Mackenzie, Franklin), British West Indies (Bahamas, Bermudas, Jamaica, Leeward Islands, Windward Islands, Barbados, Trinidad, Tobago), British Honduras, British Guiana, Falkland Islands
FRANCE	Algeria, Tunis, Morocco, French West Africa (Mauretania, Senegal, Upper Senegal and Niger, French Guinea, Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, Eastern Togo, Dahomey, Sahara), Cameroons, French Equatorial Africa, French Somaliland, Madagascar, Comoro Islands, Réunion Island	French India (Mabé, Karikal, Pondicherry, Yanaon, Chandernagor), Tonkin, Anam, Laos, Cambodia, Cochin-China, Kwangchauwan	New Caledonia, Loyalty Islands, Society Islands, Marquesas Islands, Paumotu or Low Archipelago	French Guiana, French West Indies (Guadeloupe, Martinique), Miquelon Island, St. Pierre Island
ITALY	Eritrea, Italian Somaliland, Libya (Tripolitana, Cyrenaica)			
SPAIN	Rio Muni, Rio de Oro, Northern Morocco, Fernando Po Island, Canary Islands			
PORTUGAL	Cape Verde Islands, Portuguese Guinea, Portuguese West Africa or Angola, Portuguese East Africa or Mozambique	Goa, Daman, Diu, Macao	Eastern Timor	
BELGIUM	Belgian Congo			
HOLLAND			Sumatra, Java, Western Timor, Dutch Borneo, Celebes, Molucca Islands, Dutch New Guinea	Dutch Guinea or Surinam, Curaçao
DENMARK				Greenland

supplies. Great Britain has them at convenient intervals on nearly all the great trade routes. Gibraltar, Malta, and Cyprus give her control of the Mediterranean. Suez, Aden, and various islands in the Indian Ocean guard the shortest route to India and Australia. In the Far East she has Singapore, Hongkong, Weihaiwei, and other important ports. Her African stations include the islands of Ascension, St. Helena, Mauritius, and Seychelles. In American waters the Bermudas and the British West Indies provide stations for military and commercial purposes, all the more valuable since the completion of the Panama Canal. These naval bases are the real sea-links of the empire.

British naval bases

The population of the British Empire, excluding the United Kingdom, is estimated at 400,000,000. Of these, about 20,000,000 are "colonials," the descendants of English, French, Dutch, and Spanish immigrants. The other inhabitants are "natives" — a comprehensive term to include the peoples of India, together with Malays, Chinese, Polynesians, Arabs, negroes, and American Indians. All the races of man, all stages of culture from savagery to civilization, all the principal religions, and nearly all the principal languages, of mankind are represented in the British possessions.

"Colonials" and "natives"

The word empire usually suggests the autocratic rule of conquerors over subjects. Autocracy indeed exists in the British Empire, for the "natives," who comprise nineteen-twentieths of the population, have as yet little or no voice in the management of their own concerns. On the whole, Great Britain rules them wisely, justly, even benevolently. She maintains peace — the *Pax Britannica* — keeps domestic order, abolishes such evil customs as slavery, cannibalism, and human sacrifice, introduces systems of education and sanitation, and spends large sums for the development of the natural resources of each possession. More and more it becomes the conscious purpose of Great Britain to train the more advanced of her native subjects in democracy, so that they may ultimately take a place among the great self-governing peoples of the empire.

British imperialism

As respects government, India stands by itself. British India, which includes two-thirds of the area of the country and three-fourths of the population, is ruled directly from London through a cabinet officer called the Secretary of State for India. The actual administration rests in the hands of an appointive viceroy, assisted by two councils and the officials of the Indian Civil Service. The remainder of India consists of native or feudatory states, about seven hundred in number. These continue to be ruled by their own princes, under the oversight and protection of Great Britain.

India

Besides the feudatory states of India, Great Britain has several protectorates, chiefly in Africa. She also possesses certain spheres of influence in Africa and other parts of the world, where foreign countries agree not to acquire territory or control, either by treaty or by annexation.

Protectorates and spheres of influence

In the seventeenth century trading companies chartered by the Crown established nearly all the American colonies of Great Britain and laid the foundation of her Indian dominions. In the nineteenth century similar chartered trading companies carried the British flag into the interior of Africa and among the islands of the Pacific. The British South Africa Company, organized by Cecil Rhodes, still controls the vast tract of territory called Rhodesia. Similarly, the British North Borneo Company governs North Borneo, though this country has now been declared a protectorate.

Chartered companies

The most numerous group of British possessions is composed of the Crown colonies. They are all under governors appointed by the Crown. In a few Crown colonies the governor exercises entire authority, both legislative and executive; in the others he is assisted by councils which are sometimes nominated by the Crown and sometimes selected by the colonists. The Crown colonies lie chiefly within the tropics and contain relatively few English-speaking inhabitants. Examples are the British West Indies, British Guiana, Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Ceylon, and the Straits Settlements.

Crown colonies

The group of self-governing colonies, or Dominions, is small in number, but it includes Canada, Newfoundland, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. Their government closely parallels that of the United Kingdom. In each colony the Crown is represented by a governor or governor-general; the House of Lords, by an upper chamber; and the House of Commons, by a popularly elected assembly. Each one has also a prime minister and the cabinet system. Great Britain controls the foreign relations of these five colonies, but otherwise allows them practically complete independence in matters of legislation. Without interference, they tax themselves, impose tariff duties, even on British goods, control immigration, raise their own armies, support their own navies, and have their own national flags. They are, in fact, "colonial nations."

Self-governing colonies

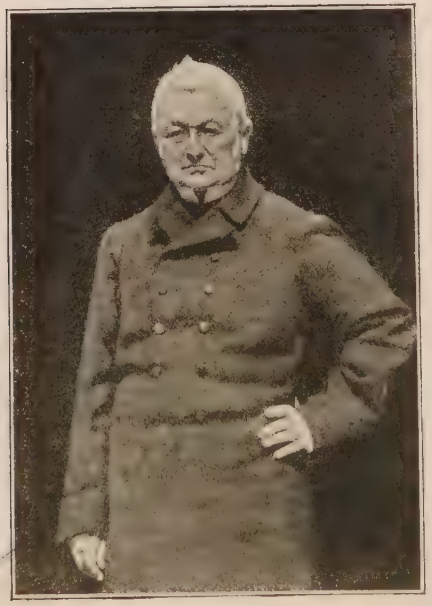
The nineteenth century was well advanced before Great Britain learned the right policy to adopt toward the "colonials" in North America, Australasia, and South Africa. The rising side of democratic sentiment, as seen in the reform of parliamentary representation, more than anything else stirred the British people to extend full rights to their colonies. Political emancipation at home had a natural result in political emancipation abroad. Canada first received self-government in the 'forties of the last century, and since then Great Britain has cordially bestowed the same precious gift upon her Australasian and South African dominions. Though virtually independent, they continue to enjoy the protection of the British Empire and to share in its glory.

British colonial policy

This change of British colonial policy, which has converted so much of the empire into a commonwealth of free states, is one of the outstanding facts of modern history. The vast extent of the Dominions, their enormous resources, and their rapidly growing population give promise of unlimited development in the future. They form a Greater Britain for the perpetuation through the ages of the language, laws, and institutions of the mother country.

Greater Britain

The British Empire, as at present constituted, is a complex



THIERS

After the painting by Léon Bonnat in 1876.

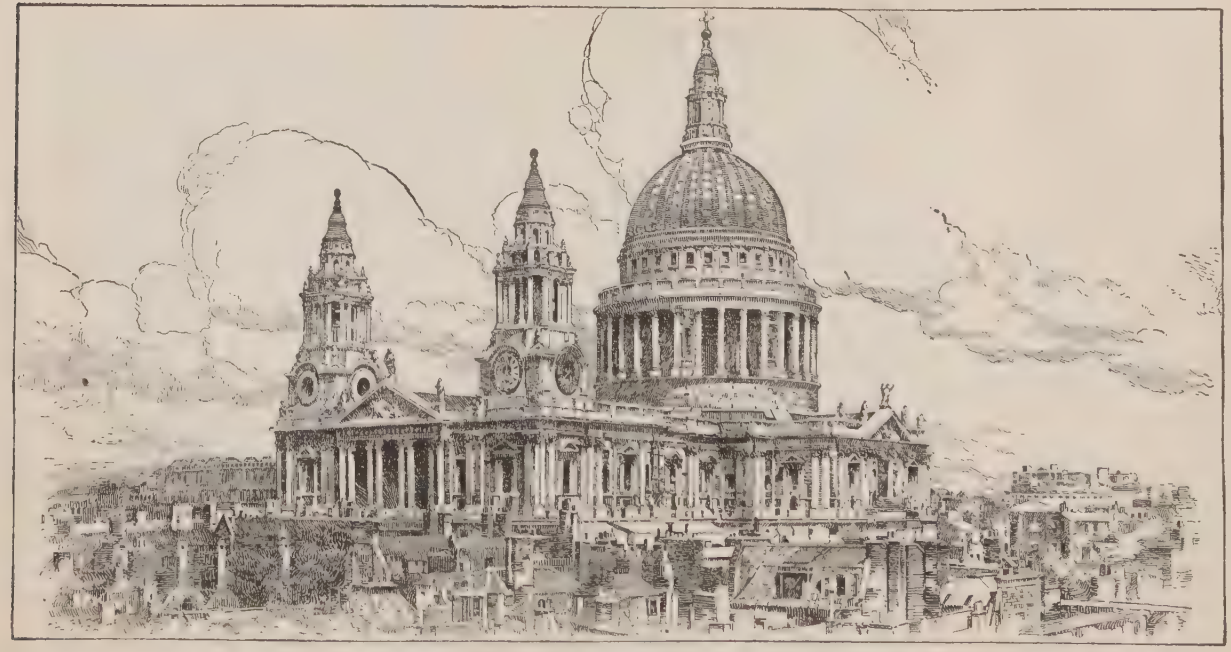
GAMBETTA

ARCTIC OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
INDIAN OCEAN
ANTARCTIC OCEAN
ASIA
NORTH DOMINI
UNITE
Dawson
Vancouver
Weihaiwei
Hongkong
INDIA
BURMA
STRAITS SETTL.
Singapore
MALAY STATES
LABUAN
SARAWAK
BR. N. BORNEO
BR. NEW GUINEA
AUSTRALIAN MANDATE
GILBERT IS.
NAURU
BR. MAN.
ELLICE IS.
SOLOMON IS.
NEW HEBRIDES
FIJI IS.
TONGA IS.
SAMOA
NEW ZEALAND MANDATE
COOK IS.
FANNING I.
CHRISTMAS I.
JARVIS I. (Br.)
MALDEN I.
STARBUCK I. (Br.)
DUDOZA I. (Br.)
MANAHIKI IS.
PHOENIX IS. (Br.)
UNION GROUP
EQUATOR I
TROPIC OF CANCER
International Date Line
CHRISTMAS I.
KEELING (COCOS) IS.
AUSTRALIA
Perth
Adelaide
Melbourne
Sydney
TASMANIA
Hobart
NEW ZEALAND
NORTH I.
SOUTH I.
STEWART I.
AUCKLAND I.
CAMPBELL I.
MACQUARIE I.
NORFOLK I.
(To Aust.)
LORD HOWE I.
KERMADEC IS.
CHATHAM IS.
BOUNTY IS.
ANTIPODES
PITCAIRN I. (Br.)
DUCIE I. (Br.)
Labuan Colony, Christmas and Keeling Is., are annexed to Singapore Settlement, a part of the Straits Settlements Crown Colony
Scales along the Equatoro
Nautical Miles
0 500 1000 2000 3000
0 500 1
THE MATTHEWS-NORTHRUP WORKS, BUFFALO, N. Y.
Longitude 120° East from 150° Greenwich 180° Longitude 150° West from 120° Gree

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

British Isles	Chartered Companies
Self-governing Colonies	Naval and Military Posts
Crown Colonies	India
Protectorates	Mandates

Islands belonging to British Empire but unattached are marked (*Br.*)



ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL, LONDON

The present edifice, replacing the cathedral destroyed by fire in the seventeenth century, is the work of the celebrated architect, Sir Christopher Wren. In general appearance St. Paul's resembles St. Peter's at Rome, but it is much smaller. The style of architecture unites Gothic and classical features. Lord Nelson, the duke of Wellington, and other famous Englishmen are buried in the crypt.

and apparently inharmonious organization of protectorates, Crown colonies, self-governing Dominions, and Indian states.

Imperial federation

The empire lacks a central body representing all its members and capable of united action. Steps in the direction of closer union have been taken by means of imperial conferences. The first was held at London in 1887, on the occasion of Queen Victoria's Jubilee celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of her accession to the throne, and was attended by representatives of the Dominions. Representatives of India also appeared at the last conference in 1921. Naval and military defense, tariffs, and other matters of common concern are discussed at these periodical gatherings. They make, therefore, for a better understanding between Great Britain and her dependencies. Further steps toward uniting the British Empire will doubtless be taken in the future.

But the machinery of federation is a secondary matter, as long as the British Empire is one in spirit. The defects of its body are compensated for by the unity of its soul.

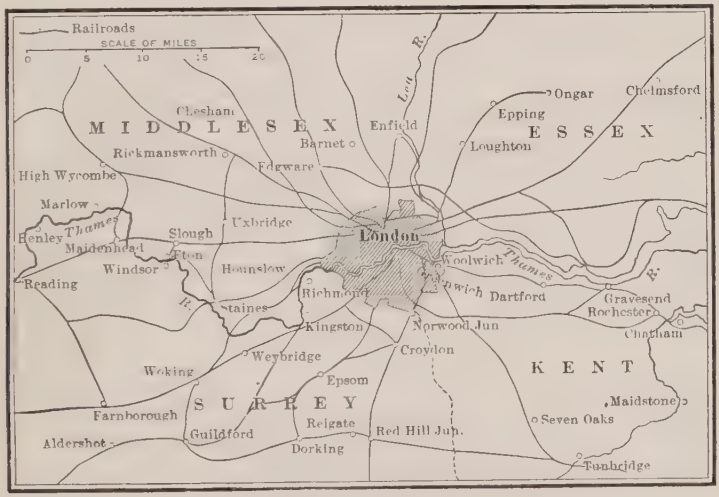
Imperial unity

The real strength of the bonds between Great Britain and her children overseas was first shown during the Boer War of 1899, when they rallied loyally to her support. During the World War both "colonials" and "natives" made huge contributions in money, food, ships, and men to Great Britain in her hour of need. The British Empire, in the words of Edmund Burke, is held together "by the close affection which grows from common names, from kindred blood, from similar privileges, and equal protection. These are ties, which, though light as air, are as strong as links of iron."

Studies

1. Distinguish between England, Great Britain, the United Kingdom, and the British Empire. 2. Show that the British constitution is of the "flexible" type, while that of the United States is of the "rigid" type. 3. Explain the royal, aristocratic, and democratic elements, respectively, in the British system of government. 4. Show that in Great Britain "the king reigns, but does not govern." 5. Why is the British government sometimes called a "crowned republic"? 6. Contrast the unlimited powers of the British Parliament with the limited powers of the American Congress. 7. Why has the House of Lords been called "the Westminster Abbey of living celebrities"? 8. Mention some noteworthy differences between

the British cabinet and the American cabinet. 9. How does the British system of government represent a "union of powers," as contrasted with the American system of a "separation of powers"? 10. "The Irish Question is the Achilles' heel of the British Empire." What does this statement mean? 11. On the map between pages 494 and 495, locate the self-governing colonies, the more important Crown colonies, the chartered companies, and the protectorates of the British Empire. 12. "Doubtless the most significant and momentous fact of modern history is the wide diffusion of the English race, the sweep of its commerce, the dominance of its institutions, its imperial control of the destinies of half the globe." Comment on this statement.



VICINITY OF LONDON

CHAPTER XV

THE CONTINENTAL COUNTRIES

134. The Third French Republic

The third French Republic arose in the midst of war. Two days after the battle of Sedan, upon the receipt of a dispatch from Napoleon III announcing his army captured and himself a prisoner, Paris broke out in revolt. The empress Eugénie fled with her son to England, and the absent emperor was deposed as being responsible for the "ruin, invasion, and dismemberment of the country." The revolutionists then set up a provisional government, republican in character. Similar action was taken independently in Lyons, Marseilles, Bordeaux, and other provincial cities. Paris in 1870 did not impose a republic upon the rest of the country; much of urban France declared spontaneously for it. The fact is important, as helping to explain why the Third Republic has lasted so much longer than its predecessors.

The republic proclaimed

The provisional government undertook the task of driving the Germans from French soil. Gambetta, the most prominent Republican leader, escaped from Paris in a balloon, roused the fighting spirit of the French people by his eloquence, and carried on for several months a brave but futile struggle against the German enemy. Equally futile were the diplomatic missions which Thiers [1] made to one European court after another, to enlist foreign aid for France. Paris could not be saved. After the fall of the capital a National Assembly ratified the humiliating Treaty of Frankfort [2] with Germany.

Peace made with Germany

Peace had not been made before France was called upon to endure the agonies of a civil conflict. The Commune,[3] or

[1] See page 434. [2] See page 465. [3] See page 375.

municipal council, of Paris fell into the hands of radical Republicans, socialists, and anarchists, who raised the red flag. They set up an independent government in the capital and even proposed to divide all France into a loose confederation of self-governing communes. The French people this time did not accept a revolution made in Paris. Loyal troops laid siege to the city, entered it after hard fighting, forced their way through the barricades, and suppressed the insurrection. The events of this "Bloody Week," like those of the Reign of Terror, fill a lurid page in French history.

The "communards" suppressed

The National Assembly in 1871 chose Thiers as "President of the Republic." Nevertheless, several years elapsed before France became republican in much more than name. Two-thirds of the members of the National Assembly were really attached to monarchical principles. They soon forced Thiers to resign in favor of Marshal MacMahon,[1] who was to make way for a king as soon as one should be chosen. The monarchists, however, could not agree upon a satisfactory candidate for the throne. This situation played into the hands of Gambetta, who made it his mission to spread republican ideas among conservative Frenchmen. The result was that in 1875 France adopted a republican constitution.

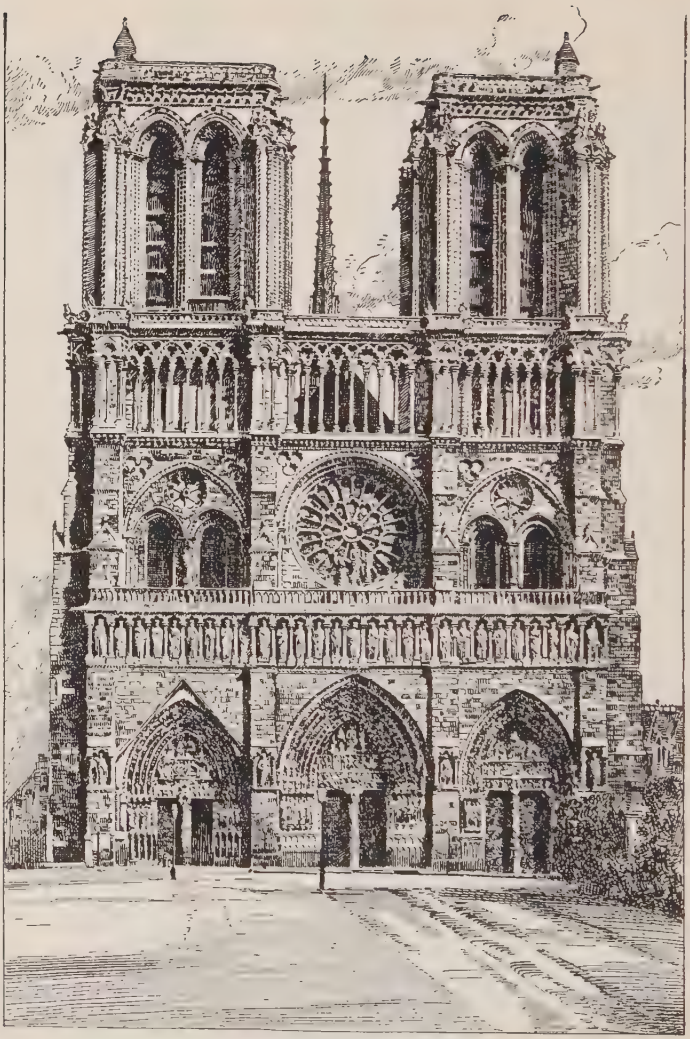
The Constitution of 1875

The Constitution of 1875 established a parliamentary form of government, which resembles that of the United Kingdom. Legislative authority is vested in a Chamber of Deputies and a Senate. The two houses have substantially equal powers in introducing and amending bills, except money bills, which must emanate from the Chamber of Deputies. The Senate has less importance than the Chamber of Deputies, because the premier and his associates in the ministry are responsible to the latter body. The two chambers, meeting together, may revise the constitution at any time.

The legislature

Executive authority is nominally vested in a president, who holds office for seven years. He may be reëlected, but this

[1] See page 464.



NOTRE DAME, PARIS

The present structure, begun in 1163 and completed about 1240, suffered severely during the French Revolution, when it was converted into a Temple of Reason. Extensive renovations and alterations were made during the nineteenth century. Two massive square towers, originally intended to support spires, crown the principal or western façade. Its three doors are surrounded by elaborate sculptures and surmounted by a row of figures representing twenty-eight kings of Israel and Judah. Above the central door is a rose window of stained glass and above this a graceful gallery of pointed arches supported on slender columns. The rood-spire is a modern restoration.

has happened only once. In order to prevent the rise of some future Louis Napoleon through popular election, the constitution prescribes that the president shall be chosen by a majority vote of the two branches of the legislature in joint session at Versailles. Any citizen, except a member of a French royal or imperial family, may offer himself for the presidency. The successful candidate is usually a prominent senator or deputy. Whenever the presidential office becomes vacant by the death or resignation of the incumbent, his successor must be immediately chosen for the full term. Like the British sovereign, the French president is largely a figurehead. He sends messages to parliament, receives foreign visitors, and presides at public functions, but his powers are very limited. The constitution provides that every presidential act shall be countersigned by some minister, who thereby assumes responsibility for it. When a change of ministry occurs, the president chooses a leading parliamentarian to be premier and the latter selects his own colleagues.

The president

The real executive in France, as in all parliamentary countries, is the ministry or cabinet. Ministers are almost always members of parliament. They may sit in both chambers and may address the legislators as often as seems desirable. A minister's position is no sinecure. Not only must he conduct his department, but he must also be constantly before parliament to present, explain, and defend his measures. Any senator or deputy may direct a formal question at a minister on the conduct of his office. Such an "interpellation" puts the ministry on the defensive and precipitates a brisk debate. If the Chamber of Deputies ends by passing a vote of "no confidence," the ministry resigns.

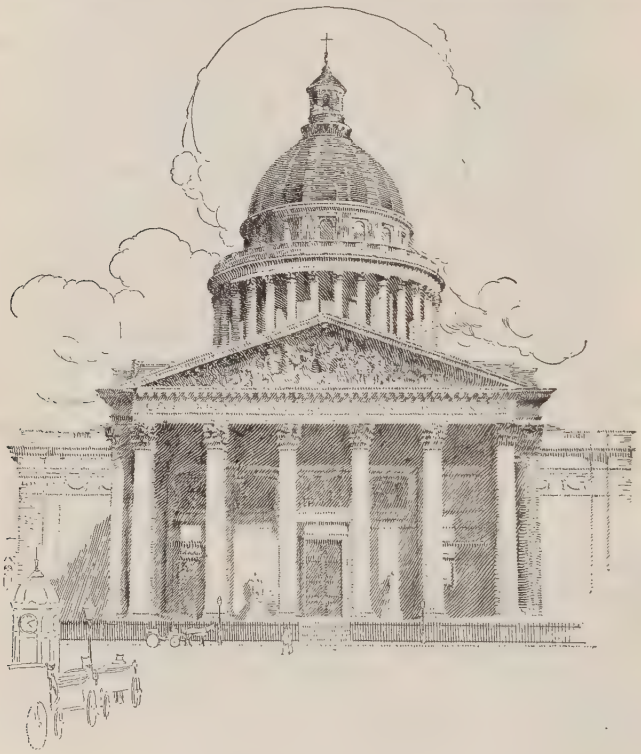
The ministry

France has no real parties, but only political groups. The elections of 1919, for instance, returned representatives of nine such groups to the Chamber of Deputies. The majority of members are Republicans of various shades of opinion, ranging from conservatism to

Political groups

radicalism. There are several large groups of socialists, as well as a few Monarchists, who would like to restore either the Bourbons or the Bonapartes.

The existence of so many political groups explains why changes



THE PANTHÉON, PARIS

Built in the second half of the eighteenth century, on the site of the tomb of Ste.-Geneviève, the patron saint of Paris. Used originally as a church, but secularized by the revolutionists in 1791 as a sepulcher for great Frenchmen. Voltaire and Rousseau are entombed here. The pediment is filled with a sculptured group representing France distributing laurels to her children.

of ministry are frequent in France. No ministry can arise except one which represents a coalition (*bloc*) of several groups; no ministry can live long unless it keeps the support of several groups. In fact, it never does

Ministerial changes

live long. France since 1875 has averaged more than one ministry a year. A ministerial change, however, is far less significant in France than in Great Britain, owing to the absence of one opposition party able to take the reins of government. Many members of a defeated ministry are found, as a rule, in the ministry which succeeds it, with perhaps a change of portfolios. Leading politicians may thus remain almost continuously in office for a long period.

It should be noted, finally, that France has a permanent body of nearly one million officials, who carry on their administrative duties unvexed by ministerial "crises." This bureaucracy, or civil service, is especially necessary in France, which, as contrasted with the United States, forms a highly centralized republic. The systematic organization of the country into *départements* and their subdivisions by the French revolutionists and Napoleon [1] has been retained to the present time, with the result that the government, both national and local, is directed from Paris. The state keeps representatives everywhere, and an hour after an order has been given at the capital it can be carried out in the remotest hamlet. Such centralization seems curious in so democratic a country as France, but it apparently satisfies the French demand for order and regularity in the conduct of public affairs.

The bureaucracy

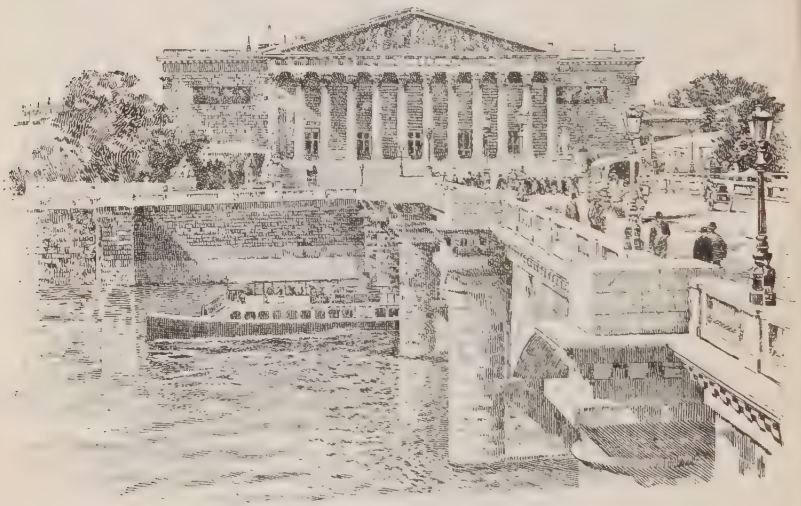
The most extensive French colonies are those in Africa. From Algeria, France has expanded eastward over Tunis, westward over Morocco, and southward into the Sahara. She also holds French Somaliland, a strategic point at the entrance of the Red Sea, and the large island of Madagascar. In Asia she has retained her Indian possessions and has enlarged her territories in Indo-China. In Oceania she possesses New Caledonia and several archipelagoes. The American colonies of France have not been increased since 1783. The area of this colonial empire is, roughly speaking, about twenty times that of France. Its population about equals that of the home country.

Colonial possessions

[1] See pages 376 and 391.

Nearly all the colonies lie within the tropics. The only countries having a considerable French population are Algeria, Tunis, and New Caledonia. It follows that the value to France of her overseas possessions is mainly commercial, as a source of raw materials and a field for the investment of capital. The World War also demonstrated their value in furnishing native soldiers and laborers.

Colonial administration



Chamber of Deputies, Paris

This fine structure was built in the eighteenth century as a palace for members of the Bourbon-Condé family. It became national property during the French Revolution. The façade, which faces the Pont de la Concorde, is in the style of an ancient temple.

The French government respects the institutions of the inhabitants and makes every effort to raise their moral and economic condition. None of the colonies is self-governing in the manner of the British Dominions, but some of them elect representatives to the French legislature. Algeria is treated in many respects, not as a colony, but as an integral part of France.[1]

[1] For a list of the French colonial possessions in Africa, Asia, Oceania, and America see the chart, page 491.

135. Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Belgium

The kingdom of Italy ranks next to the French Republic among the Latin states of contemporary Europe. The Italian constitution is the royal charter granted by Charles Albert of Sardinia in 1848,[1] and between 1859 and 1870 extended by plebiscites to the entire peninsula.[2] During these momentous years Italy thus gained both national unity and constitutional government.

Constitution of Italy

Italy has a well developed parliamentary system. Supreme authority resides in a parliament of two houses, consisting of an appointive Senate and an elective Chamber of Deputies. A ministry or cabinet conducts the government, subject to the will of the Chamber of Deputies. When a ministry resigns, some party leader is selected by the king to form its successor. The king otherwise exerts little influence upon domestic politics. He never vetoes bills passed by both branches of the legislature, seldom attends cabinet meetings, and appoints to office only those recommended by his ministers. An Italian monarch holds essentially the same ornamental position as a British sovereign or a French president. The house of Savoy is very popular in Italy, for Victor Emmanuel II, his son Humbert I, and Victor Emmanuel III, the present ruler, have shown themselves truly democratic and devoted to the welfare of their subjects.

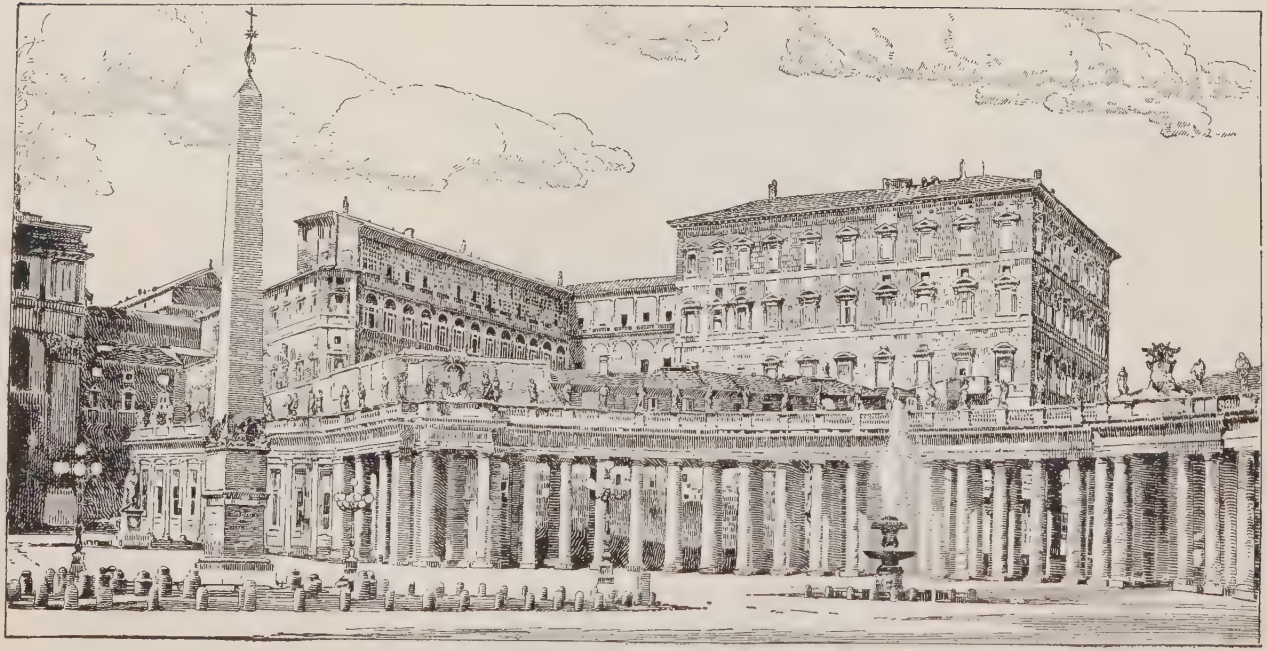
Italian parliamentary system

The party system of Italy resembles that of France. Political groups are numerous, rather loosely organized, and subject to constant fluctuation. Only three groups have well defined programs and constituencies. The Republicans, faithful to the traditions of Mazzini and Garibaldi, continue to agitate for a republican form of government; they are few in number. The Socialists stand for the same things as their brethren in other countries. They find recruits chiefly among the workingmen of the cities. The Catholics, or Clericals, who have only recently been allowed by the pope

Italian parties

[1] See page 451.

[2] See pages 453–456.



THE VATICAN, ROME

The palace of the Vatican, adjoining St. Peter's, became the fixed residence of the popes after their return from Avignon in 1377. Since the fifteenth century successive popes have reconstructed the original building on a magnificent scale. It contains thousands of rooms, some of which are used as art galleries, museums, and libraries. The palace gardens are extensive and beautiful.

to form a separate political party, uphold the influence of the Church in politics; their strength is among the peasantry.

Italian politics has long been complicated by the hostility between the government and the papacy. Cavour wanted the pope to give up his temporal power and retain only a spiritual sway over Catholics throughout the world. The pope did not favor this solution of the problem and clung to the States of the Church, which after 1860 included only Rome and its neighborhood. He lost even these possessions ten years later, when Italian troops occupied Rome. The temporal power of the papacy thus disappeared, after an existence of more than a thousand years.

Church and State in Italy

The relations of Church and State in Italy were henceforth defined by the Law of Papal Guarantees, enacted in 1871. It allowed the pope to retain his position as an independent sovereign, and as such to have his own court and diplomatic representatives, without interference from the Italian government. The papal territory, however, was limited to the Vatican and Lateran palaces in Rome, with their extensive gardens.

Law of Papal Guarantees

The Law of Papal Guarantees has never been acknowledged as valid by the popes. Pius IX, who occupied the chair of St. Peter in 1871, refused to recognize the new Italian kingdom and shut himself up in the Vatican. He also issued a decree forbidding Italian Catholics to vote or hold office under the royal government. His successors, Leo XIII and Pius X, continued this prohibition, but it was entirely removed in the year 1919 by Pope Benedict XV. With the entrance into Italian politics of a distinct Catholic party, the relations between the government and the "prisoner of the Vatican" promise to enter upon a new phase.

The "prisoner of the Vatican"

Italy's desire to rank among the great powers led her to take part in the scramble for overseas possessions, which has been so marked a feature of European history during the last half century. The Italians have established themselves in Eritrea and part of Somaliland, on the

Italian colonies

eastern coast of Africa. In 1911 Italy declared war on Turkey and conquered Tripolitana and Cyrenaica in northern Africa. The two provinces have been organized as a colony under the name of Libya. None of these African territories offers an inviting field for Italian settlement. The New World (Argentina, Brazil, and the United States) continues to receive most of the peasants and workingmen who emigrate from Italy.

Kingdom of Spain

Spain during the nineteenth century had a checkered history. Ferdinand VII, the Bourbon king who came back after Napoleon's downfall, ruled so wretchedly as to provoke an uprising.[1] This led to intervention by the Concert of Europe and his second restoration.[2] After his death Spain suffered from revolutions and civil wars. Early in the 'seventies the Spanish Liberals proclaimed a republic. Two insurrections, four *coups d'état*, and five presidents marked its brief course. The old dynasty of the Bourbons recovered the throne in 1875 and still occupies it. The present monarch is Ferdinand's great-grandson, Alfonso XIII.

The Spanish constitution

The constitution is liberal in character. It provides for a parliament (*cortes*) of two chambers and a responsible ministry. Manhood suffrage prevails. The king, as in Italy, enjoys little real authority, for all his decrees must be countersigned by a minister to be valid. Should the royal line become extinct, the constitution provides for popular election of a monarch.

Spanish colonies

The vast colonial empire of Spain was still intact a little more than a hundred years ago. The Spanish possessions in Mexico, Central America, and South America first became separate republics when Joseph Bonaparte mounted the throne of Spain in 1808. They definitely separated from the mother country after the restoration of Ferdinand VII. Cuba continued to be a badly governed and restless dependency until the United States intervened in 1898. At the Peace of Paris, which concluded the Spanish-American War, Spain renounced her sovereignty over Cuba and ceded Porto Rico and the Philippines to the United States. A year

[1] See page 414. [2] See page 423.

later, she sold to Germany her remaining island possessions in the Pacific. Her few African possessions, recently acquired, are a poor compensation for the loss of what was once the greatest colonial empire in the world.

Portuguese history in the nineteenth century to some extent duplicates that of Spain. Misgovernment, insurrections, and armed conflicts between rival factions kept the little country in turmoil for many years. From about the middle of the century the Portuguese had peace, but the failure of kingly rule to lessen taxes and introduce reforms resulted in much discontent, which found expression in republican propaganda. Matters came to a crisis in 1910, when a well-planned uprising in Lisbon drove the Portuguese ruler into exile. The revolutionists declared the dynasty of the Braganzas forever deposed and set up a republic. It still endures, in spite of much opposition from those who remain attached to the old monarchical régime. The republican constitution closely follows that of France.

Republic of Portugal

Though Portugal lost Brazil in the early 'twenties of the last century, she still keeps a colonial empire surpassed in extent only by the dominions of Great Britain and France. It is almost twenty-five times the size of the mother country. The most important Portuguese possessions are in Africa. The Azores and the Madeira Islands, which belong to Portugal, scarcely rank as colonies, being fully incorporated in the government of that country.

Portuguese colonies

The circumstances under which Belgium separated from Holland and became independent, with her perpetual neutrality guaranteed by the Concert of Europe, have been related in an earlier chapter. The Belgians, like the Swiss, form a united nation, in spite of the linguistic barriers between them. French is spoken by the Walloons in the southern provinces, and Flemish, a Teutonic tongue, by the Flemings in the northern provinces. Both Walloons and Flemings are almost wholly Roman Catholics. The constitution, framed in 1831, set up a limited monarchy of the modern type. Belgium has never had any trouble with her rulers,

Kingdom of Belgium

because they have steadily adhered to that clause of the constitution which declares that "all powers emanate from the people."

Belgium possesses only one colony, but it is about ten times her size. The vast district in Central Africa, formerly known as the Congo Free State and now as the Belgian Congo, was established in the early 'eighties by Leopold II, mainly as a commercial undertaking. The king became personal sovereign of the state, which proved to be very valuable for its rubber, ivory, and other products. In 1908 Leopold II surrendered his Congo properties to Belgium.

The Belgian Congo

136. Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden

The Congress of Vienna left Switzerland a confederation of twenty-two semi-independent cantons. The only bond between them was a common Diet, whose limited power recalls that of the American Congress under the Articles of Confederation. A new constitution, adopted in 1848 and subsequently revised, established a federal government somewhat resembling that of the United States. There is a legislature of two houses, the lower representing the people directly, the upper, each canton. The two houses in joint session select a committee of seven to act as an executive. The president of the confederation is merely the chairman of this committee. He serves for one year only and has no greater authority than his fellow members. In the dovetailing of federal and state powers the Swiss constitution follows American precedents. The federal government regulates matters affecting all the people, such as foreign relations, tariffs, coinage, the postal service, and the army, but the several cantons retain control of local concerns.

The Swiss Confederation

In some parts of Switzerland the inhabitants have preserved their ancient open-air assemblies, where all the male citizens appear personally, once a year, and by a show of hands elect officials, levy taxes, and make the laws. Such direct or pure democracy is possible only in the smaller and less thickly populated cantons.

Direct democracy

The larger cantons possess representative assemblies, but over them the people exercise constant control by means of the referendum and the initiative. In some cantons every measure passed by the cantonal legislature must be submitted to a popular vote for adoption or rejection; in the others submission takes place only upon petition of a specified number of voters. The complement of such a referendum is the initiative, giving a specified number of voters the right to propose new laws, which must then be referred to a popular vote. The referendum and initiative also apply to federal legislation, for both ordinary laws and constitutional amendments.

Referendum and initiative

The Swiss differ markedly among themselves in language, in religion, and customs. About seventy per cent of the inhabitants are German-speaking; the remainder speak either French or Italian. All three languages are used for the proclamation of laws and in legislative debates. Zwinglian and Calvinist Protestants include more than three-fifths of the population, but have a majority in only half of the cantons. Full religious liberty is guaranteed to all citizens. This policy of mutual toleration prevents either language or religion from becoming a divisive force; it keeps the Swiss a united nation.

The Swiss nation

The kingdom of Holland — more accurately, the Netherlands — is one of the creations of the Vienna Congress. It forms a federal state, consisting (since the loss of Belgium) of eleven provinces. These retain a large measure of self-government. The house of Orange has reigned continuously since 1815, the present sovereign being Queen Wilhelmina. The constitution of Holland also dates from 1815. Successive revisions have made it a fairly liberal document. The Crown is still powerful, but the royal ministers are responsible to the Estates-General, or parliament. The franchise has recently been granted to all adult men and women without restriction.

The Dutch kingdom

Holland still keeps various tropical dependencies secured in the seventeenth century. They are about sixty times as

large and six times as populous as the mother country. Their coffee, tea, sugar, spices, tobacco, and indigo reach Holland in large quantities, for distribution throughout Europe. On the whole, she administers them very successfully.

Dutch colonies

Nature seems to have intended Scandinavia to be one country. Only a narrow, shallow sea parts Denmark from her northern neighbors, while the well settled districts of Norway and Sweden are not separated by any natural barrier. The Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes have also very much in common. They descend from the old Vikings, who became the terror of Europe in the ninth century. Their languages resemble one another closely, Danish and Norwegian in the written form being identical. They have all been Lutheran Protestants since the sixteenth century. They all live under similar physical conditions and support themselves by agriculture, commerce, and the fisheries, rather than by manufacturing. Nevertheless, antagonisms due to historical causes proved stronger than unity of race, language, and culture, with the result that there are three small and comparatively weak nations when one large and powerful nation might have been consolidated. All have a monarchical form of government, with written constitutions, bicameral parliaments, responsible ministries, and universal suffrage.

The Scandinavian nations

Norway and Sweden were joined after 1815 in a personal union under the Swedish king.[1] This arrangement continued until 1905. Norway and Sweden then separated peacefully, as the result of a plebiscite in which the Norwegians, almost to a man, voted for complete independence. In order to prevent future conflicts, a "buffer" zone, within which no fortress may be erected or troops maintained, has been established between the two countries.

Relations of Norway and Sweden

Neither Norway nor Sweden has any colonies.[2] Denmark

[1] See page 417.

[2] In 1920 the Peace Conference placed the Spitzbergen Archipelago in the Arctic Ocean under the sovereignty of Norway.

had three, until recently. The most important was Iceland, which the adventurous Vikings settled more than a thousand years ago. Iceland received home rule during the 'seventies, and in 1918, in complete agreement with Denmark, became a sovereign state under its own flag. The king of Denmark remains Iceland's king, but for purely ornamental purposes. Denmark has also recently parted with her possessions in the West Indies, which she sold to the United States in 1917. They have been renamed the Virgin Islands. Greenland continues to be Danish, but enjoys self-government. The Faroe Islands are definitely incorporated in the Danish kingdom.

Iceland and Greenland

137. The German Empire, 1871–1918

The German Empire, as established in 1871, was a federation. It included twenty-six states: four kingdoms, six grand duchies, five duchies, seven principalities, three free cities,[1] and the imperial territory of Alsace-Lorraine. The constitution allowed each state (but not Alsace-Lorraine until 1911) to manage its local concerns and specified what authority should be exercised by the federal government. The German Empire thus represented a compromise between the old Germanic Confederation, which formed a union of sovereign states, and the thoroughly centralized Prussian monarchy.

A federal empire

The king of Prussia, as *ex officio* president of the federation, received the title of German Emperor. He was not called "Emperor of Germany," for such a title would have implied his superiority in rank to the other German kings. The kaiser had very great powers, particularly in time of war. He commanded the army and navy, thus controlling the entire military organization of the empire; appointed and received ambassadors; and through the imperial chancellor, whom he selected, influenced both foreign and domestic policies. He might also of his own notion declare a defensive war, but the declaration of an offensive war required the consent of the Bundesrat. The kaiser was quite

The emperor

[1] Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck.

irresponsible in his exercise of these powers; he could neither be punished nor removed from office for his acts.

The Bundesrat

The members of the Federal Council, or Bundesrat, were apportioned among the states roughly according to size. Prussia had seventeen; Bavaria, the next largest, six; and a great many states, only one each. The delegation from each state voted as a unit and always in accordance with instructions given to them by their respective governments. The consequence was that the Bundesrat formed an aristocratic council of diplomats, representing (except in the case of the free cities) the hereditary German princes. The Bundesrat, in practice, made all the laws. It shaped in secret sessions the bills to be laid before the Reichstag for approval, and it had a veto of any measure passed by the latter body.

The Reichstag

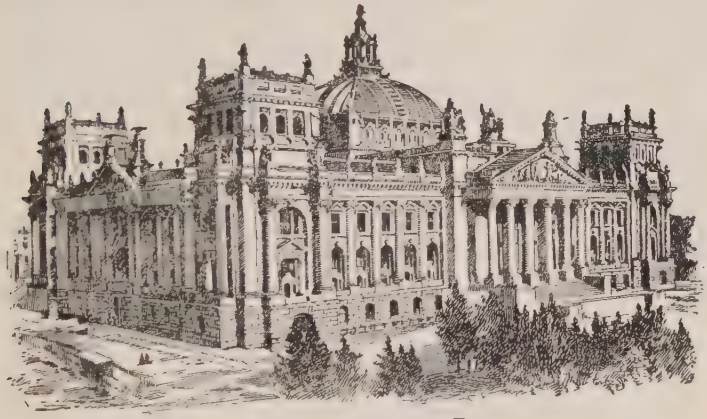
The members of the Imperial Diet, or Reichstag, were elected by manhood suffrage. Though democratic in composition, the Reichstag exerted little influence on legislation. It might introduce bills, but few of them were likely to receive the assent of the Bundesrat. If, however, the Reichstag refused to pass a government measure, the Bundesrat and the emperor could dissolve it and order a new election. The Reichstag *was* dissolved four times, and after each dissolution the new assembly meekly passed the bill which its predecessor had rejected. As compared with the British House of Commons or the French Chamber of Deputies, the Reichstag formed little more than a debating society; it discussed, it did not govern.

The chancellor

The emperor's representative in dealing with the legislature was the chancellor. This official corresponded only in slight degree to the prime minister or premier in other governments. He was responsible solely to the emperor, who appointed him and dismissed him at will. The chancellor presided over the Bundesrat, and in the name of the emperor laid before the Reichstag all measures which the Bundesrat had framed. He also selected the chief federal officials and supervised their activity.

It is clear that, while the German Empire was a constitutional state, it was not a democratic state. No ministry rose or fell at the will of the Reichstag, and the chancellor, the emperor's agent, held his position as long as he retained the emperor's confidence. Unlike Great Britain, France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, Holland, and the Scandinavian countries, Germany did not have a genuine parliamentary system.

Absence of a parliamentary system



THE REICHSTAGSGEBÄUDE, BERLIN

This building accommodates both the Reichsrat (formerly called the Bundesrat) and the Reichstag.

Prussia, with approximately two-thirds the area and two-thirds the population of Germany, naturally held the leading place in the empire. The king of Prussia was German emperor; of the five chancellors between 1871 and 1914 all but one were Prussians; and Prussia kept a majority of representatives in the Reichstag. Her seventeen votes in the Bundesrat did not assure her a majority there, but she almost always obtained the support of enough states to carry any legislation desired. On the other hand, if Prussia opposed a bill in the Bundesrat, not less than twelve of the largest states had to combine in order to secure a majority against her.

Paramountcy of Prussia

The paramountcy of Prussia makes it highly important to understand the government of that country. The constitution which Frederick William IV "granted" in 1850 to his faithful subjects,[1] did not seriously limit the royal power. The upper house of the Prussian parliament consisted of nobles and wealthy *Junkers*, whom the king appointed for life and whose numbers he could enlarge at will. The lower and supposedly popular branch of parliament was elected according to a system which gave the richer classes an overwhelming influence. It might happen — it did happen — that the vote of one wealthy man had as great weight as the votes of a thousand poor workingmen. Even Bismarck, no friend of democracy, called the Prussian electoral system the worst ever devised. To complete this outline, it should be added that the king possessed a veto of all legislation passed by parliament; that the ministry was responsible to him and not to parliament; and that the constitution expressly recognized his divine right to rule. "Absolutism under constitutional forms" is the description which a great German scholar — himself a Prussian — once correctly applied to the government of Prussia.

The Prussian government

It is important to note that several non-Germanic peoples were incorporated in the German Empire against their will. The Poles of West Prussia, East Prussia, and Posen, the Danes of Schleswig, and the inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine made up about one-twelfth of the total population of Germany. The three "submerged nationalities" managed to preserve their own languages and culture, in spite of persistent efforts on the part of the government to Germanize them.

Non-Germans

German history between 1871 and 1914 falls naturally into two periods, the first of which is covered by the reign of William I. The emperor left both domestic and foreign affairs almost entirely in the strong hands of Bismarck, who served as imperial chancellor and president of the Prussian ministry. The architect of the empire presided over its destinies for almost twenty years.

Reign of William I, 1871–1888

[1] See page 439.

Bismarck still held office when William I passed away in 1888, at the age of ninety-one. His successor, Frederick III, who had married a daughter of Queen Victoria, seems to have been a man of decidedly democratic views and an admirer of the British parliamentary system. German Liberals looked forward with great hope to his reign. But the third Frederick mounted the throne only to die within a few months. In the light of subsequent events, his untimely death was a misfortune for Germany, for Europe, and for the world.

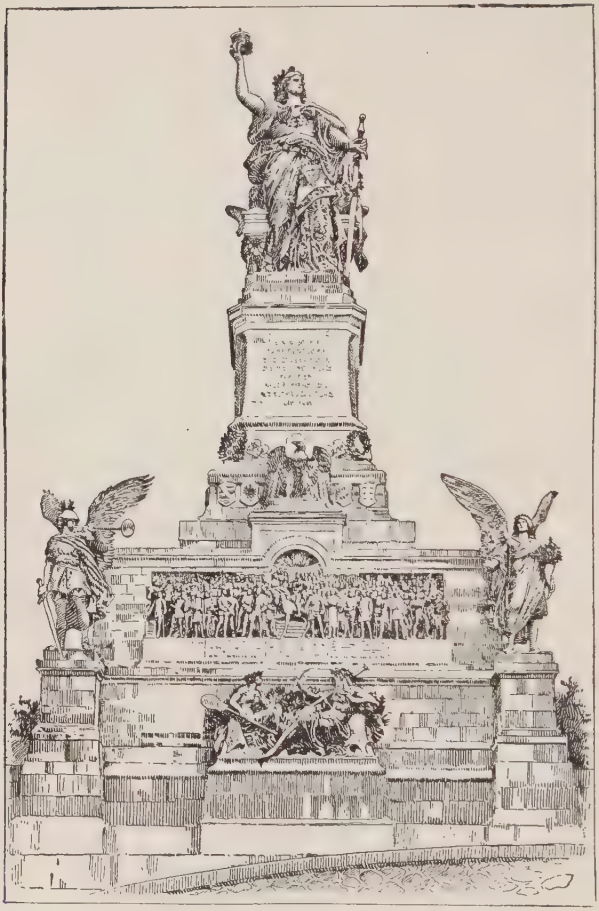
Frederick III

Frederick's son, William II, became king of Prussia and German emperor when not quite twenty-nine years of age. In this last of the Hohenzollerns[1] culminated all their absolutism, their contempt of popular government, and their firm belief in the doctrine of divine right. "The will of the king is the supreme law," he

Reign of William II, 1888–1918

[1] HOHENZOLLERN DYNASTY (1640–1918)

Frederick William, the Great Elector (1640–1688)
- Frederick I (1688–1701, elector; 1701–1713, king)
  - Frederick William I (1713–1740)
    - Frederick II, the Great (1740–1786)
    - August William
      - Frederick William II (1786–1797)
        - Frederick William III (1797–1840)
          - Frederick William IV (1840–1861)
          - William I (1861–1888, king; 1871–1888, emperor)
            - Frederick III (1888)
              - William II (1888–1918)



THE GERMAN NATIONAL MONUMENT

Designed by Johannes Schilling; begun in 1877; completed in 1883. The monument stands on a wooded hillside opposite Bingen and overlooking the Rhine Valley. The great base, 82 feet high, supports an impressive figure of Germania, 34 feet high, with the imperial crown and the laurel-wreathed sword. On the side of the pedestal facing the river is a design symbolizing "The Watch on the Rhine." The other sides of the pedestal bear designs representing various scenes in the Franco-German War.

himself declared. The young ruler could not work well with the old chancellor, who had so long reigned in all but name. Friction between them led to Bismarck's enforced resignation of the chancellorship in 1890. His four successors in that office were merely mouthpieces of the emperor; after 1890 William II was, in effect, his own chancellor.

138. The Dual Monarchy, 1867–1918

The student will recall how the democratic and national movement, which swept over Europe after the "February Revolution," threatened at first to break the Hapsburg realm into fragments. But the time for its dissolution had not yet come. Austria emerged triumphant from the storm of revolution, and under the youthful emperor, Francis Joseph I, returned to the well-worn path of absolutism and reaction. Hungary, especially, felt the full weight of Austrian displeasure, as the result of her failure to win freedom under Kossuth in 1849. Ever since 1526, when the Magyars sought the protection of Austria against the Ottoman Turks and elected a Hapsburg king of Hungary, they had continued to enjoy some measure of self-government. Their country was now cut into five districts, ruled by Germans from Vienna, and German was made the official language everywhere. These measures did not succeed in obliterating the sense of nationality among the Magyars. After the two disastrous wars of 1859 and 1866, which expelled the Austrians from Italy and Germany, Francis Joseph found himself obliged to pursue a more conciliatory policy toward the Magyars and finally gave his consent to the constitution known as the *Ausgleich* (Compromise).

Austria and Hungary

The *Ausgleich* created a dual monarchy, something more than a personal union and yet less than a close federation. The dominions of the Hapsburgs were split into two self-governing states: (1) the Austrian Empire, including Upper Austria, Lower Austria, Bohemia, Moravia, Galicia, and twelve other provinces; and (2) the kingdom of Hungary, including Croatia-Slavonia. Each country had its

The Ausgleich

own parliament, ministry, courts, officials, language, and capital (Vienna and Budapest). Both had one flag, one army and navy, and one sovereign, who wore the joint crown of Austrian emperor and Hungarian king. There was also a common tariff, a common coinage, and a common administration of foreign affairs. This political makeshift had to be renewed every decade. It managed to survive until the revolutionary year of 1918.

FRANCIS JOSEPH I
After a portrait made in the emperor's boyhood.

Discord of nationalities in Austria-Hungary

The *Ausgleich* formed, in effect, a league between the Germans and the Magyars, the two strongest nationalities of Austria-Hungary. They were not only determined to preserve their own language and customs, but also to force them on the Slavs, Rumanians, and Italians. The result was great and increasing bitterness between the dominant and subject peoples of the Dual Monarchy.

Francis Joseph I

The relations between Austria and Hungary under the *Ausgleich* were not always amicable. Perhaps the strongest tie holding the two countries together was a deep-seated loyalty to the venerable Francis Joseph. The emperor's long reign bridged the gap between the era of Metternich and the World War, between 1848 and 1914. Despite heavy private griefs — the execution of his brother Maximilian, whom Napoleon III had set on the throne of Mexico and then deserted; the suicide of his only son; the murder of his wife by an anarchist; and the assassination of his nephew and heir — Francis Joseph never forgot the duties of a monarch. He mixed freely among the people, received them in public

THE
HAPSBURG DOMINIONS
1273-1914 A.D.
Scale of Miles
0 50 100 150
AUSTRIAN-NETHERLANDS 1714-1797
Antwerp
Brussels
Liege
Namur
Luxemburg
Rhine
Elbe
SILESIA 1526-1742
Breslau
Oder
Pilica
POLAND 1795-1809
Vistula
Cracow 1846
Troppau
GALICIA
Lemberg
Przemysl
Dniester
Carlsbad
Prague
BOHEMIA
Olmütz
Brünn
MORAVIA
Danube
Inn
ARCHDUCHY OF AUSTRIA
Vienna
Pressburg
Czernowitz
BUKOWINA
Tokay
Theiss
Salzburg
ARCHBISHOPRIC OF SALZBURG
Mur
Budapest
HUNGARY
FRANCHE COMTE 1493-1679
Hapsburg
Rhine
Saône
Rhône
Innsbruck
COUNTY OF TYROL
STYRIA
CARINTHIA
Maros
TRANSYLVANIA
BISHOPRIC OF TRENT
VENETIA 1797-1805 1814-1866
Laibach
Gorizia (Gorz)
CARNIOLA
Trieste
Fiume
Drave
Mohács
Hermannstadt
BANAT OF TEMESVAR
LOMBARDY
Milan 1714-1797 1814-1859
Verona
Venice
Save
CROATIA
Aluta
CRAIOVA 1718-1739
Parma
Modena
Pola
Bosna
BOSNIA
Belgrade
SERBIA 1718-1739
Danube
Zara
Sarajevo
DALMAT
Morava
Florence
TUSCANY
HERZEGOVINA
Ragusa
Cattaro
Hapsburg Possessions, 1273 A. D.
Territory conquered from Bohemia, 1282 A. D.
Acquisitions 1282-1526 A. D.
" " 1526-1815 A. D.
" " 1815-1914 A. D.
Lands permanently maintained are shown in flat tints of color, lands subsequently lost shown in bands of color.
Boundary between Austria and Hungary, by Ausgleich of 1867
Longitude East 15° from Greenwich
THE M.-N. WORKS

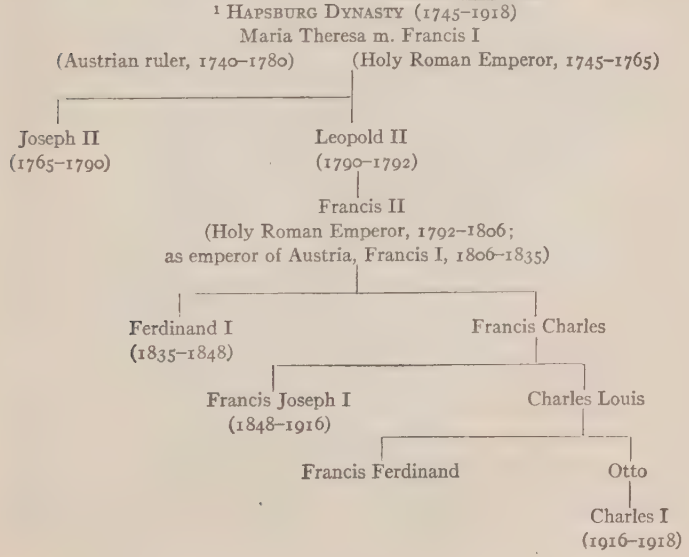
audience, speaking now one, now another, of the many languages of his dominions, and worked harder at the business of governing than any of his ministers. The emperor-king died in harness in 1916. The crowns of Austria and Hungary then descended to his grandnephew, Charles I, who reigned less than two years.[1]

139. The Russian Empire

The influence of geographical conditions is clearly seen in Russian history. European Russia forms an immense, unbroken plain, threaded by numerous rivers which facilitate movement into every part of the country. While the rest of Europe, with its mountain ranges and deep inlets of the sea, tended to divide into many separate states, Russia just as naturally became a single state. **European Russia**

The inhabitants of Russia are mainly Eastern Slavs, the descendants of Slavic emigrants from the Danube and Elbe valleys during the early Middle Ages. They separated, centuries ago, into three groups. By far the largest group is that of the Great Russians, who occupy **Russians**

[1] HAPSBURG DYNASTY (1745–1918)



the interior, the north, and the east of Russia. Their historic center is Moscow on the Moskva River, the capital of the medieval principality of Muscovy. The Little Russians (Ruthenians, Ukrainians) hold the south and southwest of the country. They center about the holy city of Kiev on the Dnieper, where in 988 the Scandinavian Northmen adopted the Eastern or Greek form of Christianity for themselves, and for the Slavs among whom they settled. The White Russians, whose name is probably derived from their light-colored clothes, dwell to the west, in lands which once belonged to Lithuania.[1]

Linguistic unity

The three Russian peoples speak different dialects of one Slavic language. The dialectical differences are sufficient to prevent a Muscovite from understanding a Ukrainian and both from conversing with a White Russian. For literary and official purposes, the Moscow dialect is everywhere employed. The alphabet in use comes from the Greek, enriched with special signs for Slavic letters.

Religious unity

The three Russian peoples also unite in a common allegiance to the Orthodox Church. This was an offshoot of the medieval Greek Church, from which most of its doctrines and ritual have been derived. Until the Russian Revolution of 1917, the tsar remained the head of the church, as far as to make and annul all appointments to ecclesiastical office. Russia, it may be noted, contains numberless dissenting sects, which formerly encountered persecution by the government for their unorthodox beliefs and practices.

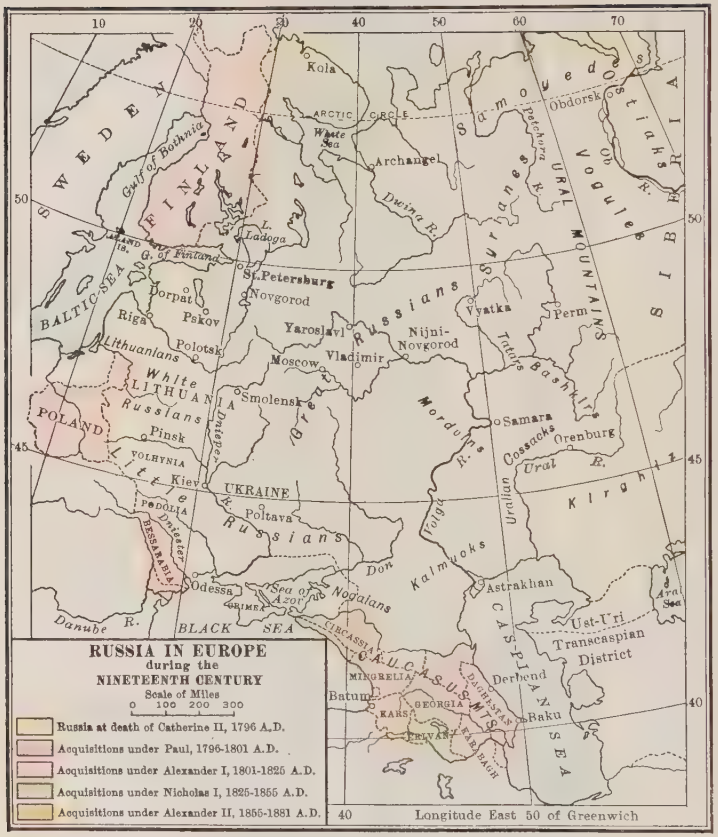
Non-Russians

The seaward expansion of Russia in Europe gradually enrolled many non-Russians among the tsar's subjects.[2] They were found principally along the frontier. Peter the Great annexed several Baltic provinces containing Esthonians, Letts, and Germans. Catherine II absorbed the greater part of Poland, and by her conquest of the Crimea and the northern coast of the Black Sea added to the empire millions of Mohammedan Tatars. Early in the nineteenth century Alexander I took Finland from Sweden (1809), wrested Bessarabia from Turkey (1812), secured a further

[1] See the map between pages 718–719. [2] See the maps on pages 303 and 524.

THE KREMLIN, MOSCOW

The Kremlin, from whose battlements Napoleon watched the burning of Moscow, is an old fort, about 100 acres in extent, occupying a hill above the Moskva River. It is inclosed by a high stone wall with 19 towers and 5 gates. The Kremlin contains a number of buildings, among them the Uspenskiy Cathedral where the tsars were consecrated, the private chapel where they were baptized and married, and the imperial palace, a fine building in white stone with a gilded cupola. The great campanile of Ivan Veliky, erected in 1600, rises to a height of 318 feet. Close by is the celebrated Tsar-Kolokol (king of the bells), 65 feet in circumference around the rim, 19 feet high, and weighing 198½ tons. It was cast in 1735, but was broken before being hung.



slice of Poland (1815), and began the conquest of Caucasia. The Caucasian territory with its mixed population (Georgians, Circassians, Armenians, etc.) was not finally incorporated in the empire until after the middle of the century. Russia then reached her territorial limits in Europe. The break-up of the country since the World War has enabled most of these frontier peoples to establish independent states.

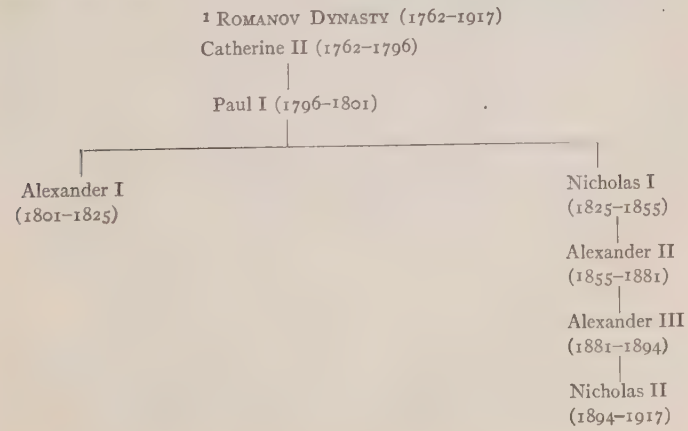
The hodge-podge of territories and Babel of peoples composing the Russian Empire in the nineteenth century was ruled by an autocratic tsar. His decrees were binding on all

his subjects. Russian laws called him an "independent and absolute sovereign" and declared that God "orders men to submit to his superior authority, not only from fear of punishment, but as a religious duty." **Russian autocracy**

Many educated Russians, who perhaps were not greatly impressed by this appeal to divine right, nevertheless considered autocratic government a practical necessity for Russia. The enormous size and varied population of the country, the dense ignorance of most of its inhabitants, and the absence of a prosperous, progressive middle class, which could take part in political life, seemed to indicate that the triumph of democracy would be long postponed in the tsar's domains. The chief interest of Russian history during the last century lies, therefore, in the development of liberalism, which gradually undermined the whole fabric of autocracy, and in the revolutionary year of 1917 brought it crashing to the ground.[1]

Alexander I, grandson of Catherine II, began as a monarch of enlightened views. Under the influence of his Swiss tutor, he imbibed many democratic ideas of the revolutionary period in Europe, and he aspired to put them into practice. His ardor for reform grew cold, however, after he came under the influence of that foe of liberalism, Prince Metternich. The tsar not only signed the Protocol of **Alexander I, 1801–1825**

[1] Romanov Dynasty (1762–1917)



Troppau,[1] but also coöperated with his brother monarchs in putting down the first liberal uprisings in Italy and Spain. The last years of his life found him equally reactionary at home.

Nicholas I, 1825–1855

Nicholas I, unlike his brother, never felt any sentimental sympathy with liberalism. To prevent liberal ideas from spreading among his subjects, the tsar relied on a strict censorship of the press, passport regulations which made it difficult for any one to enter Russia or to leave it, an army of spies, and the secret police known as the Third Section. The chief of the Third Section had unlimited power to arrest, imprison, or deport a political suspect, without warrant and without trial. During the thirty years' reign of Nicholas I, Liberals by tens of thousands languished in jail or trod the path of exile to Siberia. Nicholas was no less autocratic in his foreign policy. We have already learned how ruthlessly he put down the Polish insurrection and how he aided Francis Joseph I to destroy the Hungarian Republic.[2] Once only did the tsar espouse a revolutionary cause. In 1828 he sided with the Greeks who had risen against the Turks, but even then his purpose was not so much to free Greece as to exalt Russia. Nicholas afterwards waged the Crimean War, a venture which brought him into conflict with Great Britain, France, and Sardinia as the allies of Turkey. He died before the war ended.

Nicholas I

Alexander II started out as a benevolent despot. The earlier part of his reign was marked by notable reforms, especially those which freed the serfs and created elective pro-

[1] See page 421.

[2] See pages 430 and 437.

vincial assemblies for local government. But the tsar was not a liberal at heart, and his counselors were men trained in the school of Nicholas I. They convinced him, as Metternich had convinced the first Alexander, that liberalism was a Western novelty, quite unsuited to holy Russia,

Alexander II, 1855–1881

CHURCH OF THE RESURRECTION OF CHRIST, PETROGRAD
Built on the spot where Alexander II was assassinated.

and bound to be followed by revolution and the overthrow of autocracy. After a Polish insurrection in the early 'sixties, which thoroughly frightened the tsar, reaction had full swing in Russia.

The intense disappointment of the educated classes at Alexander's relapse into the traditional ways of Russian monarchs gave rise to nihilism.[1] It began as an academic doctrine.

Nihilism

Radical thinkers, building where the French philosophers of the eighteenth century had left off, set up reason and science as the twin guides of life. Russia, they urged, must make a clean sweep of autocracy, of the Orthodox Church, and of every other institution that had come down from an unreasoning, unscientific past. Only when the ground had been thus cleared, would it be possible to reconstruct a new and better society. The nihilists before long began to seek converts among the masses. Under the guise of doctors, school teachers, factory hands, and common laborers, they preached the gospel of political, social, and economic freedom to artisans in the towns and peasants in the country. The government soon got wind of the revolutionary movement and imprisoned or exiled those who took part in it. The nihilist propaganda of words now passed into a propaganda of deeds. Since the government ruled by terror, it was henceforth to be fought with terror. A secret committee at St. Petersburg condemned to death a number of prominent officials, spies, and members of the hated Third Section, and in some cases succeeded in assassinating them. Alexander II himself was murdered in 1881.

The reign of Alexander III is chiefly significant for the systematic efforts made by the government to compel all the non-Russians in the empire to use the Russian language, accept Russian customs, and worship according to the rites of the Orthodox Church. This policy led to severe treatment of the Finns, Esthonians, Letts, Lithuanians, Poles, Germans, and Jews. The persecution of the Jews was followed by their migration in great numbers to the United States.

Alexander III, 1881–1894

The accession of Nicholas II brought no change in the political situation. The young man was amiable and well-meaning, but as much an autocrat by nature as any of his

[1] Latin *nihil*, "nothing."

predecessors. The reactionaries surrounding him now redoubled their efforts to keep Russia "frozen." Teachers, students, journalists, professional men, in fact, every one who dared think aloud suffered under the iron régime. No person was secure against arbitrary arrest, imprisonment, exile, or execution. Meanwhile, the opposition to autocracy developed rapidly in Russia, not only among the working people and peasants, but also among the middle classes and enlightened members of the nobility. All the liberal and discontented elements combined to demand for Russia the free institutions which were now no longer novelties in western Europe. Revolutionary disorders at length compelled the tsar to issue decrees in 1905–1906, granting franchise rights and providing for a representative assembly (Duma). The Duma met four times and accomplished some useful legislation. It did not succeed, however, in winning liberty for the people. When the World War broke out, the corrupt and inefficient autocracy seemed to be as firmly seated as ever in Russia.

Nicholas II, 1894–1917

140. The Ottoman Empire and the Balkan States

In its general contour the Balkan Peninsula resembles an inverted triangle, the apex of which ends in the Morea (anciently the Peloponnesus). Examination of a physical map shows that the surface is almost entirely mountainous, the only extensive plains being those formed by the valleys of the Danube and the Maritza, and the basin of Thessaly. The line of the Balkans clearly separates the upper from the lower portion of the peninsula, but so many routes cross them that they have always formed simply an obstacle, never a barrier, to invading peoples from the north. Owing to the distribution of the mountain ranges, the principal rivers empty into the Black Sea and the Ægean, rather than into the Adriatic. The best harbors and most numerous islands are also located on the eastern side of the peninsula. The Balkans, in fact, form a part of the Near East, and their history during modern times is indissolubly linked with the Eastern Question.

The Balkan Peninsula

No other part of Europe of equal extent contains so many different peoples as the Balkan Peninsula.[1] The original inhabitants are represented to-day by the Albanians. The Greeks rank as the next oldest inhabitants of the peninsula, though the original purity of their blood has been adulterated by intermixture with Albanians and Slavs. Toward the end of the sixth century A.D., the South Slavs (Jugoslavs) began to leave their homes among the Carpathians and to occupy the region south of the Danube. The Bulgarians, a people of remotely Asiatic origin and akin to the Magyars and Turks, first appeared in the seventh century. They adopted the speech, religion, and culture of the South Slavs. The Rumanians claim descent from the Roman colonists of Dacia north of the Danube; they seem to be, however, chiefly the descendants of Slavic immigrants. The Turks descend from the Ottoman invaders of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and from later immigrants. Intermarriage with their Christian captives and converts from Christianity to Islam has made the Turks substantially European in physique. The Turkish population is nowhere found in compact masses except in northeastern Bulgaria and in the vicinity of Adrianople and Constantinople.

Inhabitants of the Balkan Peninsula

The empire of the Ottoman Turks formed a typical Oriental despotism. The sultan was not only lord of the Turkish realm in both Asia and Europe, but also the caliph, or spiritual head, of all Islam. He lived shut up in his seraglio at Constantinople and depended upon his vizier (prime minister) and divan (council of ministers) to execute his will. Each province had a pasha (governor) nominally subject to the sultan, but more often than not practically independent of him. The professional soldiers known as Janizaries, who at first had been exclusively recruited from Christian children, comprised the standing army.

The Ottoman Empire

Only those who accepted Islam were citizens of the Ottoman Empire. The Turks tolerated the presence of Christians, but deprived them of all political rights. Unbelievers could not

[1] See the map between pages 718–719.

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE 1683-1914 A.D.

hold any civil office or serve in the army. They also had to pay heavy taxes not imposed upon Moslems. Some Christians accepted the faith of their conquerors in order to secure the privileges of citizenship. Even including these converts, the Turks in southeastern Europe remained a small minority of the population. Impassable barriers, raised by differences of race, language, religion, and customs, separated them from their subjects.

Turks and Christians

The Ottoman Empire in the eighteenth century showed plain signs of the blight which inevitably descends upon states built up by the sword and maintained only by the sword. Few of its despotic sovereigns possessed real ability, and the control of affairs passed more and more into the hands of self-seeking ministers and favorites. The Janizaries, a turbulent body, often used their power to set up and depose sultans at will. The weakness of the central administration was reflected in the provinces, where the pashas acquired substantial independence and in many instances made their power hereditary. Turkey's internal decadence offered a promising opportunity for its partition among European powers.

Decadence of Turkey

Ever since the fateful year, 1683,[1] the Turks had lost ground in Europe. Austria soon recovered Hungary, Transylvania, and much of Croatia and Slavonia. Russia under Catherine II seized the Crimea, with the adjoining territory, and under Alexander I took Bessarabia. The settlement of 1815 made the Ionian Islands a British protectorate. Then, as the nineteenth century progressed, the Christian peoples of the Balkans, stirred by the same enthusiasm for nationality which had moved Italians, Germans, Belgians, Poles, and Bohemians, threw off the Ottoman yoke and declared for freedom. The dismemberment of Turkey began.

Dismemberment of Turkey

The warlike inhabitants of Montenegro never fully accepted Ottoman sovereignty. A corner of the "Black Mountain" country held out for four hundred years against the Turks. The independence of Montenegro as

Montenegro

[1] See page 308.

a principality was finally recognized by the sultan in 1799. In 1910 it became a kingdom.

Serbia

The Serbians have a memorable history. In the fourteenth century one of their rulers, Stephen Dushan, built up an empire which covered nearly the entire Balkan Peninsula. It was Dushan's ambition to unite Serbians, Greeks, and Bulgarians, and by their union to prevent the Ottoman power from taking root in southeastern Europe. His empire collapsed as a result of the battle of Kossovo (1389), and for the next four hundred years Serbia lay under the heel of the Turk. All this time its people never forgot their glorious past. The exploits of Dushan and other national heroes were handed down by minstrels, who kept alive the memory of the days when Serbia held first place in the Balkans. After two revolts early in the nineteenth century the country received self-government as a principality. It became a kingdom in 1882.

Greece

The Greeks had not been a free people since their conquest by the Romans in the second century B.C. Byzantines, crusading Franks, and Venetians occupied Greece during medieval times. By the middle of the fifteenth century the entire country came under the Turks, whose dominion endured until the nineteenth century had run one-quarter of its course. The French Revolution awakened the longing of the Greeks for independence, and in 1821 they raised the standard of revolt. Volunteers from every European country, as well as a few Americans, came to help them. The powers at first stood coldly by, for Metternich, the presiding genius of the Concert of Europe, considered the Greeks simply rebels against "legitimate" Ottoman authority. As the struggle proceeded and the Greeks seemed likely to be overwhelmed, public opinion in Great Britain and France increasingly favored intervention, and the accession of Nicholas I brought to the throne a tsar ready to follow the traditional Russian policy toward the Turks. The three powers finally took decisive action. An allied fleet destroyed the Turkish navy at Navarino, a French army drove the Turks out of the Morea, and the Russians, crossing the Balkans, moved upon Constantinople. The

sultan had to yield, and in 1829 signed a treaty which granted complete independence to central and southern Greece.

The kingdom of Greece, as originally established, comprised only a small part of ancient Hellas. More than half of the Greek people remained under Turkish rule, distributed in Thessaly, Epirus, Macedonia, Thrace, the Ionian Islands, the islands of the Ægean, Crete, Cyprus, and the western coast of Asia Minor (the classic Ionia). A Pan-Hellenic movement soon began to recover as much as possible of these regions from the Turks. Great Britain fostered it by ceding the Ionian Islands, and also by inducing the sultan to relinquish Thessaly. The Balkan Wars of 1912–1913, which will be described presently, gave Greece southern Epirus, a valuable part of Macedonia, Crete, and many smaller islands. When the World War broke out and Turkey sided with the Central Powers, it was the hope of the Greek premier, Venizelos, that Greece might now completely realize her Pan-Hellenic ambitions by entering the struggle on the side of the Allies.

Pan-Hellenism

"What Nicholas Heard in the Shell"

A cartoon by Sir John Tenniel which appeared in the English journal *Punch* for June 10, 1854. The tsar is shown holding a bombshell to his ear and, as he listens to it (as children do to sea shells), having a vision of armed men.

Twenty-five years after the winning of Greek freedom, Nicholas I, who often spoke of the sultan as the "sick man" of Europe and of his approaching funeral, reopened the Eastern

Question by invading Turkey. The result was the Crimean War. The Turks did not fight alone. Great Britain supported them because of the fear that the downfall of the Ottoman Empire would be followed by Russian occupation of Constantinople and Russian control of the eastern Mediterranean, thus menacing British communications with India. France joined Great Britain, principally because the adventurous Napoleon III, who had recently become emperor, wished to pay off the grudges against Russia which Napoleon I had accumulated.[1] Count Cavour and Victor Emmanuel II added the Sardinian kingdom to the alliance, in order to further their plans for the unification of Italy.[2] The Russians fought alone, for both Austria and Prussia preserved neutrality. The war was mainly confined to the Crimea, where the allies sought to capture Sevastopol, Russia's naval base on the Black Sea. After its fall Russia withdrew from the unequal contest.

Crimean War, 1854–1856

Florence Nightingale

Miss Florence Nightingale (1820–1910) did remarkable work during the Crimean War for the relief of sick and wounded British soldiers. To her self-sacrificing labors are also due many improvements in hospital management, sanitation, and the training of nurses.

The peace treaty gave a new lease of life to the Ottoman Empire. The powers guaranteed the integrity of the sultan's possessions, only exacting from him promises of freedom of worship and better government for his Christian subjects. The promises were never kept; and the

Treaty of Paris, 1856

[1] See page 447.

[2] See page 451.

lot of Christians in Turkey became harder than ever. In their desire to keep Russia out of Constantinople, Great Britain and France thus abandoned the tradition, which had come down from the crusades, that the Turks were a barbarous people and the enemies of civilization. Turkey was to be treated henceforth as no longer outside the pale, but as a respectable member of the European family of nations.

Rumania

The dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire recommenced soon after the Treaty of Paris. Turkey's principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia had been semi-independent under a Russian protectorate since 1829. They command the lower Danube, and their acquisition would have enabled Russia to control the navigation of the most important river of Europe. Consequently, the diplomats at Paris converted Moldavia and Wallachia into self-governing states, with Turkey as their nominal overlord. The Rumanians, who inhabit both principalities, desired, however, to form a united nation. The powers and the sultan gave a grudging consent, and the new state of Rumania came into existence.

Russo-Turkish War, 1877–1878

Russia's desire to rescue the Christians of the Balkans from oppression and, incidentally, to take Constantinople, brought about another war between the two countries. Sufficient justification for it existed in the cruelty with which Turkish soldiers had suppressed an insurrection of the Bulgarians. This time western Europe remained neutral and watched the duel between Slav and Turk. Russian armies promptly crossed the Danube, only to be held up for months before the fortress of Plevna in Bulgaria. The Turks fought well, and their defense of Plevna is celebrated in military annals. Its fall allowed the tsar's troops to advance within sight of the Golden Horn. Here they paused, for both Great Britain and Austria-Hungary threatened hostilities, in case Russia occupied Constantinople.

Russia and Turkey now made peace. By the treaty of San Stefano[1] the sultan agreed to the creation of a new state, Greater Bulgaria, stretching from the Danube to the Ægean

[1] A suburb of Constantinople.

and including nearly all Macedonia. Both Greece and Serbia protested vigorously against this arrangement, which upset their own plans for expansion in the Balkans. Far more serious was the opposition of the Western powers. Austria did not relish the idea of a strong Balkan state lying across her path to the Mediterranean, while Great Britain feared that Greater Bulgaria would be merely the willing tool of Russia. A general European conflict threatened, until the tsar agreed to submit the treaty to revision by an international congress to be held at Berlin, under Bismarck's presidency.

Treaty of San Stefano, 1878

The assembled diplomats attempted still another solution of the Eastern Question. The Treaty of Berlin recognized Montenegro, Serbia, and Rumania as sovereign states, wholly independent of Turkey. That part of Bulgaria between the Danube and the Balkans became a self-governing principality under Turkish sovereignty. Bulgaria south of the Balkans — Eastern Rumelia — went back to the sultan, together with Macedonia. Austria-Hungary was allowed to occupy and administer the Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Great Britain was given the right to hold the island of Cyprus. These arrangements having been made, the powers again solemnly guaranteed the "integrity" of the sultan's remaining possessions in Europe. The Ottoman Empire thus remained in Europe, a decadent empire propped up by Christian arms.

Treaty of Berlin, 1878

Diplomacy did not bring peace to the Balkans. The inhabitants of Eastern Rumelia before long revolted against the Turks and united with Bulgaria. The European powers protested against this infraction of the Berlin treaty, but took no measures to prevent the union of the two Bulgarian territories. Bulgaria remained tributary to the sultan until 1908. By that time she had grown strong enough to repudiate another clause of the Berlin treaty and to set up as an independent kingdom. Her ruler, Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg, then exchanged his princely dignity for the more pretentious title of tsar of the Bulgarians.

Bulgaria

THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN, 1878

A painting by Anton von Werner in the City Hall, Berlin. The six figures in the foreground are, in order from left to right: Count Caroly; Prince Gorchakov (seated), first Russian plenipotentiary; the Earl of Beaconsfield; Count Andrassy, Austrian plenipotentiary; Prince Bismarck; and General Schuvalov, second Russian plenipotentiary.

CONSTANTINOPLE AND THE BOSPORUS

A view looking eastward up the Bosporus and across the Golden Horn to the suburb of Galata

The year 1908 saw also a revolution in the sultan's dominions. This was the work of the Young Turks, a group of patriotic reformers who aimed to revive and modernize the Ottoman Empire. They won over the army and carried through a sudden, almost bloodless, *coup d'état*. The terrified sultan (Abdul Hamid II) had to issue a decree restoring the constitution granted by him at his accession, but abrogated soon afterwards. His despotism vanished, and the Ottoman Empire, with an elective parliament, a responsible ministry, and a free press took a place among democratic states.

The Young Turks

It soon became evident, however, that the Young Turks were nationalists as well as democrats. They intended to weld together all the peoples of the Ottoman Empire into a single nation, with Turkish as the favored language and Islam the only privileged faith. Just as the Russian policy was one of Russification, so that of the Young Turks was one of Ottomanization. Cruel oppression and massacres of Christians in various parts of the empire followed, particularly in Macedonia. This Turkish province was peopled by Greeks, Serbians, and Bulgarians. Large numbers of them fled to their respective countries, carrying their grievances with them, and agitated for war against Turkey.

Ottomanization

The war soon came. Greece, Montenegro, Serbia, and Bulgaria, forgetting for the moment the jealousies which divided them, came together in a Balkan alliance, issued to the sultan an ultimatum demanding self-government for Macedonia, and when this was refused, promptly began hostilities. They were everywhere successful, and Turkey was compelled to give up all her European dominions west of a line drawn from Enos on the Ægean Sea to Midia on the Black Sea. She likewise ceded Crete to Greece. The allies then proceeded to quarrel over the disposition of Macedonia. A second Balkan War resulted, with Greece, Serbia, Montenegro, Rumania, and Turkey ranged against Bulgaria. Tsar Ferdinand could not cope with so many foes and sued for peace.

First and Second Balkan Wars, 1912-1913

European Governments

Country	Capital	Ruler	Parliament
Albania	Durazzo	Republic	Diet
Austria	Vienna	Republic	Bundesrat and Nationalrat
Belgium	Brussels	Albert I (1909–)	Senate and Chamber of Representatives
Bulgaria	Sofia	Boris III (1918–)	National Assembly, or Sobranje
Czecho-Slovakia	Prague	Republic	Senate and Chamber of Deputies
Denmark	Copenhagen	Christian X (1912–)	Rigsdad (Landsthing and Folkething)
Esthonia	Reval		State Assembly
Finland	Helsingfors	Republic	House of Representatives
France	Paris	Republic	Senate and Chamber of Deputies
Germany	Berlin	Republic	Bundesrat and Reichsrat
Great Britain	London	George V (1910–)	House of Lords and House of Commons
Greece	Athens	Republic	Bulé (Council of State and Chamber of Deputies)
Holland	The Hague	Wilhelmina (1890–)	Estates-General (First Chamber and Second Chamber)
Hungary	Budapest		
Iceland	Reykjavik	Christian X (1912–)	Althing (Upper House and Lower House)
Italy	Rome	Victor Emmanuel III (1900–)	Senate and Chamber of Deputies
Jugoslavia	Belgrade	Alexander I (1919–)	National Assembly, or Naroda Skupshtina
Latvia	Riga		Parliament or Saeima
Lithuania	Vilna	Republic	
Norway	Christiania	Haakon VII (1905–)	Storthing (Lagthing and Odelsthing)
Poland	Warsaw		Parliament, or Seym
Portugal	Lisbon	Republic	National Council and Second Chamber
Rumania	Bukharest	Ferdinand I (1914–)	Senate and Chamber of Deputies
Russia	Moscow		Congress of Soviets
Spain	Madrid	Alfonso XIII (1886–)	Cortes (Senate and Congress)
Sweden	Stockholm	Gustav V (1907–)	Diet (First Chamber and Second Chamber)
Switzerland	Berne		Ständerat and Nationalrat
Turkey	Constantinople	Republic	Senate and Chamber of Deputies

The treaty signed at Bukharest completely altered the aspect of the Balkans. Bulgaria surrendered to Rumania districts

BALKAN STATES
after the Treaty of Berlin
1878 A.D.
The proposed boundaries by the Treaty of San Stefano, thus:
Scale of Miles
0 40 80 120 150
RUSSIA
Jassy
MOLDAVIA
Kronstadt
Galatz
RUMANIA
WALLACHIA
Bukharest
Krajova
Belgrade
BOSNIA
Sarajevo
SERBIA
Nish
Plevna
Varna
BULGARIA
Sofia
EASTERN RUMELIA
Philippopolis
Kirk-Kilisse
Adrianople
Lule Burgas
Constantinople
Constantza
BLACK SEA
Cattaro
Cetigne
MONTENEGRO
Scutari
ADRIATIC SEA
Durazzo
Monastir
TURKEY
Brindisi
ITALY
Gulf of Taranto
Avlona
Salonika
Gallipoli
Larissa
THESSALY
TURKEY IN ASIA
GREECE
MITYLENE
CHIOS
Smyrna
IONIAN SEA
Corinth
Athens
SAMOS
IONIAN ISLANDS
RHODES
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
CRETE OR CANDIA
Candia
18 Longitude 20 East from 22 Greenwich 24
16° 18° 20° 22° 24° 26° 28° 30°
46° 44° 42° 40° 38° 36°

BALKAN STATES
after the Treaty of Bukharest
1913 A.D.
Enos-Midia Line, thus:
Scale of Miles
0 20 80 120 150
RUSSIA
Jassy
MOLDAVIA
Kronstadt
Galatz
RUMANIA
Bukharest
Constantza
Krajova
Belgrade
BOSNIA
Sarajevo
Nish
SERBIA
Plevna
Varna
Sofia
BULGARIA
Philippopolis
Kirk-Kilisse
Adrianople
Midia
Lule Burgas
BLACK SEA
Cattaro
Cetigne
MONTENEGRO
Scutari
ADRIATIC SEA
Durazzo
Monastir
TURKEY
Brindisi
ITALY
Gulf of Taranto
Avlona
Salonika
Enos
Gallipoli
Larissa
THESSALY
TURKEY IN ASIA
GREECE
MITYLENE
CHIOS
Smyrna
IONIAN SEA
Corinth
Athens
SAMOS
IONIAN ISLANDS
RHODES
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
CRETE OR CANDIA
Candia
18 Longitude 20 East from 22 Greenwich 24
16° 18° 20° 22° 24° 26° 28° 30°
46° 44° 42° 40° 38° 36°

south of the Danube, and allowed Greece, Montenegro, and Serbia to annex most of Macedonia. These three states were now nearly doubled in size. The Turkish province of Albania became an independent principality. Turkey, though ignored at the Peace Conference, escaped dismemberment and even secured an accession of territory. The Treaty of Bukharest thus left the Turk in Europe, and by sowing seeds of enmity between Bulgaria and her sister states helped further to postpone a satisfactory solution of the Eastern Question.

Treaty of Bukharest, 1913

Studies

1. Contrast the circumstances under which the Third Republic came into existence with those leading to the organization of the First and Second Republics. 2. Why may the French government be described as a "parliamentary republic"? 3. Compare the powers of the French and American presidents, respectively. 4. How does the party system of France differ from that of Great Britain? 5. Why is the pope called the "prisoner of the Vatican"? 6. How does Spain happen to have a Bourbon dynasty? 7. "The disappearance of the Spanish colonial empire is one of the most significant features of the nineteenth century." Comment on this statement. 8. When did Switzerland become a neutralized state? 9. Compare the Swiss referendum with the French plebiscite. 10. Compare the German Empire as a federation with the United States. 11. What was the historical origin of the free cities of the German Empire? 12. Explain the distinction between the titles "German Emperor" and "Emperor of Germany." 13. Why was the Reichstag described by its own members as merely a "hall of echoes"? 14. Why was Germany called the "political kindergarten of Europe"? 15. Why was the Austrian Empire called a "ramshackle empire"? 16. Why has Russia been called the "adopted child" of Europe? 17. Why was the character and personality of the tsars always an important factor in Russian history? 18. Comment on the tsar's title "Autocrat of all the Russias." 19. What was meant by calling the Russian imperial government a "despotism tempered by assassination"? 20. Account for the slow progress of liberalism in Russia. 21. "The two forces that have constantly undermined the power of Turkey are religion and nationality." How does Turkish history during the last hundred years confirm this statement? 22. Mention three occasions in the nineteenth century when the Ottoman Empire seemed to be on the point of dissolution. 23. Why did Russia favor nationalism in the Balkans and oppose it in other parts of Europe? 24. Explain the strategic value of Constantinople. 25. Why has the Balkan Peninsula been called the "danger zone" of Europe?

CHAPTER XVI

COLONIAL EXPANSION AND WORLD POLITICS[1]

141. Greater Europe

Expansion of Europe

Colonial expansion, begun by Spaniards and Portuguese in the sixteenth century and continued in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by Russians, Dutch, French, and English, culminated during the past hundred-odd years. It is principally this movement which gives such significance to European history. The civilization of Europe, as affected by the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the Revolution, has been spread throughout the world. The languages, literatures, religions, laws, and customs of Europe have been extended to almost all mankind.

Colonial empires

Great Britain in 1815 was the leading world power. France had been well-nigh eliminated as a colonial rival by the Seven Years' War, and Holland had lost valuable possessions overseas in the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars. The spectacle of the British Empire, so populous, so rich in natural resources, so far-flung, stirred the imagination and aroused the envy of the witnessing nations. They, also, became eager for possessions in savage or half-civilized lands. France, from the time of Louis Philippe, began to conquer northwestern Africa and Madagascar and to acquire territories in southeastern Asia. Italy and Germany, having attained nationhood, entered into the race for overseas dominions. Portugal and Spain annexed new colonies. Diminutive Belgium built up a colonial empire in Africa. Mighty Russia

[1] Webster, *Historical Source Book*, No. 19, "Washington's Farewell Address, 1796"; No. 21, "Monroe Doctrine, 1823"; No. 23, "Durham Report, 1839"; No. 26, "Lincoln's First Inaugural Address, 1861"; No. 27, "Gettysburg Address, 1863"; No. 30, "Roosevelt's Inaugural Address, 1905."

THE WORLD POWERS, 1815 A. D.
British
Russian
Spanish
Danish
French
Portuguese
Dutch
Scale along the Equator
0 1000 2000 3000 4000 5000
80° Longitude West 40° from Greenwich 0° Longitude 40° East from 80° Greenwich 120° 160°
THE M.-N. WORKS
ARCTIC OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
INDIAN OCEAN
NORTH AMERICA
SOUTH AMERICA
EUROPE
AFRICA
ASIA
AUSTRALIA
GREENLAND
SPITZBERGEN
NOVA ZEMBLA
NEW SIBERIAN IS.
ARCTIC CIRCLE
ALASKA
Bering Sea
Bering Str.
ASIA
Yukon R.
Mackenzie R.
Hudson Bay
Baffin Bay
Baffin Ld.
Davis Str.
Denmark Str.
ICELAND
Labrador
VANCOUVER I.
ALEUTIAN IS.
Quebec
NEW FOUNDLAND
NOVA SCOTIA
New York
Philadelphia
BERMUDAS
San Francisco
St. Louis
New Orleans
Florida
G. of Mexico
NEW SPAIN
CUBA
WEST INDIES
Caribbean Sea
Mexico City
SANDWICH IS.
Bogota
GUIANA
New Granada
Quito
Lima
Brazil
Rio de Janeiro
Valparaiso
Santiago
Chile
Montevideo
Buenos Aires
FALKLAND IS.
C. Horn
BOCIETY IS.
SAMOA IS.
C. VERDE IS.
ASCENSION
S. HELENA
Cape Colony
C. of Good Hope
Zanzibar
MADAGASCAR
MAURITIUS
RODRIGUEZ
REUNION
TROPIC OF CAPRICORN
AUSTRALIA
New South Wales
Sydney
NEW ZEALAND
TASMANIA
Lapland
Archangel
Russia
Moscow
Berlin
London
GT. BRITAIN
IRELAND
Paris
Odessa
FRANCE
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
AZORES
Str. of Gibraltar
MADEIRA
CANARY IS.
Barbary
Tunis
Cairo
Egypt
Suez
Constantinople
Mediterranean Sea
SAHARA
Sudan
Abyssinia
ARABIA
Bombay
Arabian Sea
G. of Bengal
CEYLON
SUMATRA
Calcutta
Tibet
INDIA
CHINA
Canton
China Sea
Manila
PHILIPPINES
BORNEO
CELEBES
JAVA
Mongolia
Peking
Japan Sea
Tomsk
Irkutsk
Siberia
Yakutsk
Okhotsk Sea
Japan
TROPIC OF CANCER
EQUATOR
NEW GUINEA
Florida
BAHAMA IS.
Cuba
JAMAICA
HAITI
ST. CHRISTOPHER
Caribbean Sea
Nicaragua
Costa Rica
Panama
Colombia
Venezuela
ST. VINCENT
BARBADOS
TRINIDAD

spread out eastward over the whole of Siberia and, having reached the Pacific, moved southward toward the warmer waters of the Indian Ocean. Meanwhile, the United States expanded across the American continent, acquired the Philippines and other dependencies, and stood forth at length as an imperial power. Few and unimportant were those regions of the world which remained unappropriated at the opening of the twentieth century.

Imperialism

The word "imperialism" conveniently describes all this activity of the different nations in reaching out for colonial dependencies. Imperialism, of course, is not a new phenomenon; empire building began almost at the dawn of history. We are concerned here only with its most recent aspects. Sometimes it leads to the declaration of a protectorate over a region, or, perhaps, to the marking off a sphere of influence where other powers agree not to interfere. Sometimes it goes no further than the securing of concessions in undeveloped countries such as Mexico, Brazil, or China. Most commonly, however, imperialism results in the complete annexation of a distant territory, with or without the consent of the inhabitants.

Imperialism and nationalism

The imperialistic ambitions of the great powers more than once led them to disregard the rights of weaker nations in Africa, Asia, and other parts of the world. Thus, Great Britain subdued the two Boer republics in South Africa, Italy attempted to conquer the independent nation of Abyssinia, and Great Britain, France, Germany, and Russia at one time threatened the integrity of China. It should be said, however, that in most cases colonial dependencies have been secured only at the expense of savage or semi-civilized peoples. Though there are many things to condemn in the conduct of the European powers toward their subjects, much improvement is to be observed within recent years. Great Britain, France, and other colonial states expend large sums annually in their dominions for roads, railways, schools, medical service, and humanitarian work of various sorts.

Imperialism and democracy

It has been manifestly impossible for even the most democratic of modern nations to grant self-government to their rude and backward subjects. Where the level of civilization is higher, as in Egypt and India, the prevailing illiteracy of the inhabitants forms a great obstacle in the way of democracy. We have already noted, however, that Great Britain during the last century raised round herself a circle of self-governing daughters in Canada, Australia, and South Africa, and that France permits some of her colonies to send representatives to the French legislature.[1] Other instances of the bestowal of free institutions upon native peoples will be referred to as we proceed with the story of European expansion in Africa and Asia.

142. The Opening-up of Africa

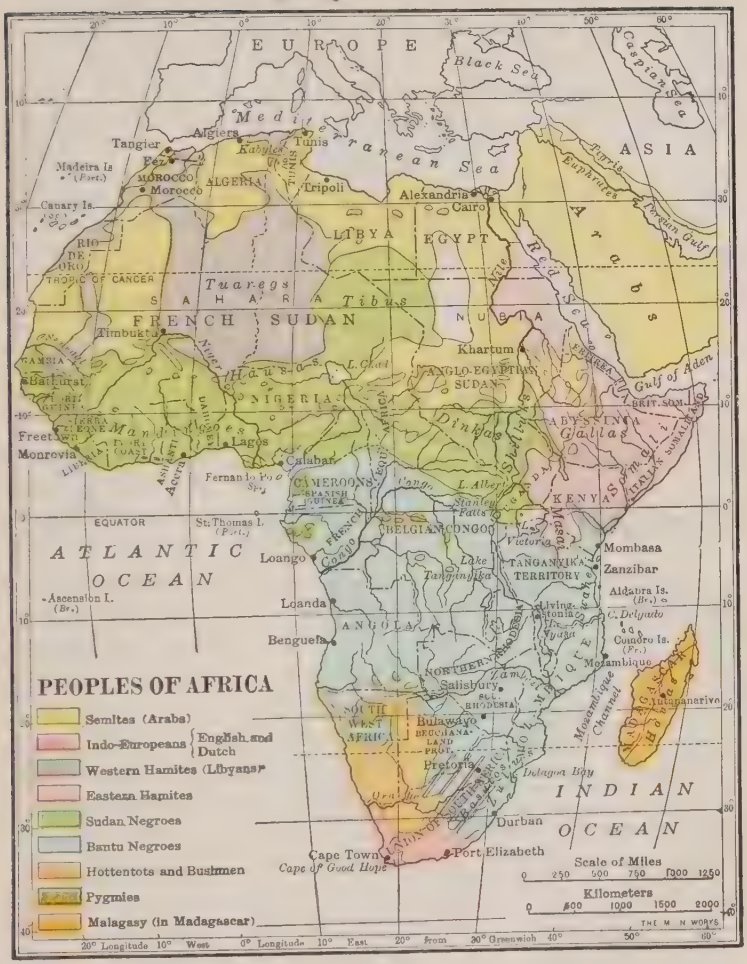
Physical Africa

Speaking broadly, Africa consists of an elevated plateau with a fringe of unindented coastal plain. Penetration of the interior was long delayed by mountain ranges which approach close to the sea, by rapids and falls which hinder river navigation, by the barrier of dense forests and extensive deserts, and by the unhealthiness of the climate in many regions. Though lying almost in sight of Europe, Africa remained until our own time the "Dark Continent."

Racial Africa

Many different peoples have found a home in Africa. All the northern part of the continent is occupied by the White Race, divided into the three great groups of Semites (Arabs), Eastern Hamites, and Western Hamites, or Libyans. The Black Race since prehistoric times has held the rest of the continent. The true negroes are confined to the Sudan and adjacent parts. Some negroes in the course of time blended more or less with Hamites, giving rise to the Bantu-speaking peoples, who dwell chiefly south of the equator. To these elements of the native population must be added the curious Pygmies of the equatorial districts, together with the Hottentots and Bushmen in the extreme south.

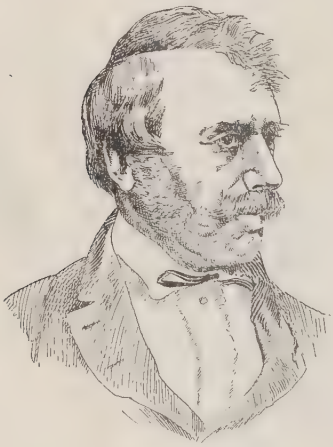
[1] See pages 494 and 504.



Little more than the Mediterranean shore of Africa was known in antiquity. Here were Egypt, the first home of civilization, and Carthage, Rome's most formidable rival for supremacy. During the earlier Middle Ages all North Africa fell under Arab domination. Arab missionaries, warriors, and

slave-hunters also spread along the eastern coast and established trading posts as far south as the mouth of the Zambesi River. The vast extent of the continent was first revealed to Europeans by the Portuguese discoveries in the second half of the fifteenth century.[1] Except for the Dutch colony at the Cape of Good Hope, Europeans, however, did not try to settle in Africa. Nothing tempted them to do so. The shores of the continent were plague-ridden, and its interior was supposed to consist of barren deserts or of impenetrable forests. Maps of Africa a hundred years ago show the interior decorated with pictures of the hippopotamus, the elephant, and the negro, to conceal the ignorance of geographers.

Africa until the nineteenth century



David Livingstone

The penetration of Africa has been mainly accomplished by following the course of its four great rivers. In the last decade of the eighteenth century the British African Association, then recently founded, sent Mungo Park to the Niger. He and his immediate successors explored the basin of that river and revealed the existence of the mysterious city of Timbuktu, an Arab capital never previously visited by Europeans. The determination of the sources of the Nile — a problem which had interested the ancients — met with success shortly after the middle of the nineteenth century. Captain Speke first saw the waters of the lake which he named Victoria Nyanza, in honor of England's queen, and Sir Samuel Baker found the smaller lake called by him Albert Nyanza, in honor of the Prince Consort. The discovery of snow-clad mountains in this part of Africa confirmed

The Niger and the Nile basins

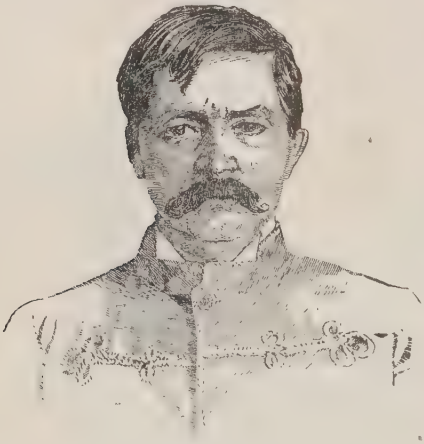
[1] See page 251.

what Greek geographers had taught regarding the "Mountains of the Moon."

Meanwhile, an intrepid Scotch missionary and explorer, David Livingstone, had traced the course of the Zambesi.

Starting from the Cape, he worked his way northward, found the wonderful Victoria Falls, and crossed the continent from sea to sea. Livingstone's work was carried further by Henry M. Stanley, a newspaper correspondent who became one of the eminent explorers of modern times. He discovered Lake Albert Edward Nyanza, showed that Lake Tanganyika drained into the Congo, and followed that mighty stream all the way to its mouth. Stanley's fascinating narratives of his travels did much to arouse European interest in Africa.

Basins of the Zambesi and the Congo



Henry M. Stanley
After a photograph taken in 1886.

Mission work in Africa went hand in hand with geographical discovery. Not a great deal has been accomplished in North Africa, where Islam is supreme from Morocco to Egypt and from the Mediterranean to 10° north of the equator. Abyssinia, the negro republic of Liberia, and South Africa, as far as it is white, are entirely Christian. The accompanying map shows how mission stations, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, have been planted throughout the broad belt of heathenism in Central Africa.

African missions

143. The Partition of Africa

The division of Africa among European powers followed promptly upon its exploration. Spain, Portugal, Belgium, Germany, Italy, France, and Great Britain all profited by the scramble for African territory, particularly during the 'eighties and the 'nineties of the last century. The Spanish possessions are small,

The Spanish and Portuguese in Africa

compared with those of the other powers, and, except for the northern coast of Morocco, not of great importance. Portugal, however, controls the two valuable regions of Angola and Mozambique.

The Congo basin, in the heart of the Dark Continent, is controlled by Belgium. The area of the Belgian Congo has now been considerably increased by the acquisition of former German territories. **The Belgians in Africa**

Soon after Germany attained national unity, she made her appearance among colonial powers. Treaties with the native chiefs and arbitrary annexations resulted in the acquisition of extensive regions in Southwest Africa, East Africa, the Cameroons, and Togo. They were all conquered by the Allies during the World War. **The Germans in Africa**

Italy was another late-comer on the African scene. She secured Eritrea on the Red Sea and Italian Somaliland. An Italian attempt to annex Abyssinia ended disastrously, and the ancient Abyssinian "empire" still remains independent. Italy's most important African colony is Libya, conquered from Turkey in 1911–1912. It says much for the liberal principles underlying Italian colonial policy that a constitution has recently been granted to the Libyans. **The Italians in Africa**

The beginnings of French dominion in Africa reach back to the seventeenth century, when Louis XIV began to acquire trading posts along the western coast and in Madagascar. It was not until the nineteenth century, however, that the French entered seriously upon the work of colonization. France now holds Algeria, the conquest of which began in 1830; Tunis, taken from Turkey in 1881; most of Morocco, a protectorate since 1912; the valleys of the Senegal and Upper Niger; part of the Guinea coast; French Somaliland; and the island of Madagascar. A glance at the map shows that the African possessions of France exceed in area those of any other power, but they include the Sahara Desert. **The French in Africa**

Great Britain has secured, if not the lion's share, at any rate the most valuable share of Africa. Besides extensive possessions on the Guinea coast, she holds a solid block of territory

all the way from the Cape of Good Hope to Egypt. Cape Colony was captured from the Dutch during the Napoleonic wars. The Dutch farmers, or Boers, did not take kindly to British rule. Many of them, with their families and flocks, moved from Cape Colony into the unknown country beyond. This wholesale emigration resulted in the formation of the Boer republics of Natal, Orange Free State, and the Transvaal. Natal was soon annexed by Great Britain, but the other two republics remained independent.

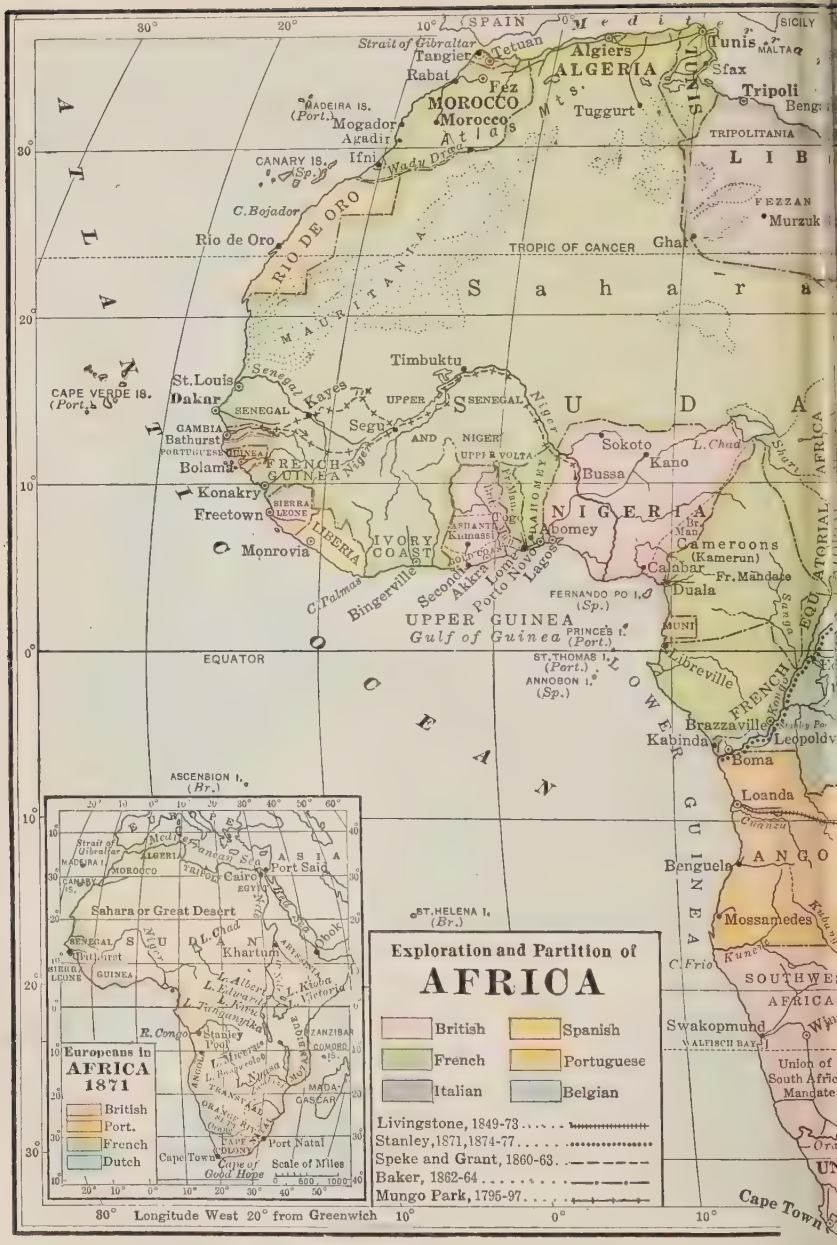
The British in South Africa

Cecil Rhodes

The discovery of the world's richest gold mines in the Transvaal led to a large influx of Englishmen, who, since they paid taxes, demanded a share in the government. The champion of British interests was Cecil Rhodes, an Oxford student who found riches in the Kimberley diamond fields and rose to be prime minister of Cape Colony. The Dutch settlers, under the lead of President Kruger of the Transvaal, were just as determined to keep the government in their own hands. Disputes between the two peoples culminated in the South African War (1899–1902), in which the Boers were overcome by sheer weight of numbers.

The war had a happy outcome. Great Britain showed a wise liberality toward her former foes and granted them self-government. Cape Colony, Natal, Orange Free State, and the Transvaal soon came together in the Union of South Africa. The Union has a governor-general appointed by the British Crown, a common parliament, and a responsible ministry. Cape Town and Pretoria are the two capitals, and both English and Dutch are official languages.

Union of South Africa, 1909–1910



Exploration and Partition of
AFRICA
British
Spanish
French
Portuguese
Italian
Belgian
Livingstone, 1849-73
Stanley, 1871, 1874-77
Speke and Grant, 1860-63
Baker, 1862-64
Mungo Park, 1795-97
Europeans in
AFRICA
1871
British
Port.
French
Dutch
Longitude West 20° from Greenwich
Scale of Miles
Sahara or Great Desert
Strait of Gibraltar
Mediterranean Sea
Port Said
Cairo
Khartum
Stanley Pool
Cape Town
Cape of Good Hope
Port Natal
Mogador
Agadir
Ifni
Rio de Oro
Tangier
Tetuan
Rabat
Fez
Morocco
Algiers
ALGERIA
Tunis
Sfax
Tripoli
Tuggurt
Ghat
Murzuk
Timbuktu
Kayes
Segu
St. Louis
Dakar
Bathurst
Bolama
Konakry
Freetown
Monrovia
Bingerville
Sokoto
Kano
Bussa
Abomey
Calabar
Duala
Cameroons
(Kamerun)
Fr. Mandate
Libreville
Brazzaville
Kabinda
Boma
Loanda
Benguela
Mossamedes
Swakopmund
Union of South Africa Mandate
Cape Town
Longitude West 20° from Greenwich

Aleppo
Teheran
PERSIA
AFGHANISTAN
CYPRUS
Damascus
Bagdad
Alexandria
Port Said
Jerusalem
ASIA
Cairo
Suez
HEJAZ
ARABIA
Persian Gulf
BALUCHISTAN
INDIA
EGYPT
Libyan Desert
Assuan
Medina
Gulf of Oman
OMAN
Wady Halfa
Nubian Desert
Mekka
Port Sudan
Suakin
ARABIAN SEA
Berber
Khartum
Omdurman
Asmara
ERITREA
ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN
Aden
Gulf of Aden
SOKOTRA (Br.)
C. Guardafui
FRENCH SOMALI LAND
Jibuti
Berbera
BRITISH SOMALILAND PROT.
Fashoda
Adis Abeba
Harar
ABYSSINIA
ITALIAN SOMALILAND
Gondokoro
UGANDA PROT.
Rudolf
Rowenzori Mts.
Entebbe
KENYA COLONY
L. Kioga
Mogadisho
Mt. Kenia
Nairobi
Mt. Kilimanjaro
TANGANYIKA TERRITORY
Mombasa
SEYCHELLES IS. (Br.)
Ujiji
PEMBA I.
Zanzibar
Lake Tanganyika
Dar es Salaam
British Mandate
MAFIA I.
ALDABRA I. (Br.)
C. Delgado
Lake Nyasa
COMORO IS. (Fr.)
Diego Suarez
Mozambique Channel
Zomba
Mozambique
Majunga
Salisbury
SOUTHERN RHODESIA
Quilimane
Tamatave
Tananarivo
RODRIGUEZ I. (Br.)
MAURITIUS I. (Br.)
Bulawayo
Beira
MADAGASCAR
REUNION I. (Fr.)
Fianarantsoa
Tulear
TRANSVAAL
TROPIC OF CAPRICORN
Lourenço Marques
Delagoa Bay
NATAL
Durban
Pietermaritzburg
E. London
Longitude East 40° from Greenwich
Cape to Cairo Railroad:
Finished
Unfinished
Other Railroads
Scale of Miles
THE MATTHEWS-NORTHRUP WORKS, BUFFALO, N.Y.

The Union may ultimately include other British possessions in Africa. Great Britain asserts a protectorate over Bechuanaland, which is still very sparsely settled by Europeans. She also controls the imperial domain acquired by Cecil Rhodes and called after him Rhodesia. During the World War loyal Boers conquered German Southwest Africa and coöperated with the British in the conquest of German East Africa. Great Britain has still other territories in this part of the Dark Continent. The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, comprising the region of the Upper Nile, was secured in the last decade of the nineteenth century, as the result of General Kitchener's victorious campaigns.

The British in East Africa

The Egyptians have been subject to foreigners for over twenty-four hundred years. The Persians came to Egypt in the sixth century B.C.; then the Macedonians under Alexander the Great; then the Romans under Julius Cæsar; and subsequently the Arabs and the Ottoman Turks. Turkish sultans controlled the country until the early part of the nineteenth century, when an able pasha made himself almost an independent sovereign. After 1882 Egypt was ruled by Great Britain. Once established in Egypt, the British began to make it over. They restored order, purified the courts, levied taxes fairly, reorganized the finances, paid the public debt, abolished forced labor, and took measures to improve sanitary conditions. British engineers built a railroad along the Nile, together with the famous Assuan Dam and other irrigation works which reclaimed millions of acres from the desert. For the first time in centuries, the peasants were assured of peace, justice, and an opportunity to make a decent living. Nevertheless, economic prosperity did not reconcile the people to foreign rule. In 1922, after much agitation and revolutionary outbreaks, Great Britain finally offered Egypt partial independence. The British intend to retain control of the foreign relations of that country.

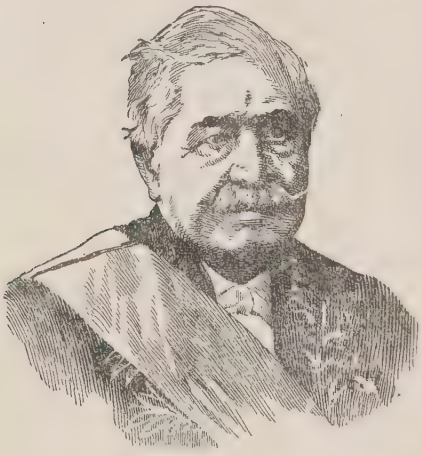
Egypt

The strategic importance of Egypt as the doorway to Africa will be much increased by the completion of the Cape-to-Cairo Railway. This transcontinental line starts from Cape Town;

crosses Bechuanaland and Rhodesia, and will ultimately link up with the railway already in operation between Khartum, Cairo, and Alexandria on the Mediterranean. The unfinished part is mainly in the Congo region.

Cape-to-Cairo Railway

The Cape-to-Cairo Railway owes its inspiration to Cecil Rhodes, who dreamed of an "all-red" route across Africa, and then with characteristic pluck and energy set out to make his dream come true.



Count Ferdinand de Lesseps

The completion of the Suez Canal has likewise put Egypt on the main oceanic highway to the Far East. The canal is a monument to the great French engineer, Ferdinand de Lesseps. It was opened to traffic in 1869. The money for the undertaking came chiefly from European investors. Great Britain possesses a controlling interest in the enterprise. The canal, however, may be freely used by the ships of all nations. More than half of the voyages from Europe to the Far East are now made through the canal rather than round the Cape of Good Hope.

Suez Canal

144. The Opening-up and Partition of Asia

The Europeanization of Asia was not far advanced at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Europe knew only Siberia, which Russia had appropriated, and those parts of India which had been annexed by Great Britain. All western Asia belonged to the Ottoman Empire and remained unaffected by European influence. On the eastern side of the continent lay China and Japan, old and civilized but stagnant countries, whose backs were turned upon the rest

Europe and Asia

of the world. Within the past hundred years, however, European traders, missionaries, and soldiers have broken through the barriers raised by Oriental peoples, and now almost the whole of Asia is either politically or economically dependent upon Europe.

The Russians were established throughout Siberia before the close of the seventeenth century. Their advance over this enormous but thinly peopled region was facilitated by its magnificent rivers, which furnished highways for explorers and fur traders. Northern Siberia is a waste of swamp and tundra, where the terrible climate blocks the mouths of the streams with ice and even in summer keeps the ground frozen beneath the surface. Farther south comes a great belt of forest, the finest timbered area still intact on the face of the earth, and still farther south extend treeless steppes adapted in part to agriculture and in part to herding. The country also contains much mineral wealth. In order to secure an outlet for Siberian products, Russia compelled China to cede the lower Amur Valley with the adjoining seacoast. The Russians in their newly acquired territory founded Vladivostok as a naval base.

Russia in northern Asia

Vladivostok is also the eastern terminus of the Trans-Siberian Railway. The western terminus is Petrograd, three thousand miles distant. The railway was completed in 1900 by the imperial government, partly to facilitate the movement of troops and military supplies in Siberia and partly to develop that region as a home for Russian emigrants and a market for Russian manufactures. A branch line extends to Port Arthur, which, unlike Vladivostok, is an ice-free harbor on the Pacific.

The Trans-Siberian Railway

Russia also widened her boundaries in central Asia by absorbing Turkestan east of the Caspian and south of Lake Balkash and the Aral Sea. Alarmed by the steady progress southward of the Russian colossus, Great Britain began to extend the northern and northwestern frontiers of India, in order to secure a mountain barrier for her Indian possessions. Half a century of feverish

Russia and Great Britain in central Asia

fears and restless advances on both sides was ended by the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907. It dealt with Persia, Afghanistan, and Tibet.

Persia

The Persian kingdom became a buffer state between Russia and Great Britain. The northern part of Persia was recognized as a Russian sphere of influence, the southern part as a British sphere, and the central part as a neutral zone where the two powers pledged themselves not to interfere except by mutual consent. The unsettled conditions arising out of the World War enabled Persia to rid herself of Russian control. With Great Britain she has concluded a new agreement, by which the former power guarantees the security of the Persian frontiers and promises assistance in developing Persian trade and industries.

Afghanistan

The kingdom of Afghanistan also became a buffer state. Great Britain engaged not to annex any of its territory, while Russia, on her side, agreed to regard it as within the British sphere of influence and under British protection. Though a very mountainous region, Afghanistan contains numerous passes, over which in historic times conquering peoples have repeatedly descended into India.

Tibet

The Chinese dependency of Tibet was little known until a few years ago, when a British military expedition penetrated to the sacred city of Lhasa and obtained concessions for trade within the country. Russia also professed to be interested in Tibet. By the Anglo-Russian Convention both nations promised to respect its territorial integrity and not to interfere with Chinese sovereignty over the country.

Great Britain and France in Southeastern Asia

Indo-China, except for the nominally independent state of Siam, is now under British and French control. Great Britain holds Burma and the Straits Settlements. France holds Tonkin, Anam, Laos, Cambodia, and Cochin-China. All these possessions have been acquired at the expense of China, which formerly exercised a vague sovereignty over southeastern Asia.

Siam occupies a position comparable to that of Persia. By an agreement between Great Britain and France in 1896, the

THE PEOPLES OF ASIA
Indo-Europeans
Mongolians
Chinese, Tibetans, Burmans, etc.
Dravidians
Malays
Australians and Papuans
Japanese and Koreans
Semites
Scale of Miles
0 250 500 1000
ARCTIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
INDIAN OCEAN
Madrid
Paris
Berlin
Vienna
Rome
Constantinople
Petrograd
Black Sea
Mediterranean Sea
Jerusalem
Mecca
Aden
Tobolsk
Tomsk
Irkutsk
L. Baikal
Tatars
Buriats
Manchus
Mongols
Kalmaks
Kashgar
Kabul
Tibetans
Lhasa
Delhi
Bombay
Calcutta
Madras
Veddas
CEYLON
Burmans
Canton
Nankin
Shanghai
Mukden
Peking
Japanese
Manila
Singapore
Batavia
Dyaks
Battaks
Malays
Papuans
Australians
THE M.-N. WORKS, BUFFALO, N.Y.

country was divided into three zones: the eastern to be the French sphere of influence; the western to be the British sphere of influence; and the central to be neutral. It will be thus seen that a belt of protected or neutral states — Afghanistan, Persia, Tibet, and Siam — separates the possessions of Russia and France in Asia from those of Great Britain and forms the real frontier of India.

Siam

145. India

British expansion in India, begun by Clive during the Seven Years' War,[1] has proceeded scarcely without interruption to the present day. The conquest of India was almost inevitable. Sometimes the Indian princes attacked the British settlements and had to be overcome; sometimes the lawless condition of their dominions led to intervention; sometimes, again, the need of finding defensible frontiers resulted in annexations. The entire peninsula, covering an area half as large as the United States, is now under the Union Jack.

Conquest of India

The East India Company continued to govern India until after the middle of the nineteenth century. In 1857 came the Sepoy Mutiny, a sudden uprising of the native soldiers in the northern part of the country. The mutiny disclosed the weakness of company rule and at once led to the transfer of all governmental functions to the Crown. Queen Victoria subsequently assumed the title, Empress of India. A viceroy, whose seat is the old Mogul capital Delhi, and the officials of the Indian Civil Service administer the affairs of about two-thirds of the country. The remainder is ruled by native princes under British control.

Government of India

The fact that a handful of foreigners has been able to subdue and keep in subjection more than three hundred million Indian peoples is sufficiently explained by their disunion. There are many racial types, speaking upwards of fifty distinct languages. The Aryan Hindus dwell in the river valleys of the Indus and the Ganges. Southern India belongs

Peoples of India

[1] See page 327.

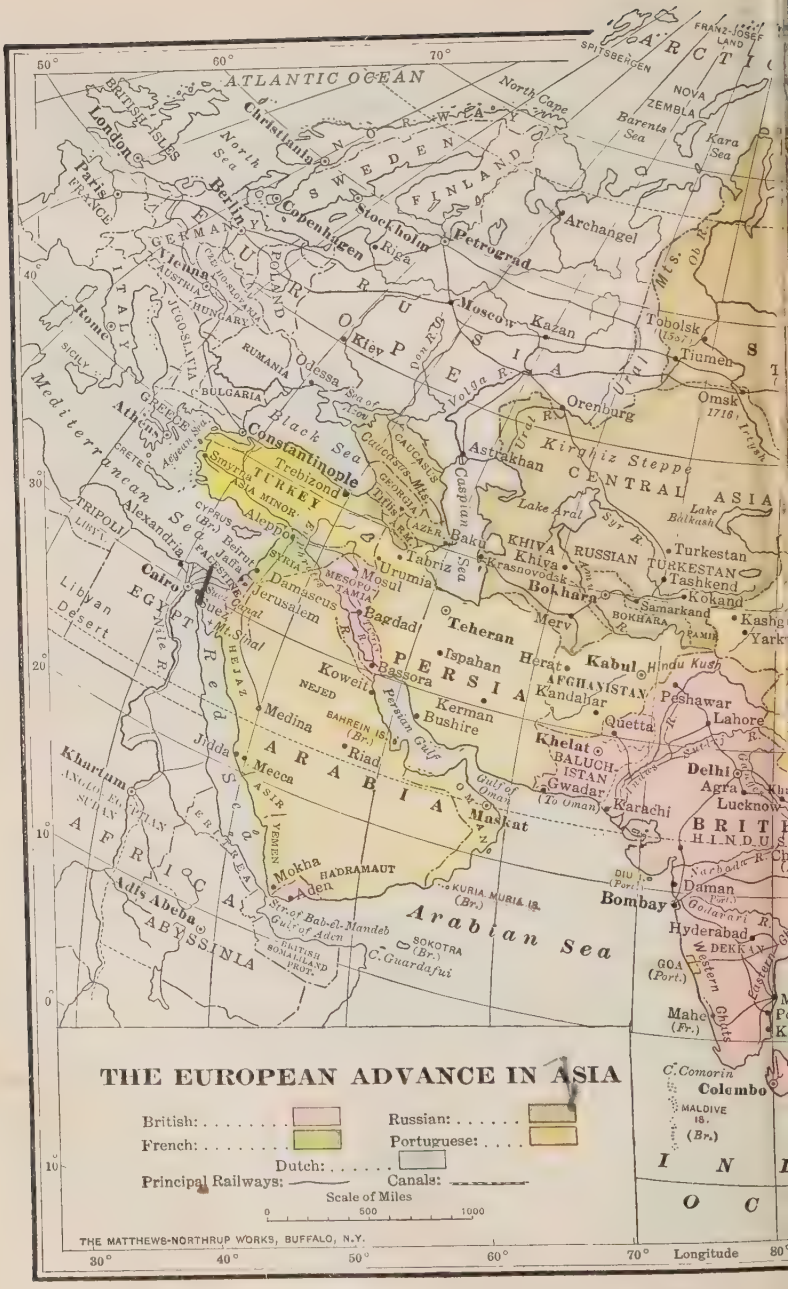
chiefly to the dark-skinned Dravidians, who speak non-Aryan tongues and probably represent the aboriginal inhabitants of the peninsula. The slopes of the Himalayas are occupied by the descendants of Turkish (Mogul) and other invaders. On the northeast, reaching down into Burma, are Mongolian peoples allied to the Chinese. All these elements, however, have become inextricably mingled, and their representatives are found in every province and native state.

"The Lion's Vengeance on the Bengal Tiger"

A cartoon by Sir John Tenniel which appeared in the English journal *Punch* for August 22, 1857.

Religions of India

Religion likewise acts as a divisive force. The Hindus accept Brahmanism, a name derived from Brahma, the Supreme Being or First Cause. In its original form, three thousand years ago, Brahmanism appears to have been an elevated faith, but it has now so far declined that its adherents generally worship a multitude of gods, venerate idols, revere the cow as a sacred animal, and indulge in many debasing rites. The Dravidians are only nominal Brahmanists; their real worship is that of countless village deities. Islam prevails especially in the northern fringe of provinces, but Moslem missionaries have penetrated almost every part of the country. Buddhism, which arose out of the teaching of the great religious reformer, Gautama Buddha (about 568–488

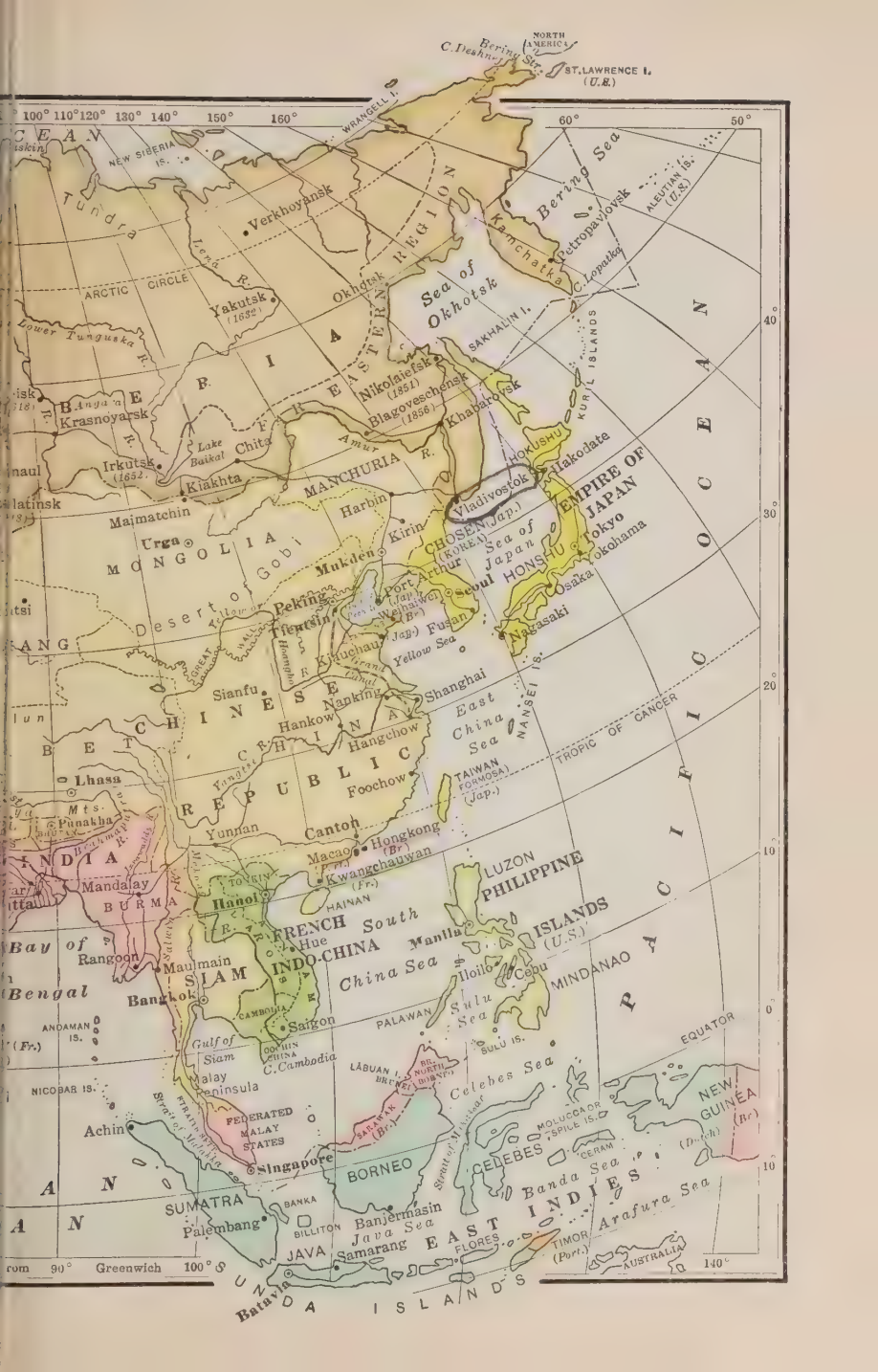


THE EUROPEAN ADVANCE IN ASIA

British: .....
French: .....
Dutch: .....
Principal Railways:
Russian: .....
Portuguese: ....
Canals:

Scale of Miles
0 500 1000

THE MATTHEWS-NORTHRUP WORKS, BUFFALO, N.Y.


NORTH AMERICA
C. Dezhnev
Bering Str.
ST. LAWRENCE I. (U.S.)
100° 110° 120° 130° 140° 150° 160°
60° 50°
WRANGELL I.
NEW SIBERIA IS.
Tundra
Verkhoyansk
Lena R.
ARCTIC CIRCLE
Yakutsk (1632)
Lower Tunguska R.
Okhotsk
EASTERN REGION
Kamchatka
Petropavlovsk
C. Lopatka
Bering Sea
ALEUTIAN IS. (U.S.)
Sea of Okhotsk
SAKHALIN I.
KURILE ISLANDS
Nikolaievsk (1851)
Blagoveschensk (1856)
Khabarovsk
Krasnoyarsk
Irkutsk (1652)
Lake Baikal
Chita
Amur R.
Kiakhta
MANCHURIA
Hokushu
Hakodate
Vladivostok
EMPIRE OF JAPAN
Majmatchin
Harbin
Kirin
CHOSEN (KOREA) (Jap.)
Sea of Japan
Tokyo
Urga
MONGOLIA
Mukden
Port Arthur (Jap.)
Seoul
HONSHU
Yokohama
Peking
Tientsin
Weihaiwei (Br.)
Fusan (Jap.)
Osaka
Nagasaki
Desert of Gobi
Yellow Sea
Kiuchau (Ger.)
Sianfu
Nanking
Shanghai
Hankow
Hangchow
East China Sea
MANJI IS.
TROPIC OF CANCER
CHINESE REPUBLIC
Foochow
TAIWAN FORMOSA (Jap.)
Lhasa
Punakha
Yunnan
Canton
Hongkong (Br.)
Macao (Port.)
Kwangchauwan (Fr.)
INDIA
Mandalay
BURMA
Hanoi
HAINAN
LUZON
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS (U.S.)
Bay of Bengal
Rangoon
Maulmain
FRENCH INDO-CHINA
Hue
Manila
South China Sea
Iloilo
Cebu
MINDANAO
SIAM
Bangkok
CAMBODIA
Saigon
PALAWAN
Sulu Sea
SULU IS.
EQUATOR
ANDAMAN IS. (Br.)
Gulf of Siam
Malay Peninsula
C. Cambodia
LABUAN (Br.)
Celebes Sea
NICOBAR IS.
Achin
FEDERATED MALAY STATES
SARAWAK (Br.)
NEW GUINEA (Br.) (Dutch)
Singapore
BORNEO
CELEBES
MOLUCCA OR SPICE IS.
CERAM
Banda Sea
SUMATRA
BANKA
BILLITON
Palembang
Banjermasin
Java Sea
EAST INDIES
Arafura Sea
FLORES
TIMOR (Port.)
AUSTRALIA
JAVA
Samarang
Batavia
SUNDA ISLANDS
from 90° Greenwich 100°
140°

B.C.), is now practically extinct in the land of its birth, though Ceylon and Burma are strongholds of this ancient faith.[1]

Nor are the Hindus themselves united. The all-pervading caste system splits them up into several thousand distinct groups, headed by the Brahmans or priests. Members of a given caste may not marry outside it; may not eat with any one who does not belong to it; and may not do work of any sort unrecognized by it. Caste, in fact, regulates a man's actions from the cradle to the grave. It has lasted in India for ages.

The caste system

The spread of European civilization in India promises to remove, or at least to lower, the barriers of race, religion, and caste. Great Britain enforces peace throughout the peninsula, builds railways and canals linking every part of it together, stamps out the famines and plagues which used to decimate the inhabitants, and has begun their education in schools of many grades. All this tends to foster a sense of nationality, something hitherto lacking in India. Educated Hindus, familiar with the national and democratic movements in Europe, now demand self-government for their own country. This may come in time, but a united Indian nation must necessarily be of slow development.

Indian nationalism

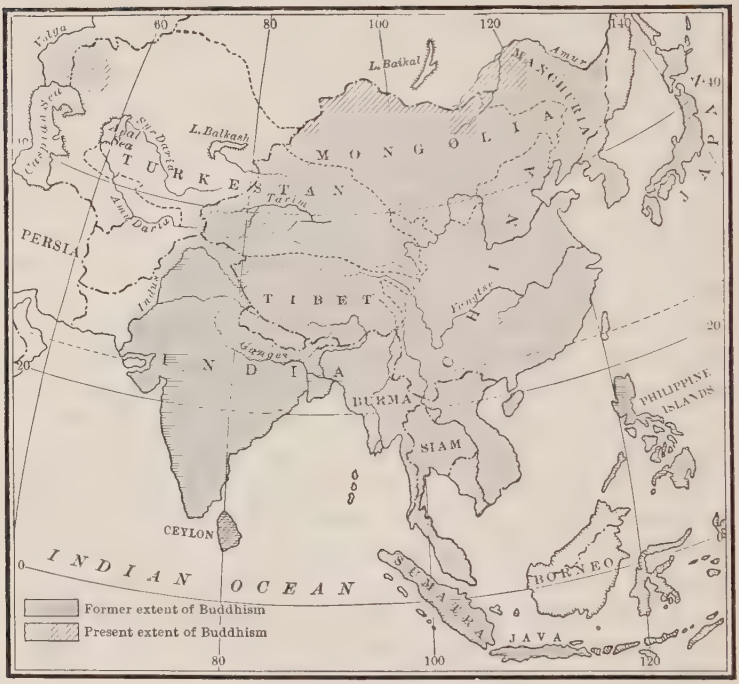
146. China

Between Russian Asia and British and French Asia lies China, with a larger area than Europe and probably quite as populous. China proper consists of eighteen provinces in the fertile valleys of the Yangtse and the Hoangho, or Yellow River. The great length of the country accounts for the variety of its productions, which range from hardy grains in the north to camphor and mulberry trees, tea, and cotton in the south. The mineral wealth includes deposits of copper, tin, lead, and iron, much oil, and coal fields said to be the most extensive in the world.

China proper

The traditions of the Chinese throw no light on their origin. They probably developed out of the Mongolian stock inhabiting

[1] See the map on page 556.



Expansion of Buddhism

China proper. In the course of centuries they pushed into Manchuria, Mongolia, Chinese Turkestan (Sinkiang), Tibet, Indo-China, and Korea, until the greater part of eastern Asia came under Chinese influence.

The Chinese

The Chinese boast a civilization already old when Rome was young. They are famous for artistic work in wood and metal, the manufacture of silk, and the production of porcelain or chinaware. Rudimentary forms of such inventions as the compass, gunpowder, paper, and movable type were early known to them. Their cumbrous, non alphabetic writing, used for thousands of years, is now to be superseded by a phonetic script of thirty-nine characters.

Chinese civilization

The government of China, until recently, had always been a monarchy. The emperor, in theory absolute, was really

under the thumb of the office-holding or mandarin class, which took the place of a hereditary nobility. Any one, high or low, could enter its ranks by passing a rigid examination in the sacred books. These were in part collected and edited by Confucius (551–478 B.C.), the reformer who did so much to make reverence for ancestors and imitation of their ways the Chinaman's cardinal virtues. Confucianism is a code of morals rather than a religion. It has not supplanted among uneducated people a lively belief in

Society and religion in China

THE GREAT WALL OF CHINA

The wall was begun in 214 B.C. to protect the northern frontier of China from the inroads of Tatar tribes, and was gradually extended until it reached a length of 1500 miles. It consists of two ramparts of brick, resting upon granite foundations. The space within is filled with stones and earth. The breadth of the wall is about 25 feet; its height is between 20 and 30 feet. Watch towers, 40 feet high, occur every 200 yards. In places of strategic importance there are sometimes as many as five huge loops, with miles of country between, so that if one loop were captured the next might still be defended. Many parts of this colossal fortification are even now in good repair.

many spirits, good and bad. Buddhism has spread so widely over China and the adjoining countries that to-day it forms the creed of about one-third of mankind. Christianity and Islam are also making some headway in China.

The rugged mountains and trackless deserts which bound three sides of China long shut it off from much intercourse with the western world. The proud disposition of its people, to whom foreigners were only bar-

Isolation of China

barians ("foreign devils"), likewise tended to keep them isolated. Before the nineteenth century the only Europeans who gained an entrance into the "Celestial Empire" were a few missionaries and traders. The merchants of Portugal established themselves at Macao, and those of Holland and Great Britain at Canton. There was some traffic overland between Russia and China. Foreign trade, however, had no attraction for the Chinese, who discouraged it as far as possible.

The difficulties experienced by merchants in China led at length to hostilities between that country and Great Britain.

Foreign aggression

The British, with their modern fleet and army, had an easy victory and in 1842 compelled the Chinese government to open additional ports and cede the island of Hongkong. Other nations now hastened to secure commercial concessions in China. Many more ports were opened to foreign merchants, Europeans were granted the right to travel in China, and Christian missionaries were to be protected in their work among the inhabitants. But all this made little impression upon perhaps the most conservative people in the world. The Chinese remained absolutely hostile to the western civilization so rudely thrust upon them.

Foreign aggression soon took the form of annexations in outlying portions of Chinese territory. We have seen how

Annexations

Great Britain appropriated Burma; France, Indo-China; and Russia, the Amur district. Meanwhile, Japan, just beginning her national expansion, looked enviously across the sea to Korea, a tributary kingdom of China. The Chino-Japanese War (1894–1895) followed. Completely defeated, the Chinese had not only to renounce all claim to Korea, but also to surrender to Japan the island of Formosa and the extreme southern part of Manchuria, including the coveted Port Arthur. At this juncture of affairs Russia, Germany, and France intervened and induced the Japanese to accept a money indemnity in lieu of territorial acquisitions on the mainland. The coalition then seized several Chinese harbors [1]

[1] Russia took Port Arthur; Germany, Kiauchau; and France, Kwangchauwan Great Britain also acquired Weihaiwei.

and divided much of the country into spheres of influence. The partition of China seemed at hand.

But Europe was not to have its own way in China. A secret society called the "Boxers," whose members claimed to be invulnerable, spread rapidly through the provinces and urged war to the death against the "foreign devils." Encouraged by the empress-dowager, Tze-hsi, who was regent of China for nearly forty years, the "Boxers" murdered many traders and missionaries. The foreigners in Peking took refuge within the legations, where after a desperate defense they were finally relieved by an international army composed of European, Japanese, and American troops. The allies then made peace with China and promised henceforth to respect her territory. They insisted, however, on the payment of a large indemnity for the outrages committed during the anti-foreign outbreak.

The "Boxers," 1900

EMPRESS-DOWAGER OF CHINA

A portrait by a Chinese artist. The empress is represented as a goddess of mercy. She stands upon a lotus petal floating on the waves of the sea.

Events now moved rapidly. Educated Chinese, many of whom had studied abroad, saw clearly that their country must adopt western ideas and methods, if it was to remain a great power. The demand for thorough reforms in the government soon became a revolutionary propaganda, directed against the unprogressive Manchu (or Manchurian) dynasty, which had ruled China for nearly three hundred years. The youthful emperor finally

The Chinese Revolution, 1912

abdicated, and the oldest empire in the world became a republic.

China and the Occident

This sudden awakening of China from her sleep of centuries is a prodigious event in world history. Already China possesses many thousands of miles of railroads and telegraph lines, besides numerous factories, mills, and mines equipped with machinery. She has begun the creation of a modern army. She has abolished long-established customs, such as the torture of criminals and the foot-binding of women. She has prohibited the consumption of opium, a vice which sapped the vitality of her people. Her temples have been turned into schools teaching the sciences and foreign languages, and her students have been sent in large numbers to foreign universities. Such reforms promise to bring China into the fellowship of Occidental nations.

147. Japan

The Japanese Archipelago

Nippon ("Rising Sun") is the name which the inhabitants give to the six large islands and about four thousand smaller ones stretching crescent-like off the coast of eastern Asia. Because of its generally mountainous character, little more than one-eighth of the archipelago can be cultivated. Rice and tea form the principal crops, but fruit trees of every kind known to temperate climates flourish, and flowers bloom luxuriantly. The deep inlets of the coast provide convenient harbors, and the numerous rivers, though neither large nor long, supply an abundance of water. Below the surface lie considerable deposits of coal and metals.

The Japanese people

The Japanese are descended mainly from Koreans and Chinese, who displaced the original inhabitants of the archipelago. The immigrants appear to have reached Japan in the early centuries of the Christian era. Except for their shorter stature, the Japanese closely resemble the Chinese in physique and personal appearance. They are, however, more quick-witted and receptive to new ideas than their neighbors on the mainland. Other qualities possessed by the Japanese in a marked degree include obedience, the result

British | French | Dut

Italian | Danish | Jap

D POWERS

Belgian
Portuguese
Spanish
Chinese
United States
Russian

of many centuries of autocratic government; a martial spirit; and an intense patriotism. "Thou shalt honor the gods and love thy country" is the first commandment of the national faith.

The Japanese naturally patterned their civilization upon that of China. They adopted a simplified form of Chinese writing and took over the literature, learning, and art of the "Celestial Empire." The moral system of Confucius found ready acceptance in Japan, where it strengthened the reverence for parents and the worship of ancestors. Buddhism, introduced from China by way of Korea, brought new ideas of the nature of the soul, of heaven and hell, and of salvation by prayer. It is still the prevailing religion in Japan. Like the Chinese, also, the Japanese had an emperor (the mikado). He became in time only a puppet emperor, and another official (the shogun) usurped the chief functions of government. Neither ruler exerted much authority over the nobles (daimios), who oppressed their serfs and waged private warfare against one another very much as did their contemporaries, the feudal lords of medieval Europe.

Japanese civilization

The first European visitors to Japan were Portuguese merchants and Jesuit missionaries, who came in the sixteenth century. The Japanese government welcomed them at first, but the growing unpopularity of the foreigners before long resulted in their expulsion from the country. Japan continued to lead a hermit life until the middle of the nineteenth century. Foreign intercourse began in 1853–1854, with the arrival of an American fleet under Commodore M. C. Perry. He induced the shogun to sign a treaty which opened two Japanese ports to American ships. The diplomatic ice being thus broken, various European nations soon negotiated commercial treaties with Japan.

European intercourse with Japan

Thoughtful Japanese, however great their dislike of foreigners, could not fail to recognize the superiority of the western nations in the arts of war and peace. A group of reformers, including many prominent daimios, now carried through an almost bloodless revolution. As the

The Japanese Revolution

first step, they compelled the shogun to resign his office, thus making the mikado [1] the actual as well as titular sovereign (1867). Most of the daimios then voluntarily surrendered their feudal privileges (1871). This patriotic act made possible the abolition of serfdom and the formation of a national army on the basis of compulsory military service. Japan subsequently secured a written constitution, with a parliament of two houses and a cabinet responsible to the mikado. He is guided in all important matters by a group of influential nobles, called the "Elder Statesmen," who form the real power behind the throne.

European-ization of Japan

The revolutionary movement affected almost every aspect of Japanese society. Codes of civil, commercial, and criminal law were drawn up to accord with those of western Europe. Universities and public schools were established upon Occidental models. Railroads and steamship lines were multiplied. The abundant water power, good harbors, and cheap labor of Japan facilitated the introduction of European methods of manufacturing; factories sprang up on every side; and machine-made goods began to displace the artistic productions of handworkers. Japan thus became a modern industrial nation and a competitor of Europe for Asiatic trade.

Expansion of Japan

Once in possession of European arts, sciences, and industries, Japan entered upon a career of territorial expansion in eastern Asia. Her merchants and capitalists wanted opportunities for money-making abroad; above all, her rapidly increasing population required new regions suitable for colonization beyond the narrow limits of the archipelago. As we have learned, the Chino-Japanese War (1894–1895) brought Korea [2] under Japanese influence and added Formosa to the empire. Just ten years later Japan and Russia clashed over the disposition of Manchuria. The Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905) seemed a conflict between a giant and a pygmy, but the inequality of the Japanese in numbers and resources was

[1] The youthful Mutsuhito, who reigned 1867–1912.

[2] Known as Chosen since its formal annexation by Japan. Though now Japanese subjects, the Koreans continue to agitate for the restoration of their ancient kingdom.

more than made up by their preparedness for the conflict, by their irresistible bravery, and by the strategic genius which their generals displayed. After much bloody fighting by land and sea, both sides accepted the suggestion of President Roosevelt to arrange terms of peace. The treaty, as signed at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, recognized the claims of Japan in Korea, gave to Japan a lease of Port Arthur, and provided for the evacuation of Manchuria by both contestants. Russia also ceded to Japan the southern half of the island of Sakhalin. No indemnity was paid by either country.

Even before the Russo-Japanese War Great Britain had recognized the new importance of Japan by concluding an offensive and defensive alliance with the "Island Empire." Each contracting party pledged itself to come to the other's assistance, in case the possessions of either in eastern Asia and India were attacked by another state. After the Russo-Japanese War both France and Russia also entered into a friendly understanding with Japan for the preservation of peace in the Far East.

Japan as a world power

148. The Opening-up and Partition of Oceania

The term Oceania, or Oceanica, in its widest sense applies to all the Pacific Islands. The continental group includes, in addition to the Japanese Archipelago and Formosa, the Philippines, the Malay Archipelago, Australia, and Tasmania. Many of these islands appear to have been connected at a remote period, and still more remotely to have been joined to the Asiatic mainland. The oceanic group includes, besides New Zealand, a vast number of islands and islets either volcanic or coralline in formation. They fall into the three divisions named Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia.

Oceania

The natives of Oceania exhibit a wide variety of culture, ranging from the savage aborigines of Australia to the semi-civilized Filipinos, Malays, and Polynesians. The first emigrants to the continental islands doubtless came from Asia and walked dryshod from one archipelago to another. On the other hand, the oceanic islands could only

Oceanic peoples

have been reached by water. Their inhabitants, at the time of European discovery, were remarkable navigators, who sailed up and down the Pacific and even ventured into the icy Antarctic. No evidence exists, however, that they even once sighted the coast of America.

Spain in the Philippines

Magellan discovered the Philippines on his voyage of circumnavigation in 1521, and for more than three hundred and fifty years they belonged to Spain. The conquest of the islands was essentially a peaceful missionary enterprise. Spanish friars accomplished a remarkable work in carrying Christianity to the natives. These converted Filipinos are the only large mass of Asiatics who have adopted the Christian religion in modern times.

The United States in the Philippines

The United States, which took over the Philippines from Spain in 1898, adopted a liberal and enlightened policy toward the inhabitants. A constabulary or police force, made up of native soldiers and officered by white men, was organized to maintain order. The agricultural lands belonging to the friars were purchased for the benefit of the people. Hundreds of American school teachers were introduced to train Filipino teachers in English and modern methods of instruction. Large appropriations were made for roads, harbors, and other improvements. True to democratic traditions, the United States also set up a Filipino legislature, which at the present time is entirely elected by the natives. But home rule does not satisfy them; they want complete independence. The separation movement has gained ground rapidly since the World War, which stirred the nationalist longings of the Filipinos as of the Koreans, Hindus, and Egyptians. American public opinion seems to favor withdrawal from the islands, as soon as the inhabitants have clearly shown themselves capable of maintaining a stable government.

The possessions which Portugal acquired in the Malay Archipelago were seized by Holland in the seventeenth century. All the islands, except British Borneo, the Portuguese part of Timor, and the eastern half of New Guinea, belong to the Dutch.

THE PACIFIC OCEAN

BRITISH	PORTUGUESE
FRENCH	JAPANESE
DUTCH	AMERICAN

They were transferred at the end of the eighteenth century from the Dutch East India Company to the royal government. The Dutch have met the usual difficulties of Europeans ruling subject peoples, but their authority seems to be now thoroughly established throughout the archipelago. The government is fairly enlightened, and considerable progress has been made in educating the natives and in raising their economic condition. Although Holland freely opens her possessions to traders of other nations, Dutch merchants continue to control the lucrative commerce of the islands.

Holland in the Malay Archipelago

Geographical knowledge of the Pacific islands dates from Captain Cook's discoveries in the eighteenth century, but their partition among European powers has been completed only in the twentieth century. Most of them have been annexed by Great Britain and France. The United States controls Guam, part of Samoa, and the Hawaiian Islands. The German possessions in the Pacific were surrendered to the Allies shortly after the opening of the World War.

Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia

149. Australia and New Zealand

Australia deserves its rank as a separate continent. In area it equals three-fourths of Europe and one-third of North America. The characteristic features of Australian geography are the slightly indented coast, the lack of navigable rivers communicating with the interior, the central desert, the absence of active volcanoes or snow-capped mountains, the generally level surface, and the low altitude. Australia is the most isolated of all inhabited continents, while the two large islands of New Zealand, twelve hundred miles to the southeast, are still more remote from the center of the world's activities.

Australian geography

Much of Australia lies in the temperate zone and therefore offers a favorable field for white settlement. Captain Cook, on the first of his celebrated voyages, raised the British flag over the island continent. Colonization began with the founding

of Sydney on the coast of New South Wales. For many years Australia served as a penal station, to which the British transported the convicts who had been previously sent to America. More substantial colonists followed, especially after the introduction of sheep-farming and the discovery of gold in the nineteenth century. They settled chiefly on the eastern and southern coasts, where the climate is cool and there is plenty of water and rich pasture land.

Settlement of Australia

New South Wales, the original colony, had two daughter colonies, Victoria and Queensland. Two other colonies — South Australia and Western Australia — were founded directly by emigrants from Great Britain. All these states, together with Tasmania, have now united into the Australian Commonwealth. This federation follows American models in its written constitution, its senate and house of representatives, and its high (or supreme) court. A governor-general, sent from England, represents the British Crown. The Commonwealth, however, is entirely self-governing, except in foreign affairs.

The Australian Commonwealth, 1900

Great Britain annexed New Zealand in 1839. Its temperate climate, abundant rainfall, and luxuriant vegetation soon attracted settlers, who now number more than a million. In 1907 New Zealand was raised from the rank of a colony to that of a dominion, thus taking a place beside South Africa, Australia, and Canada among the self-governing divisions of the British Empire.

The Dominion of New Zealand

150. Canada

The population of Canada in 1763 was almost entirely French. After the American Revolution Canada received a large influx of "Tories" from the Thirteen Colonies,[1] together with numerous emigrants from Great Britain. The new settlers had so many quarrels with the French Canadians that Parliament passed an act dividing

Upper and Lower Canada

[1] See page 338.

the country into Upper Canada for the British and Lower Canada for the French. Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Newfoundland remained separate provinces.

When Great Britain, in retaliation for Napoleon's Continental System, issued the Orders in Council,[1] the United States, as the chief neutral, was also the chief sufferer. The injury to American trade, coupled with the quarrel over the impressment of seamen, provoked the second war with Great Britain. It seemed to furnish a good opportunity for the conquest of Canada, but British and French Canadians united in defense of their country and drove out the American armies. The treaty of peace left matters as they were before the war. A few years later the United States and Great Britain agreed to dismantle forts and reduce naval armaments on the waterways dividing American from Canadian territory. This agreement has been loyally observed on both sides for more than a century. The unfortified boundary from the Atlantic to the Pacific is an eloquent testimony to the good relations between Canada and the United States.

War of 1812–1814

Canada had done her duty to the British Empire during the War of 1812–1814, but she waited more than thirty years for her reward in the shape of self-government. Great Britain, after losing the Thirteen Colonies, did not favor any measures which might result in Canadian independence as well. Finally, Parliament sent over a wise statesman, Lord Durham, to investigate the political discontent in Canada. Lord Durham in his *Report* urged that the only method of keeping distant colonies is to allow them to rule themselves. If the Canadians received freedom to manage their domestic affairs they would be more, and not less, loyal, for they would have fewer causes of complaint against the mother country. The Durham *Report* produced a lasting effect on British colonial policy. Not only did Great Britain grant parliamentary institutions and self-government to the Canadian provinces, but, as we have seen, she also bestowed the same privileges upon her Australasian and South African dominions.

The Durham Report, 1839

[1] See page 399.

Another of Lord Durham's recommendations led to the union of Upper Canada (Ontario) and Lower Canada (Quebec).

The Dominion of Canada, 1867

In 1867 Ontario and Quebec formed with Nova Scotia and New Brunswick the confederation known as the Dominion of Canada. It has a governor-general, representing the British sovereign, a senate whose members hold office for life, and an elective house of commons, to which the cabinet of ministers is responsible. Each Canadian province also maintains a parliament for local legislation. The distinguishing feature of the Canadian constitution is that all powers not definitely assigned by it to the provinces belong to the Dominion. Consequently, the question of "states' rights" can never be raised in Canada.

Territorial expansion

The new Dominion expanded rapidly. It purchased from the Hudson Bay Company the extensive territories out of which the provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta have been created. British Columbia and Prince Edward Island soon came into the confederation. All the remainder of British North America, except Newfoundland, which still holds aloof, was annexed in 1878 to the Dominion of Canada. One government now holds sway over the whole region from the Great Lakes to the Arctic Circle.

Economic development

Equally rapid has been the development of the Dominion in wealth and population. The western provinces, formerly left to roving Indian tribes and a few white traders, are attracting numerous foreign immigrants. Two transcontinental railroads — the Canadian Pacific, completed in 1886, and the more recent Canadian Northern — make accessible the agricultural resources of the Dominion, its forests, and its deposits of coal and minerals. Canada now ranks as the largest, richest, and most populous member of the British Empire.

151. Latin America

The motives which led to Spanish colonization in America may be summed up in the three words "gospel, glory, and gold." Missionaries sought converts in the New World;

warriors sought conquests; and adventurers sought wealth. Together, they created for Spain an empire greater in extent than any ever known before. After the middle of the sixteenth century homeseekers also came to the colonies, but never in such numbers as to crowd out the Indian aborigines. Intermixture between the races soon became common, resulting in the half-breeds called "mestizos." Although the white element remained dominant in public affairs, the racial foundation of most of Spanish America was and continues to be Indian. The fact is important, for the large proportion of imperfectly civilized Indians and half-breeds, together with the negroes who were soon introduced as slaves, operated to retard the progress of the Spanish colonies.

The Spanish colonies

Spain governed her American colonies for her own benefit. She crippled their trade by requiring the inhabitants to buy only Spanish goods and to sell only to Spaniards. She prohibited such colonial manufactures as might compete with those at home. Furthermore, she filled all the offices in Church and State with Spaniards born in the mother country, to the exclusion of those born in the colonies (the creoles). This restrictive system made the colonists long for freedom, especially after they heard the stirring story of the revolutions which had created the United States and republican France. When Napoleon invaded Spain, forced the abdication of Ferdinand VII, and gave the crown to his own brother Joseph,[1] the colonists set up practically independent states throughout Spanish America.

The yoke of Spain

Ferdinand VII, who returned to his throne after Napoleon's overthrow, was a genuine Bourbon, incapable of learning anything or of forgetting anything.[2] His refusal to satisfy the demands of the colonists for equal rights with the mother country precipitated the revolt against Spain. Its greatest hero is Simón de Bolívar, who, in addition to freeing his native Venezuela, helped to free the countries now known as Colombia, Ecuador, Bolivia, and Peru. One by one all the colonies in South America, together with Central

Revolt against Spain

[1] See page 400.

[2] See page 414.

America and Mexico, threw off the Spanish yoke. The United States followed the movement with sympathetic eyes, and sent commissioners to establish commercial relations with the revolting colonies. Great Britain also took an interest in their struggle for liberty and helped them with money, ships, and munitions of war. In 1826 the Spanish flag was finally lowered on the American continents.

Simón Bolívar
A medallion by David d'Angers, 1832.

The people of Brazil also severed the ties uniting them to the mother country. They set up an independent empire in 1822, with Dom Pedro, the oldest son of the Portuguese king, as its first ruler. He abdicated nine years later, in favor of his infant son. Brazil prospered under the benevolent sway of the second Dom Pedro, who was the last monarch to occupy an American throne. A peaceful revolution in 1889 overthrew the imperial government and transformed Brazil into a republic.

Revolt against Portugal

The revolts from Spain and Portugal produced seven independent states in South America. These were subsequently increased to ten by the secession of Uruguay from Brazil and the break-up of the Great Colombia, established by Bolívar, into the three states of Venezuela, Ecuador, and Colombia. All the South American republics possess constitutions and the forms of democracy. Frequent revolutions and civil wars characterized their history during most of the nineteenth century. Nothing else could have been looked for, considering that the masses of semi-

The South American republics

Longitude West from Greenwich
CARIBBEAN SEA
Caracas
VENEZUELA
1810, 1821
Georgetown
Paramaribo
Cayenne
BRITISH
DUTCH
FRENCH
GUIANA
Bogotá
COLOMBIA
1811, 1819
EQUATOR
Quito
Guayaquil
ECUADOR
1809, 1822
Para
Pernambuco
BRAZIL
(Indep. Empire 1822, Republic, 1889)
Lima
PERU
1821, 1824
Bahia
La Paz
BOLIVIA
Potosi
1809, 1825
Rio de Janeiro
TROPIC OF CAPRICORN
Antofagasta
São Paulo
Asuncion
PARAGUAY
1811, 1814
Porto Alegre
Cordoba
Rosario
Valparaiso
Santiago
JUAN FERNANDEZ IS.
Buenos Aires
Montevideo
1810, 1816
La Plata R.
Plata R.
Exclusion of
SPAIN and PORTUGAL
from
SOUTH AMERICA
Scale of Statute Miles
0 500 1000
Territory lost by Spain
Territory lost by Portugal
Note: Boundaries of Countries are shown as in 1918
The first figure indicates year when movement for independence started,
The second figure, year when independence was acknowledged
Strait of Magellan
FALKLAND IS.
Punta Arenas
Cape Horn
THE M.-N. WORKS, BUFFALO, N.Y.

civilized Indians, half-breeds, and negroes lacked all political experience. They were easily swayed by ambitious politicians and generals, who often became dictators with well-nigh absolute power. But the South Americans have now served their apprenticeship to liberty. They are learning to rule themselves, and the several states seem to be entering upon a period of settled, orderly government.

THE CHRIST OF THE ANDES

Erected in 1904 to commemorate the peaceful settlement of a boundary dispute between Argentina and Chile. The monument stands at an elevation of twelve thousand feet and above the tunnel on the Trans-Andean Railroad. The figure of the Christ, twenty-six feet high, was cast from bronze cannon. A tablet on the pedestal reads:

"Sooner shall these mountains crumble into dust than the people of Argentina and Chile break the peace which they have sworn to maintain at the feet of Christ the Redeemer."

The most prosperous, best governed, and by all odds the most important of South American states are Argentina, Brazil, and Chile. These states, it may be observed, are precisely the ones which have received the greatest amounts of foreign capital and the largest number of foreign immigrants. The three "A-B-C" powers — to use their popular designation — maintain very friendly relations

The "A-B-C" powers

and generally coöperate in furthering the interests of South America abroad.

The Spanish dependencies in Central America declared their independence in 1821, and two years later formed a federation.

The Central American republics

It soon disintegrated into the five diminutive republics of Guatemala, Salvador, Honduras,[1] Nicaragua, and Costa Rica. Subsequent attempts to bring them together were unsuccessful until 1921, when representatives of Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras signed a constitution creating the Federation of Central America. The adhesion of Costa Rica and possibly of Nicaragua is expected in the near future. The government of the new union is modeled to a large extent on that of the United States.

Mexico also secured independence in 1821, only to enter upon a long period of disorder. Counting regencies, emperors,

The Mexican republic

presidents, triumvirates, dictators, and other rulers, the "republic" had as many administrations during the first half century of its existence as the colony had viceroys throughout the whole period of Spanish rule. Porfirio Diaz governed the country for many years, until an uprising in 1911 compelled him to withdraw to Europe. Civil conflict between rival generals and their followers then ensued. It has now died down, leaving General Elias Calles as the recognized president. The problems before him are difficult. Mexico needs not only a stable government, but also land reforms which will raise the "peons" — mostly ignorant Indians — from their condition of practical serfdom on the estates of great proprietors to that of free men. Whether these problems will be solved remains to be seen.

Most of the smaller West India islands are still held by Great Britain, France, and Holland. Haiti, once a French possession,

The West Indies

declared its independence at the time of the Revolution and successfully resisted Napoleon's efforts at reconquest. The two negro republics of Haiti and Santo Domingo now divide the island between them. Cuba, thanks to American intervention during the Spanish-American War,

[1] British Honduras is a Crown colony of Great Britain.

also forms a republic. The United States took Porto Rico from Spain in 1898 and in 1917 purchased from Denmark the three islands of St. Thomas, St. John, and St. Croix. Their acquisition reflects the increased importance of the West Indies to the American people.

152. The United States

The expansion of the United States beyond the limits fixed by the Treaty of Paris in 1783 [1] began with the purchase of the Louisiana territory between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains. This immense region, originally claimed by France in virtue of La Salle's discoveries, had passed to Spain at the close of the Seven Years' War and had been reacquired for France by Napoleon Bonaparte. The French emperor, about to renew his conflict with Great Britain,[2] realized that he could not defend Louisiana against the mistress of the seas. Rather than make a forced present of the country to Great Britain, he sold it to the United States for the paltry sum of $15,000,000.

The Louisiana Purchase, 1803

The possession of Louisiana gave the United States an outlet upon the Gulf of Mexico. This was greatly extended by the purchase of Florida from Spain in 1819 and the annexation of Texas in 1845. The settlement of the dispute of Great Britain as to the Oregon country, the Mexican Cession, and the Gadsden Purchase brought the United States to the Pacific. Every part of this western territory is now linked by transcontinental railroads with the Mississippi Valley and the Atlantic-facing states.

Acquisitions, 1803–1867

Alaska had been a Russian province since Bering's voyages in the eighteenth century.[3] Russia, however, never realized the value of her distant dependency and in 1867 sold it to the United States for $7,200,000. Since then Americans have taken from Alaska in gold alone many times the original cost of the territory. Its resources in coal, lumber, agricultural land, and fisheries are also very great, though as yet little has been done to exploit them.

Purchase of Alaska, 1867

[1] See page 339. [2] See page 395. [3] See page 344.

In the last decade of the nineteenth century the United States began to secure possessions overseas. The Hawaiian Islands, lying about two thousand miles off the coast of California, were annexed in 1898. This action was taken at the request of the inhabitants. The same year saw the acquisition of the Philippines, Guam, and Porto Rico, as the result of the war with Spain. The Samoan island of Tutuila and the Danish West Indies (renamed the Virgin Islands) have also come into American hands.

Acquisitions, 1867–1917

The United States, though not unwilling to obtain colonies in the New World, denies the right of any European nation to acquire additional territory here. This policy of "America for Americans" is known as the Monroe Doctrine. It was first formulated partly to stave off any attempt of the Old World monarchies, led by Metternich, to aid Spain in the reconquest of her colonies, and partly to prevent the further extension southward of the Russian province of Alaska. The interests of Great Britain in both these directions coincided with those of the United States. Relying on the support of the British government, President Monroe sent his celebrated message to Congress (1823), in which he declared that the American continents were henceforth "not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers." [1]

The Monroe Doctrine

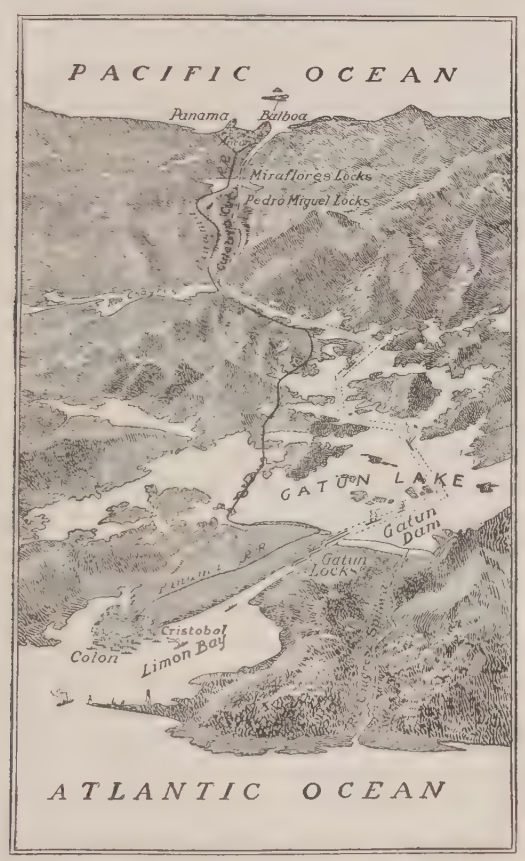
The solemn protest of the United States, backed by Great Britain, removed for a time the danger of European interference in America. During the Civil War, however, Napoleon III took advantage of our difficulties to send a French army to Mexico. It conquered the country and set up the archduke Maximilian, brother of Francis Joseph I, as emperor. The United States protested vigorously, and after the close of the Civil War required Napoleon III, under threat of hostilities, to withdraw his troops. The French Empire in Mexico then quickly collapsed. No further assaults on the Monroe Doctrine have occurred.

Enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine

[1] See page 423.

The enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine makes it necessary for the United States not only to defend the Latin-American republics against foreign aggression, but also to intervene from time to time in their domestic affairs. Our warships and soldiers have been repeatedly sent

Pan-Americanism



Relief Map of the Panama Canal

to the West Indies, Mexico, and Central America for the purpose of protecting American and European citizens and their property from rioters or revolutionists. Though grateful to her

mighty neighbor for help, Latin America has trembled lest our intervention to restore order might pass into downright conquest. The benevolent purposes of this country are now being better understood. It has inaugurated a series of Pan-American conferences, composed of delegates from all the independent nations of the New World. With the assistance of the Latin-American republics, it has also established the Pan-American Union at Washington, which seeks to spread information about the resources and trade of the different countries and also to cultivate friendly relations between them. The coöperation of most of the Central American and South American nations with the United States, during the World War, cannot fail to strengthen the bonds between the republics of the New World.

Panama Canal

The idea of an artificial waterway at Panama or some other suitable point had been broached almost as soon as the Spanish conquest of Central America and had been repeatedly discussed for more than three centuries. Nothing was done until 1881, when a French company, headed by De Lesseps,[1] began excavations at Panama. Extravagance and corruption characterized the management of the company from the start; it went into bankruptcy before the work was half done. The United States in 1902 bought its property and rights for forty million dollars. Shortly afterwards, the secession of Panama from Colombia enabled the United States to obtain from the new republic occupation and control of a canal zone, ten miles wide, for the purposes of the canal. The work was completed in 1914. It is now open to the shipping of all nations, on the payment of moderate tolls. The Panama Canal is bound to exercise a profound effect upon the relations of North America and South America, because it so lessens the distance between the Atlantic, the Gulf, and the Pacific coasts of the New World. This means lower freight rates and improvement in the passenger and mail service. Increased commerce, travel, and communication will do much in the future to bring together and keep together the two Americas.

[1] See page 550.

NORTH AMERICA
SINCE 1783 A.D.
Scale of Miles
0 500 1000
British
Ceded to United States
by Great Britain
by France
by Spain
by Mexico
by Russia
Texas
by Denmark
Acquired by U. S. by Discovery
Independent Countries formerly French
Independent Countries formerly Spanish
French
Dutch
Under the names of the Canadian provinces, are the dates of their accession to the Dominion
ARCTIC OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
ASIA
Bering Sea
Nome
Fairbanks
ALASKA 1867
Dawson
YUKON
MACKENZIE
KEEWATIN
FRANKLIN
GREENLAND
To Denmark (since 1721)
Denmark Strait
ICELAND
Baffin Bay
Davis Strait
ARCTIC CIRCLE
Hudson Bay
Hudson Strait
Great Bear L.
Great Slave L.
Sitka
BRITISH COLUMBIA
ALBERTA 1905
SASKATCHEWAN 1905
MANITOBA
DOMINION OF CANADA
Toronto 1912
To Quebec 1912
LABRADOR
Hamilton
E. Main R.
QUEBEC 1867
Quebec
Montreal
Ottawa
ONTARIO 1867
Great Lakes
Toronto
Boston
C. Cod
New York
Philadelphia
Baltimore
Washington
NEWFOUNDLAND
St. Johns
C. Race
NOVA SCOTIA
Halifax 1867
PRINCE EDWARD I.
Victoria
Portland
OREGON COUNTRY 1846
Salt Lake City
San Francisco
MEXICAN CESSION 1848
Los Angeles
LOUISIANA PURCHASE
Chicago
St. Louis
THE UNITED STATES in 1783
Ohio R.
Appalachian Mts.
C. Hatteras
Charleston
BERMUDA
UNITED STATES
Santa Fe
TEXAS
El Paso 1845
Red R.
Rio Grande
Sierra Nevada
Sierra Madre
Rio Grande
Arkansas R.
Mississippi R.
Missouri R.
Red R.
Ohio R.
Appalachian Mts.
FLORIDA 1819
St. Augustine
New Orleans
Gulf of Mexico
MEXICO
Independent since 1821
Key West
Havana
BAHAMA ISLANDS
TROPIC OF CANCER
WEST INDIES
CUBA
Yucatan Channel
Mexico
Vera Cruz
Acapulco
Yucatan
BRITISH HONDURAS
JAMAICA
HAITI
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC
PORTO RICO
Caribbean Sea
(British)
GUATEMALA
SALVADOR
HONDURAS
NICARAGUA
L. Nicaragua
Panama Canal
CENTRAL AMERICA
(Independent since 1821)
COSTA RICA
Panama
SOUTH AMERICA
EQUATOR
Amazon R.
THE M.-N. WORKS
120° 110° Longitude 100° West from 90° Greenwich 80° 70°

153. Close of Geographical Discovery

Half the globe was still unmapped in 1800. Canada, Alaska, and the Louisiana territory were so little known that a geography published at this time omits any reference to the Rocky Mountains. South America, though long settled by white men, continued to be largely unexplored. Scant information existed about the Pacific islands and Australia. Much of Asia remained sealed to Europeans. Accurate knowledge of Africa did not reach beyond the edges of that continent. The larger part of the Arctic realm had not yet been discovered, and the Antarctic realm had barely been touched.

Unmapped regions, 1800

Discoveries and explorations during the nineteenth century carried forward the geographical conquest of the world. The great African rivers were traced to their sources in the heart of what had once been the "Dark Continent." In Asia, the headwaters of the Indus and the Ganges were reached; the Himalayas measured and shown to be the loftiest of mountains; Tibet, the mysterious, penetrated; and the veil of darkness shrouding China, Korea, Indo-China, and other Asiatic countries lifted. Travelers penetrated the deserts of inner Australia and finally crossed the entire continent from south to north. The journeys of Alexander von Humboldt in the Amazon and Orinoco valleys (1799–1804) inaugurated the systematic exploration of South America, while those of Lewis and Clark (1804–1806) opened up the Louisiana territory. Still later, Alaska, the northern territories of Canada, and Labrador began to emerge from their obscurity. Even Greenland was crossed by Nansen, a Norwegian, and its coast was charted by Danish geographers and the American Peary.

Filling in the map

Voyages in search of the Northwest Passage[1] had already revealed the labyrinth of islands, peninsulas, and ice-bound channels north of the American continent. Many heroic but fruitless attempts had also been made to reach the North Pole. Nansen in 1892–1895 utilized the

Arctic exploration

[1] The Northwest Passage was first completely navigated by the Norwegian Amundsen between 1903 and 1906.

ice drift to carry his ship, the *Fram*, across the polar sea. Finding that the drift would not take him to the pole, he left the *Fram* and with a single companion advanced to 86° 14′ N., or within two hundred and seventy-two miles of the pole. An Italian expedition, a few years later, got still farther north. The honor of actually reaching the pole was carried off by Peary in 1909. He traveled the last stages of the journey by sledge over the ice and reached his goal in company with a colored servant and several Eskimos. Nansen's and Peary's journeys showed that no land exists in the north polar basin, only a sea of great but unknown depth.

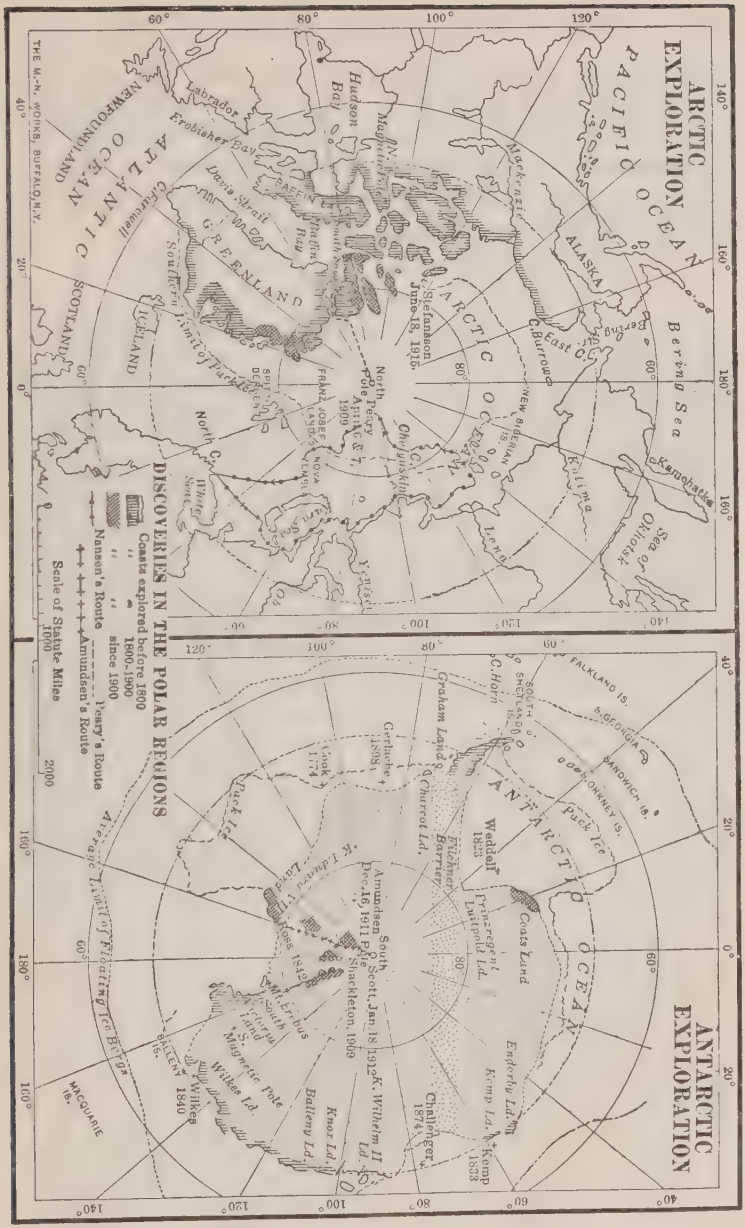
Robert E. Peary

Antarctic exploration

The south polar region, on the other hand, is a land mass of continental dimensions. First approached by Cook on his second voyage, it has since been visited by many explorers. They have traced the course of the great ice barrier, discovered extensive mountain ranges, and even found two volcanoes belching forth lava amidst the snows. In 1907–1909 a British expedition under Sir Ernest Shackleton attained 88° 23′ S., or within ninety-seven miles of the pole. Amundsen, who reached the pole in 1911, was soon followed by Captain R. F. Scott, but this gallant Englishman and his four companions died of cold and starvation on the return journey. The records of polar exploration are, indeed, full of tragedies.

Regions still unmapped

Considerable spaces of the earth's surface still await scientific investigation. The Antarctic continent and Greenland offer many problems to geographers. The enormous basin of the Amazon is still little known. Practically no knowledge exists of the interior of New Guinea, the largest of islands, if Australia be reckoned as a continent.


ARCTIC EXPLORATION
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
ARCTIC OCEAN
Bering Sea
Sea of Okhotsk
Kamchatka
Kolima
Lena
Yenisei
Ob
Kara Sea
White Sea
North C.
Southern Limit of Pack Ice
SCOTLAND
ICELAND
GREENLAND
Davis Strait
Baffin Bay
Hudson Bay
Labrador
Erobisher Bay
Mackenzie
ALASKA
East C.
C. Barrow
NEW BIBERIAN IS.
Stefansson June 18, 1915
North Pole Peary Apr. 6 & 7, 1909
FRANZ JOSEF LAND
NOVA ZEMBLA
SPITZBERGEN
Southern Limit of Pack Ice
DISCOVERIES IN THE POLAR REGIONS
Coasts explored before 1800
" " 1800-1900
" " since 1900
Nansen's Route
Peary's Route
Amundsen's Route
Scale of Statute Miles
THE M.-N. WORKS, BUFFALO, N.Y.
ANTARCTIC EXPLORATION
ANTARCTIC OCEAN
FALKLAND IS.
S. GEORGIA
SANDWICH IS.
S. ORKNEY IS.
SOUTH SHETLAND IS.
C. Horn
Graham Land
Charcot Ld.
Gerlache 1898
Cook 1774
Weddell 1823
Filchner Barrier
Prinzregent Luitpold Ld.
Coats Land
Enderby Ld.
Kemp Ld.
Kemp 1833
Challenger 1874
K. Wilhelm II Ld.
Knox Ld.
Balleny Ld.
Wilkes Ld.
Wilkes 1840
BALLENY IS.
MACQUARIE IS.
Mt. Erebus
Victoria Land
Magnetic Pole
Shackleton, 1909
Amundsen South Pole Dec. 16, 1911
Scott, Jan. 18, 1912
Ross 1842
K. Edward VII Land
Pack Ice
Average Limit of Floating Ice Bergs

Australia itself has not been completely explored. In Asia, there is still much information to be gained concerning the great central plateau, the Arctic coast, and inner Arabia. Equatorial Africa affords another promising field for discovery. It thus remains for the twentieth century to complete the geographical conquest of the world.

Studies

1. "Europe to-day is no more than a portion of the European world." Comment on this statement. 2. What parts of the Old World are occupied or colonized by Anglo-Saxon peoples? By Latin peoples? By Slavic peoples? 3. What is the origin of the names Liberia, Rhodesia, Philippines, Tasmania, and New Zealand? 4. Distinguish between the Near East and the Far East, as these expressions are commonly used. 5. Trace the routes followed by the Cape-to-Cairo and Trans-Siberian railways. 6. Show how Africa has become an "annex of Europe." 7. Why has the Suez Canal been called the "spinal cord" of the British Empire? 8. What possessions in India are still kept by Portugal and France? 9. Look up in an encyclopedia an account of the life and teachings of the Buddha. 10. Do the Chinese form a genuine nation? How is it with the Japanese? 11. On the map between pages 554–555 trace the Great Wall of China. 12. Show that the Chino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars contributed to the awakening of China. 13. Compare the Europeanization of Japan in the nineteenth century with that of Russia in the eighteenth century. 14. Why has Japan been called "the Great Britain of the Far East"? 15. Why are the Hawaiian Islands called the "crossroads of the Pacific"? 16. What parts of the New World are to-day occupied or colonized by Anglo-Saxon peoples? By Latin peoples? 17. What is the origin of the names Alberta, Colombia, Venezuela, Bolivia, and Louisiana? 18. Why has Lord Durham's *Report* been styled the "Magna Carta of the British colonies"? 19. What European powers retain possessions in South America, Central America, and the West Indies? 20. How was the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine a check to *Metternickismus?* 21. On the map, page 579, follow Nansen's, Peary's, and Amundsen's routes in the polar regions.

CHAPTER XVII

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION[1]

154. Modern Industrialism

THE year 1776, the year of the Declaration of Independence and of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, also marks, approximately, the commencement of the Industrial Revolution. No other word except "revolution" so well describes those wholesale changes in manufacturing, transportation, and other industries, which, within a century and a half, have transformed modern life. This revolution originated in Great Britain, spread after 1815 to the Continent and the United States, and now extends throughout the civilized world.

Period of the Industrial Revolution

The rapid expansion of European peoples over Africa, Asia, Oceania, and America, as described in the preceding chapter, was itself largely an outcome of the Industrial Revolution. Improvements in means of transportation — railroads, canals, steam navigation — by facilitating travel permitted an extensive emigration from Europe into other continents. Improved communication — the telegraph and the telephone — by annihilating distance made easier the occupation and government of remote dependencies. The growth of manufacturing in Europe also gave increased importance to colonies as sources of supply for raw materials and foodstuffs, as markets for finished goods, and as places of investment for the surplus wealth accumulated by the capitalists whom the Industrial Revolution created.

Colonial expansion and the Industrial Revolution

The Industrial Revolution also created a numerous body of

[1] Webster, *Historical Source Book*, No. 24, "Communist Manifesto, 1848"; No. 25, "Declaration of Paris, 1856."

wage-earners, who moved from rural districts and villages into the factories, sweatshops, and tenements of the great cities. There, in spite of a crowded, miserable existence, they gradually learned the value of organization. They formed trade unions in order to secure higher wages and shorter hours. They read newspapers and pamphlets, listened to speeches by agitators, and began to press for laws which would improve their lot. Then they went further and demanded the right to vote, to hold office, to enjoy all the liberty and equality which the *bourgeoisie*, or middle class, had won from monarchs and aristocrats. The Industrial Revolution furnished much of the driving power for the democratic movement which has been so marked in Europe during the nineteenth century. It thus reinforced the new ideas of democracy introduced into the world by the American and French revolutions.

Democracy and the Industrial Revolution

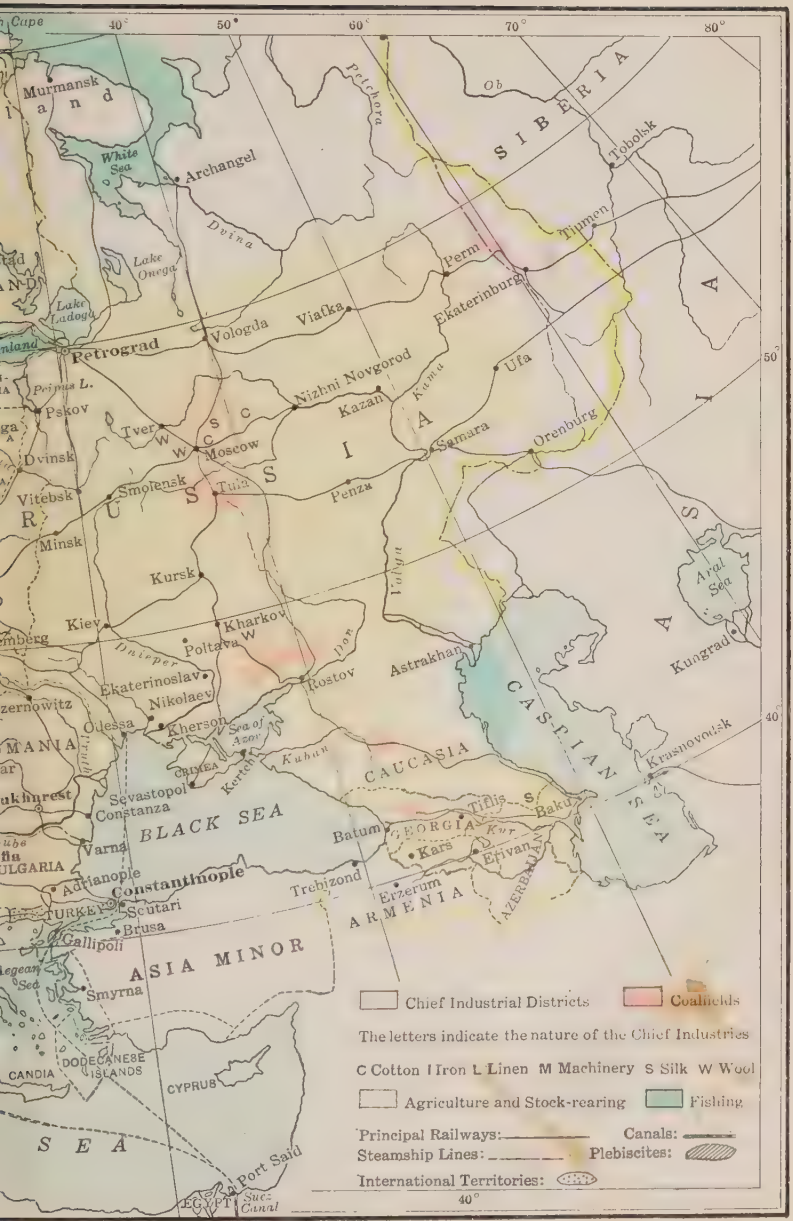
The Industrial Revolution likewise fostered the national movement in Europe during the last century. Railroads, canals, steamboats, telegraphs, and telephones have been compared to a network of veins and arteries carrying the blood of the nation from the capital to the remotest province. Such increased facilities for travel and communication inevitably caused the disappearance of local prejudices and provincial limitations. It was now far easier for the people of each country to realize their common interests than when they lived isolated in small rural communities. Old nations, like Great Britain and France, became more closely knit; new nations, like Italy and Germany, arose; and the "submerged nationalities" of Europe started an agitation for self-government or for complete independence.

Nationalism and the Industrial Revolution

Great Britain took the lead in the Industrial Revolution. Her damp climate proved to be very favorable to the manufacture of textiles, her swift streams supplied abundant water power for machinery, and beneath her soil lay stores of coal and iron ore. There were other favoring circumstances. Industry in Great Britain was less fettered by guild restrictions than on the

The Industrial Revolution in Great Britain

ECONOMIC EUROPE
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500
ICELAND
Reykjavik
FAROE IS. (Danish)
SHETLAND IS.
ORKNEY IS.
HEBRIDES
BRITISH ISLES
SCOTLAND
IRELAND
ENGLAND
WALES
To United States
To United States
ATLANTIC OCEAN
To South America
C. Ortegal
C. Finisterre
C. St. Vincent
Bay of Biscay
NORTH SEA
Irish Sea
English Channel
CHANNEL IS.
HELGOLAND
Kiel Canal
Aberdeen
Glasgow
Edinburgh
Belfast
Dublin
Cork
Newcastle
Manchester
Liverpool
Hull
Birmingham
Bristol
Southampton
Plymouth
London
Hammerfest
Tromsö
Narvik
Haparanda
Trondhjem
Bergen
Stavanger
Christiansand
Christiania
Gefle
Upsala
Stockholm
Göteborg
Calmar
Malmö
Copenhagen
DENMARK
NORWAY
SWEDEN
Gulf of Bothnia
ALAND IS
GOTTLAND
OLAND
BALTIC SEA
Helsingfors
Danzig
Stettin
Kiel
Hamburg
Bremen
Hanover
Berlin
Amsterdam
Rotterdam
Antwerp
Brussels
HOLLAND
BELGIUM
Cologne
Leipzig
Dresden
Breslau
Frankfort
Luxemburg
GERMANY
Prague
CZECHO SLOVAKIA
Nuremberg
Stuttgart
Munich
Vienna
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
Budapest
Strasbourg
Havre
Rouen
Paris
Brest
Nantes
Orleans
FRANCE
Bordeaux
Toulouse
Lyons
Geneva
Bern
SWITZ.
Marseilles
Elbe
Rhine
Loire
Rhône
Danube
Vistula
Drave
Save
Po
Tiber
Ebro
Guadiana
Milan
Turin
Genoa
Venice
Trieste
Fiume
Zara
Florence
Rome
Naples
Brindisi
ITALY
ADRIATIC SEA
JUGO-SLAVIA
Belgrade
Serajevo
Scutari
ALBANIA
CORSICA
ELBA
SARDINIA
Cagliari
Str. of Bonifacio
SICILY
Palermo
Messina
MALTA (British)
MEDITERRANEAN
BALEARIC IS.
Santander
Oporto
Valladolid
Saragossa
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
Madrid
Toledo
Valencia
Barcelona
Seville
Cordova
Granada
Cadiz
Cartagena
Gibraltar (British)
MOROCCO
Morocco
ALGERIA
Algiers
Tunis
TUNIS
AFRICA
THE MATTHEWS-NORTHRUP WORKS, BUFFALO, N. Y.
Longitude East from Greenwich
30°
20°
10°
0°
10°
50
40°
30
20
10


Cape
40°
50°
60°
70°
80°
Murmansk
White Sea
Archangel
Petchora
Ob
SIBERIA
Tobolsk
Tiumen
Perm
Ekaterinburg
Dvina
Lake Onega
Lake Ladoga
Vologda
Viatka
Petrograd
Nizhni Novgorod
Kazan
Kama
Ufa
Pskov
Tver
Moscow
Samara
Orenburg
Dvinsk
Vitebsk
Smolensk
Tula
Penza
Minsk
Kursk
Kiev
Kharkov
Poltava
Dnieper
Don
Tobol
Astrakhan
Aral Sea
Kungrad
Ekaterinoslav
Rostov
Nikolaev
Odessa
Kherson
Sea of Azof
Crimea
Kuban
CAUCASIA
CASPIAN SEA
Krasnovodsk
Sevastopol
Constanza
BLACK SEA
Batum
GEORGIA
Tiflis
Baku
Kur
Varna
Kars
Erivan
Adrianople
Constantinople
Trebizond
Erzerum
ARMENIA
AZERBAIJAN
Scutari
Brusa
Gallipoli
ASIA MINOR
Smyrna
Aegean Sea
CANDIA
DODECANESE ISLANDS
CYPRUS
Port Said
Suez Canal
EGYPT
Chief Industrial Districts
Coalfields
The letters indicate the nature of the Chief Industries
C Cotton I Iron L Linen M Machinery S Silk W Wool
Agriculture and Stock-rearing
Fishing
Principal Railways:
Canals:
Steamship Lines:
Plebiscites:
International Territories:
40°

Continent. She possessed more surplus capital for investment, more skilled laborers, and a larger merchant marine than any other country. Furthermore, Great Britain had emerged from the Seven Years' War victorious over all her rivals for maritime and commercial supremacy. Her trade in the markets of the world grew by leaps and bounds after 1763. The enormous demand for British goods in its turn stimulated the mechanical genius of British artisans and so produced the era of the great inventions.

155. The Great Inventions

Man has advanced from savagery to civilization chiefly through invention. Beginning in prehistoric times, he slowly discovered how to supplement hands and feet and teeth and nails by the use of tools. From the tool it was a forward step to the machine, which, when supplied with muscular energy, only needed to be directed by man to do his work. The highest type of machine is one driven by natural forces — by wind, waterfall, steam, gas, or electricity. Invention thus gives man an ever-increasing control over nature. He becomes nature's conqueror, rather than its slave.

Invention

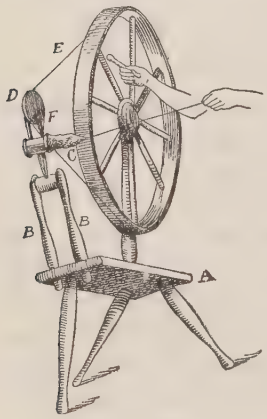
A list of prehistoric tools and machines would include levers, rollers, and wedges; oars, sails, and rudders; fishing nets, lines, and hooks; the plow and the wheeled cart; the needle, bellows, and potter's wheel; the distaff and spindle for spinning; and the hand loom for weaving. Few important additions to this list were made in antiquity, even by such cultivated peoples as the Egyptians, Babylonians, Greeks, and Romans. The Middle Ages were also singularly barren of inventions. It was only toward the close of the medieval period that the mariner's compass, paper, and movable type reached Europe from Asia. More progress took place during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which produced the telescope, microscope, thermometer and barometer, clocks and watches run by weights, sawmills driven by wind or water, an improved form of the windmill,

Development of invention

and the useful though humble wheelbarrow. Manufacturing and transportation continued, however, to be carried on in much the same rude way as before the dawn of history.

The revolution in manufacturing began with the textile industry. Old-fashioned spinning formed a slow, laborious process. The wool, flax, or cotton, having been fastened to a stick called the distaff, was twisted by hand into yarn or thread and wound upon a spindle.[1] The spinning wheel — long known in India and not unknown in Europe as early as the fourteenth century — afterwards came into general use. The spinner now no longer held the spindle in her hand, but set it upon a frame and connected it by a belt to the wheel, which, when revolved, turned the spindle. The subsequent addition of a treadle to move the wheel freed both hands of the spinner, so that she could twist two threads instead of one.

Old-fashioned spinning



A Spinning Wheel

A band or cord (*E*) connected the large wheel with the small wheel (*D*). Another cord (*F*) connected the small wheel with the grooved pulley, or wharve, on the spindle (*C*). The revolutions of the large wheel turned the small wheel very rapidly, thus communicating motion to the spindle through the wharve.

Weaving was done on the hand loom, a wooden frame to which vertical threads (the warp) were attached. Horizontal threads (the weft or woof) were then inserted by means of an enlarged needle or shuttle. The invention of the "flying shuttle" in the eighteenth century enabled the operator, by pulling a cord, to jerk the shuttle back and forth without the aid of an assistant. This simple device not only saved labor but also doubled the speed of weaving.

Old-fashioned weaving

The demand for thread and yarn quickly outran the supply, for the spinners could not keep up with the weavers. Prizes were then offered for a better machine than the spinning

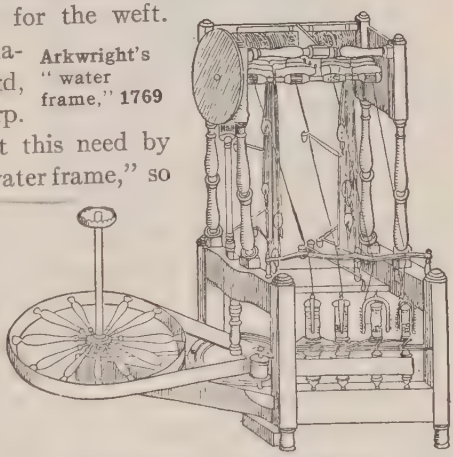
[1] See the illustration, page 624.

wheel. At length, James Hargreaves, a poor workman of Lancashire in northern England, patented what he named the "spinning jenny," in compliment to his industrious wife. This machine carried a number of spindles turned by cords or belts from the same wheel, and operated by hand. It was a very crude affair, but it spun at first eight threads, then sixteen, and within the inventor's own lifetime eighty, thus doing the work of many spinning wheels.

Hargreaves's "spinning jenny," 1770

The thread spun by the "spinning jenny" was so frail that it could be used only for the weft. The spinners needed a machine to produce a hard, strong thread for the warp. Richard Arkwright met this need by the invention of the "water frame," so called because it was run by water power. The machine contained two sets of rollers, one rotating at a higher speed than the other. The cotton was drawn out by the rollers to the requisite fineness and was then twisted into thread by revolving spindles.

Arkwright's "water frame," 1769

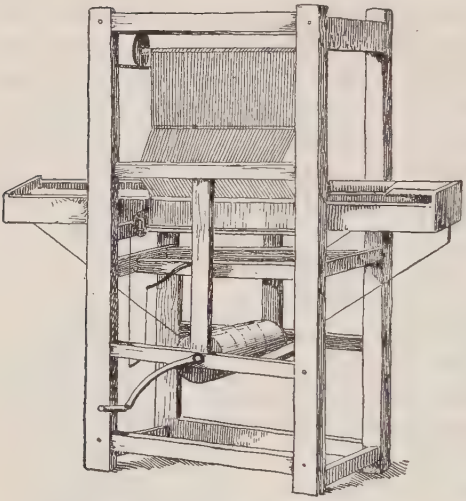


ARKWRIGHT'S SPINNING WHEEL

As patented in 1769. Above, draft rollers; below, flyer spindles; at the left, wheel which propelled the entire mechanism.

Samuel Crompton soon combined the essential features of the Hargreaves and Arkwright machines into what became known as the "mule," because of its hybrid origin. When the mechanism was drawn out on its wheels one way, the strands of cotton were stretched and twisted into threads; when it was run back the other way, the spun threads were wound on spindles. The "mule" quite superseded Hargreaves's device. It has been steadily improved, and at the present time may carry as many as two thousand spindles.

Crompton's "mule," 1779



CARTWRIGHT'S FIRST POWER LOOM

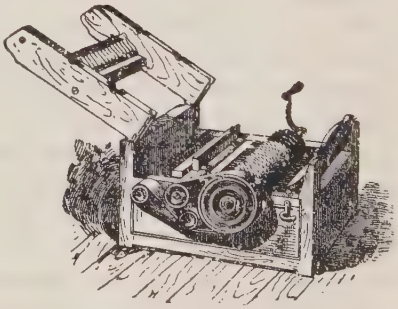
The shuttle was propelled mechanically through the long, trough-shaped form extending out at the sides.

Cartwright's power loom, 1785

These three inventions again upset the balance in the textile industry, for now the spinners could produce more thread and yarn than the weavers could convert into cloth. The invention which revolutionized weaving was made by Edmund Cartwright, an English clergyman, who had never even seen a weaver at work. He constructed a loom with an automatic shuttle operated by water power. Improvements in this machine enable a single operator to produce more cloth than two hundred men could weave on the old-fashioned hand loom.

The cotton gin, 1794

Both spinners and weavers required for the new machinery an abundant supply of raw material. They found it in cotton, which previously had been much less used than either wool or flax. Eli Whitney of Connecticut, while visiting a cotton plantation in Georgia, conceived the idea of what he called an engine,



WHITNEY'S COTTON GIN

After the original model. The teeth of the saws caught the lint, pulling it from the seeds, and a revolving cylinder, studded with nails, removed the detached lint from the saws. Power was applied by the crank.

or gin, for separating the seeds from the raw cotton much more rapidly than negro slaves could do it by hand. His cotton gin stimulated enormously American production of cotton for the mills of Great Britain.

What was to furnish motive power for the new machinery? Windmills were obviously too unreliable to be profitably used. Human hands had at first operated Hargreaves's "spinning jenny," and horses had worked Arkwright's original machine. Both inventors, however, soon turned to water power to drive the wheel, and numerous mills were built along the streams of northern England. Then came steam power. The expansive force of steam, though known in antiquity, was first put to practical service at the close of the seventeenth century, when steam pumps were invented for ridding mines of water. James Watt, a Scotchman of mechanical genius, patented an improved steam pump in 1769 and subsequently adapted his engine for the operation of spinning machines and looms. In 1785 it began to be used in factories.

Watt's steam engine, 1769-1785

The nineteenth century has been called the age of steam. The steamboat, the steam locomotive, and the steam printing press are some of the children of Watt's epochal invention. Toward the close of the century electricity began to compete with steam as a motive force, after the invention of that mystic marvel of science, the dynamo, and in the twentieth century the gas engine, as applied to automobiles, airplanes, tractors, and other machines, continued the Industrial Revolution.

The age of steam

The growing use of machinery called for an increased production of iron. Northern and north-central England contained vast deposits of iron ore, but until the latter part of the eighteenth century they had been little worked. Improved methods of smelting with coal and coke, by means of the blast furnace, were then adopted. Steel, a product of iron, whose toughness and hardness had been prized for ages, was not manufactured on a large scale until after 1850. Better methods of manufacture now enable the poorest iron to be converted into excellent steel, thus opening

The age of iron and steel

up extensive fields of low-grade ore in France, Germany, and other countries. Used in every form, from building-girders to watch springs, steel is now the mainstay of modern industry.

The manufacture of iron and steel and the operation of the new machinery required an abundant, inexpensive fuel. Coal had long been burned in small quantities for domestic purposes; applied to the steam engine and the blast furnace it was to become an almost boundless source of power and heat. Various improvements in mining cheapened its production, one of the most notable being the safety lamp, which protected miners against the deadly fire-damp and thus enabled the most dangerous mines to be worked with comparative safety. Great Britain furnished nearly all the coal for manufacturing until the middle of the nineteenth century; later, much of the world's supply has come from the mines of France, Germany, and the United States.

The age of coal

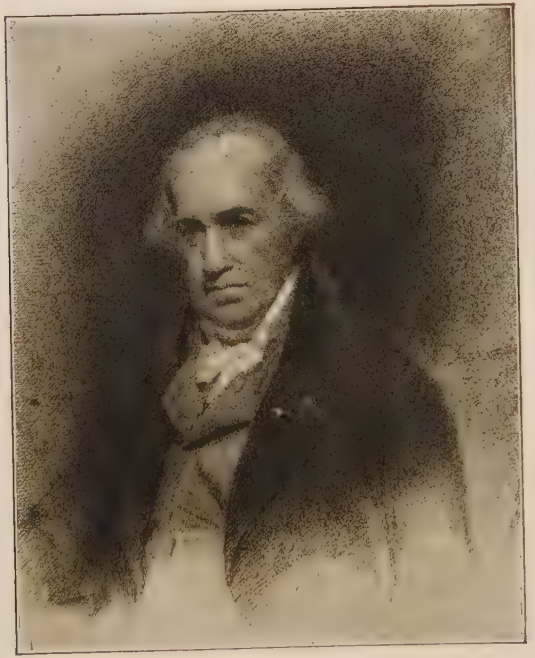
Mineral oil, or petroleum, has become an industrial rival of coal, since the first oil well was sunk in Pennsylvania in 1859. There are now more than three hundred products of petroleum, the most important being kerosene for illumination, gasolene (petrol) for gas engines, and fuel for oil-burning ships and locomotives. The United States is still the chief producer of oil, but we now consume even more than we produce. Many new sources of supply will have to be opened up throughout the world, if the present consumption of petroleum in the United States, Great Britain, and other countries is to continue indefinitely.

The age of oil

156. Effects of the Great Inventions

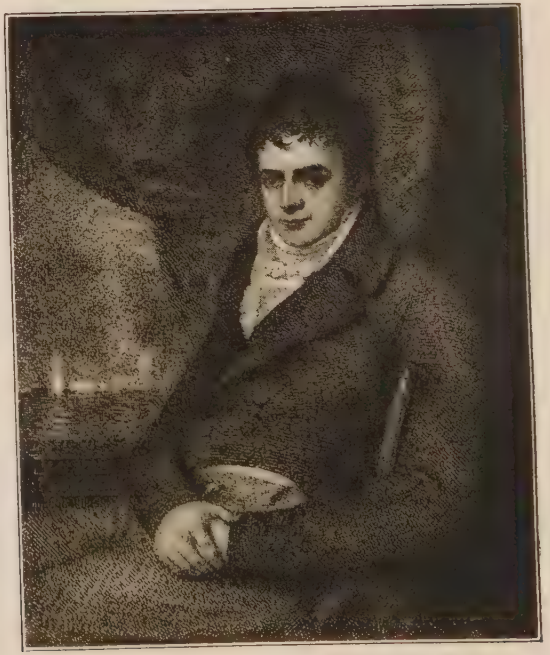
The great inventions, besides hastening the transition from hand-labor to machine-labor, also did much to separate labor and capital. No such separation was possible in the Middle Ages. A master who belonged to a craft guild purchased his raw materials at the city market or at a fair, manufactured them in his own house, assisted by the members of his family and usually by a few journeymen and apprentices, and himself sold the finished article to the person

Guild system



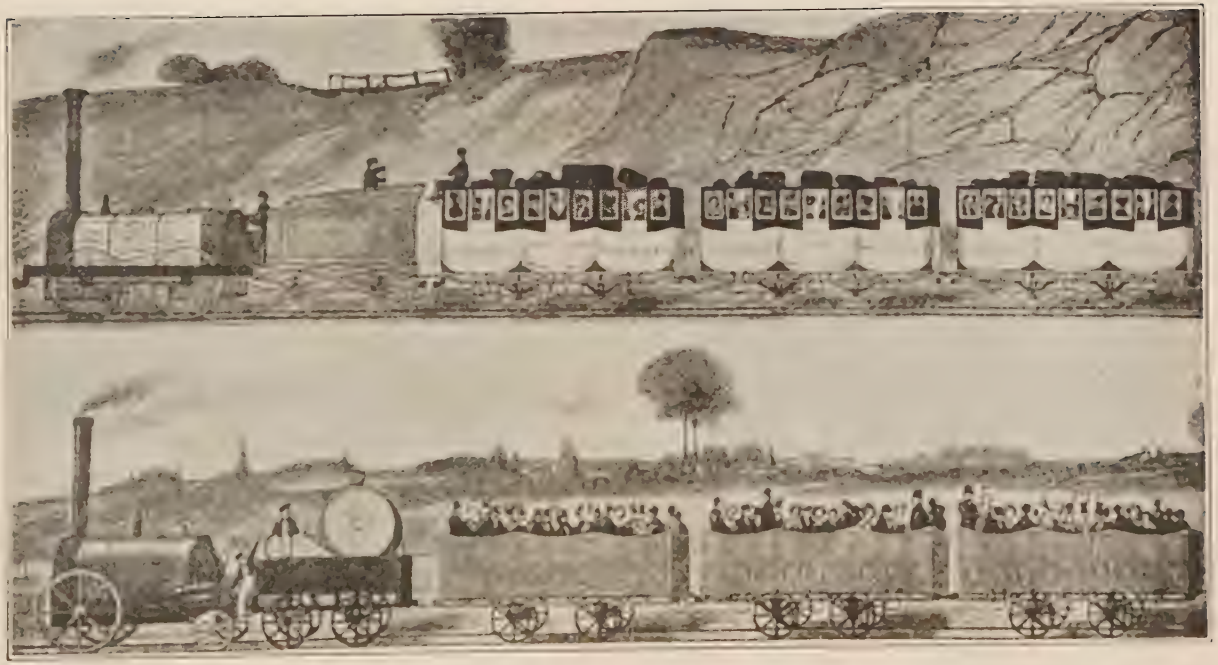
JAMES WATT

After the painting by Sir William Beechey.



ROBERT FULTON

After the painting by Benjamin West.



EARLY PASSENGER TRAINS

Views on the Liverpool and Manchester Railway in 1831–3. The upper picture shows a train with first-class carriages and the mails, the lower picture shows second and third-class carriages.

who had ordered it. This guild system, as it is called, has not entirely disappeared. One may still have a pair of shoes made by a "custom" shoemaker or a suit of clothes made by a "custom" tailor.

The growing exclusiveness of the craft guilds, toward the close of the medieval period,[1] prevented many apprentices and journeymen from ever becoming masters. Consequently, workers often left the cities and settled in the country or in villages where there were no guild restrictions. The movement gave rise to the domestic system, as found, for example, in the British cotton industry. A middleman with some capital would purchase a supply of raw cotton and distribute it to the spinners and weavers to convert into cloth on their own spinning wheels and hand looms. They worked at home and usually eked out their wages by cultivating a small garden plot. Something akin to the domestic system still survives in the sweatshops of modern cities, where clothing is made on "commission."

Domestic system

It is clear that under the domestic system the middleman provided the raw materials, took all the risks, and received all the profits. The workers, on the other hand, had to accept such wages and labor upon such conditions as he was willing to offer. The separation of labor and capital, which thus began under the domestic system, became complete under the factory system. Arkwright's, Crompton's, and Cartwright's machines were too expensive for a single family to own; too large and heavy for use in private houses; and they needed water power or steam power to operate them. The consequence was that the domestic laborer abandoned his household industry and went with hundreds of others to work in a mill or factory. The capitalist employer now not only provided the raw materials and disposed of the finished product, but he also owned the machinery and the workshop. The word "manufacturer"[2] no longer applied to the

Factory system

[1] See pages 228 and 350.

[2] Latin *manu, facere,* to make by hand. Manufacture by machinery has been well-named *machinofacture.*

INDUSTRIAL
ENGLAND
IN THE
TWENTIETH CENTURY
Principal Manufacturing Districts are indicated by showing Important Industrial Centers having a population of 100,000 or over in 1911
Coal Fields
Densest Population in 1911
Densest Population in 1750
Scale of Miles
0 25 50 75 100
SCOTLAND
Dundee
Glasgow
Clyde
Edinburgh
Newcastle
Gateshead
South Shields
Sunderland
Middlesbrough
IRON
Eden
ISLE OF MAN
NORTH SEA
IRISH SEA
Preston
Leeds
Hull
Humber
Blackburn
WOOLLENS
Bolton
Oldham
Manchester
HARDWARE
Liverpool
Birkenhead
Salford
Sheffield
POTTERY
Stoke-on-Trent
Nottingham
Derby
The Wash
Leicester
Norwich
Cardigan Bay
HARDWARE
Birmingham
ENGLAND
WALES
Severn
IRON
Swansea
Cardiff
Bristol
Bristol Channel
London
West Ham
East Ham
Thames
Croydon
Southampton
Brighton
Portsmouth
Plymouth
ENGLISH CHANNEL
THE M.-N. WORKS, BUFFALO, N.Y.
Longitude West from Greenwich
4°
2°
0°
50°
52°
54°
56°

hand-worker, but to the person who employed others to work for him.

The factory system introduced a minute division of labor into industry. Thus, there are forty operations involved in the manufacture of ready-made clothing; nearly one hundred in the manufacture of shoes; and over a thousand in the construction of a fine watch. Many men, working together, may turn out in a few minutes an article which one man formerly required weeks or months to produce.

Division of labor

Machinery, the factory system, and the division of labor made it possible to manufacture on a large scale and in enormous quantities for world-wide markets. For example, the value of British cotton goods has increased six hundred per cent during the last century and a half. Similar increases have been registered in other textile manufactures and in the iron industry of Great Britain.

Large-scale production

The Industrial Revolution soon changed the face of Great Britain. Instead of farms, hamlets, and an occasional small town, appeared great cities crowded with workers who had left their rural homes to seek employment in factories. The movement of population was especially toward the northern and northwestern counties, where there were many streams to furnish water power, and abundant supplies of coal and iron. The Industrial Revolution began later on the Continent than in Great Britain, partly because of the opposition of the guilds, which feared that the new machinery would deprive workers of employment; partly because Continental manufacturers showed less enterprise than their British rivals; but chiefly because the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars left France and Germany too exhausted to compete in manufacturing. Great Britain thus became by 1815 the world's workshop and the richest of European nations.

Primacy of Great Britain in industry

The map of the occupations of mankind affords a summary view of the progress of the Industrial Revolution throughout the world. As far as Europe is concerned, we see that the western half of the continent has now been pretty thoroughly

industrialized, except for such areas as western Ireland, northern Scotland, central Spain, southern Italy, the Alpine region, and the Scandinavian peninsula. The industrial development of Russia is limited to the western and southern sections; that of the Balkan states is negligible. Large and growing manufacturing districts are found in India, China, Japan, eastern Australia, and New Zealand. The manufacturing districts of Africa and South America are too slight for representation on a small-scale map. In North America both Mexico and Canada have begun to share with the United States in the benefits of the Industrial Revolution.

Industrialization

157. Improvements in Transportation

Civilized man until the Industrial Revolution continued to use the conveyances which had been invented by uncivilized man in prehistoric times. Travel and transport were still on horseback, or in litters, wheeled carts, rowboats, and sailboats. Various improvements produced the sedan chair, the stagecoach, and large ocean-going ships, without, however, finding any substitutes for muscles or wind as the motive power.

Old-fashioned conveyances

An Eighteenth-century Stagecoach
After an old print.

The roads in western Europe scarcely deserved that name; they were little more than track ways, either deep with mud or dusty and full of ruts. Passengers in stagecoaches seldom made more than fifty miles a day, while heavy goods had to be moved on pack horses. Conditions in Great Britain improved during the latter part of the eighteenth century, for the enormous quantity of goods produced by the new machinery increased the need for cheap and rapid transport. The turnpike system, allowing tolls to be charged

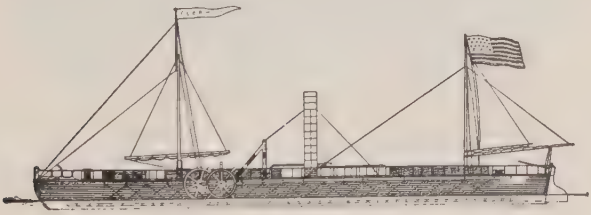
Roads

ARCTIC OCEAN
Greenland
SPITSBERGEN
NOVA ZEMBLA
ASIA
Alaska
ARCTIC CIRCLE
ICELAND
Siberia
BRITISH ISLES
EUROPE
NORTH AMERICA
ASIA
ATLANTIC
CHINA
JAPAN
PACIFIC
TROPIC OF CANCER
WEST INDIES
SAHARA
ARABIA
INDIA
PACIFIC
Sudan
AFRICA
CEYLON
BORNEO
OCEAN
EQUATOR
SUMATRA
SOUTH AMERICA
OCEAN
INDIAN
JAVA
MADAGASCAR
OCEAN
TROPIC OF CAPRICORN
AUSTRALIA
NEW ZEALAND
ANTARCTIC CIRCLE
THE M.-N. WORKS
OCCUPATIONS OF MANKIND
Hunting, Fishing and Collecting
Primitive Cultivation
Agriculture
Stock-rearing
Mining
Manufactures
Fisheries
Scale along the Equator
0 1000 2000 3000 4000 5000
120° Longitude West 80° from Greenwich 40°
0
40° Longitude East 80° from Greenwich 120°

for the use of roads, encouraged the investment of capital by private companies in these undertakings; and it was not long before engineers covered the country with well-bottomed and well-surfaced highways. The splendid highways which attract the attention of Americans on the Continent were all built in the nineteenth century, chiefly before the era of railroads.

The expense of transportation by road led people in antiquity and the Middle Ages to send their goods by river routes whenever possible. Canal-building in Europe began toward the close of the medieval period, especially after the invention of locks for controlling the flow and level of the water. The great era of the canal was between 1775 and 1850, not only in Great Britain and on the Continent, but also in the United States. Canals relieved the highways of a large part of the growing traffic, but the usefulness of both declined after the introduction of railroads. Ship canals, however, have begun to be constructed within recent years, as a result of the general adoption of steam navigation on the ocean.

Canals



THE "CLERMONT," 1807

A reconstruction prepared by the Hudson-Fulton Celebration Committee, 1907.

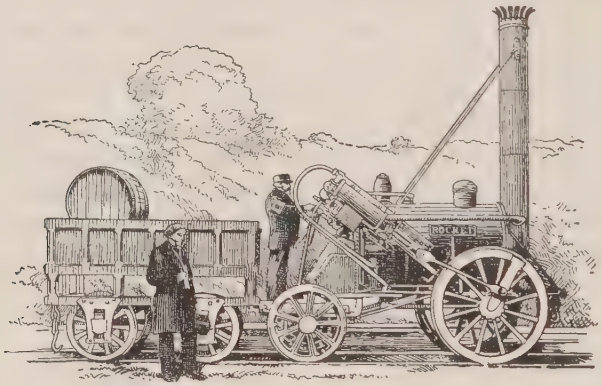
The earliest successful steamboat appears to have been a tug built in Scotland for towing canal boats. Robert Fulton, an American engineer who had lived in England and France, adapted the steamboat to river navigation. His side-wheeler, the *Clermont*, equipped with a Watt engine, began in 1807 to make regular trips on the Hudson between New York and Albany. Twelve years later an American vessel, provided with both sails and a steam engine, crossed

The steamboat

the Atlantic in twenty-nine days. The first ship to cross without using sails or recoaling on the way was the *Great Western*, in 1838. The trip took her fifteen days.

Steam navigation

Various improvements since the middle of the nineteenth century added greatly to the efficiency of ocean steamers. Iron, and later steel, replaced wood in their construction, with a resulting gain in strength and buoyancy. Screw propellers were substituted for clumsy paddle wheels, and turbine engines, which apply the energy



THE "ROCKET," 1830

Built by Stephenson to compete in a trial of locomotive engines for the Liverpool and Manchester Railway. The greatest speed it attained in the trial was 29 miles an hour, but some years later it ran at the rate of 53 miles an hour. The total weight of the engine and tender was only about 7½ tons.

of a jet of steam to secure the rotation of a shaft, were introduced. The size of steamers, also, has so increased that the *Great Western*, a boat of 1378 tons and 212 feet in length, would appear a pygmy by the side of the fifty-thousand ton "leviathans" which now cross the Atlantic in less than five days.

The steam locomotive

Wooden or iron rails had long been used in mines and quarries to enable horses to draw heavy loads with ease. George Stephenson, who profited by the experiments of other inventors, produced in 1814 a successful locomotive for hauling coal from the mine to tide-water. He improved his model and eleven years later secured its adoption

on the Stockton and Darlington Railway, the first line over which passengers and freight were carried by steam power. Stephenson also built the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, on which his famous engine, the *Rocket*, made its maiden trip.

Many technical improvements — the increased size of locomotives and cars, air brakes, and the use of steel rails in place of iron rails which supported only light loads and wore out rapidly — have extended the usefulness of the railroad far beyond the dreams of its earlier promoters. The greatest development of railroad transportation came in the latter part of the nineteenth century, with

Railroad transportation

A Precursor of the Automobile

An old picture of F. Hill's steam carriage running between London and Birmingham, 1839–1843.

the construction of great "trunk" lines and branches ("feeders") radiating into the remotest districts. Western Europe and the United States are now covered with a network of railroads, and these are being extended rapidly to all civilized and even semi-civilized lands.

Modern electric traction dates from the early 'eighties of the last century, when the overhead trolley began to supplant horse cars and cable cars in cities. The development of the electric locomotive promises to bring about a partial substitution of electricity for steam on railroads through tunnels and over heavy grades.

Electric traction

The earliest application of steam power to transportation was neither the railway nor the steamboat but the road engine.

The automobile

As far back as 1801 an English inventor constructed a steam carriage for passengers. Repeated efforts were made during the next forty years to popularize the new mode of travel in England, but bad roads and an unsympathetic public discouraged inventors. The automobile had to wait for the gas or "internal combustion" engine (as patented in the last decade of the nineteenth century) to become a commercial success.

The history of the airplane illustrates the truth that great inventions do not spring fully developed from the brain of one man, but, on the contrary, represent the long and patient experimentation of many men. An American scientist, S. P. Langley, who himself owed much to the work of others, produced in 1903 a heavier-than-air machine which was driven by steam. The accidents attending its first trials caused it to be abandoned. The Wright Brothers, using an airplane fitted with a gas engine, soon followed where Langley had led the way. As every one knows, the exigencies of the World War resulted in an extraordinarily rapid development of the airplane. Its powers were most strikingly revealed by two British aviators, Alcock and Brown, who in June, 1919, made a non-stop flight across the Atlantic from Newfoundland to Ireland, covering the distance in less than sixteen hours.

The airplane

Experiments in balloon navigation continued throughout the nineteenth century, and finally Count Zeppelin, an officer in the German army, produced an airship which consisted, not of one balloon, but of a row of bags inclosed in an enormous shell of aluminium trellis work. It carried two cars, each provided with a gas motor. The trial of this Zeppelin in 1900 showed how nearly the problem of a dirigible balloon had been solved. Other successful airships were soon constructed in France and England. The World War stimulated their development, as was the case with the airplane. To the British dirigible, the *R–34*, belongs the renown of having been the first to cross the Atlantic (July 2–6,

The airship

1919). The *R–34* carried a crew and passengers from Scotland to Long Island, covering the distance of 3200 miles in a trifle more than 108 hours. The return trip took only three days.

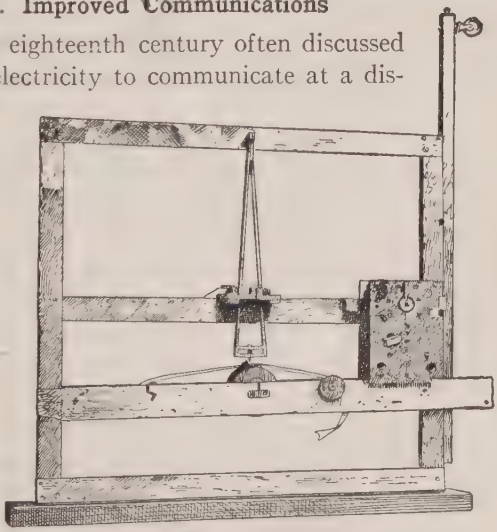
As far back as the Revolutionary War, an American inventor constructed a tiny submarine and tried, without success, to sink a British warship. Robert Fulton, encouraged by Napoleon, made several submarines. In one of them he descended to a depth of twenty-five feet, remained below for four hours, and succeeded in blowing up a small vessel with a torpedo. Under-water boats, propelled by steam power, were used by the Confederates in the Civil War. From about this time inventors in several countries worked on the problem of the submarine. One of the most successful was an Irish-American, J. P. Holland, who sold the boat named after him to the United States in 1898. The improvement of the submarine from this time is a familiar story. Thus, in the course of about a century, man has completed the conquest of land and air and sea.

The submarine

158. Improved Communications

Scientists of the eighteenth century often discussed the idea of using electricity to communicate at a distance, but a practicable apparatus for converting the electric current into intelligible signs did not appear until the 'thirties of the nineteenth century. Samuel F.B. Morse, an American, deserves perhaps the greatest credit for the invention. He also devised the

The telegraph

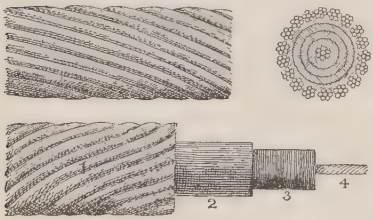


Morse's First Telegraph Instrument, 1837
In the U. S. National Museum, Washington.

"Morse alphabet." The telegraph found an immediate application on the railroads and in the transmission of government messages. Later, it made its way into the business world.

Hardly any one at first believed that a telegraph line could be carried across the ocean. Experiments soon showed, however, that wire cords, protected by wrappers of gutta percha, would conduct the electric current under water. The first cable was laid from Dover to Calais. A group of American promoters, including Cyrus W. Field, then took up the project of an Atlantic cable which should "moor the New World alongside the Old." Discouraging failures marked the enterprise. The first cables were broken by the ocean, and the line which was finally laid soon became useless, owing to the failure of its electrical insulation. After the Civil War Field renewed his efforts, and in 1866 a cable two thousand miles long was successfully laid and communication perfected. No less than fourteen lines now stretch across the Atlantic, while all the other oceans have been electrically bridged.

Submarine cables



THE ORIGINAL ATLANTIC CABLE

The illustration shows seven copper wires (4) forming a conductor; a wrapping of thread (3) soaked in pitch; several layers of gutta percha (2); and the covering of twisted wires (1).

Experimentation with rude forms of the telephone began in the same decade which produced the telegraph. Little progress took place until 1875, when Alexander Graham Bell, a native of Edinburgh but later a resident of Boston, patented his first instrument. Many improvements have since been made in it by Bell himself, Thomas A. Edison, and others.

The telephone

Wireless telegraphy and telephony

The invention of wireless telegraphy by the Italian, Guglielmo Marconi, may be said to date from 1899, when wireless messages were sent between France and England across the Channel. A trans-Atlantic service by "wireless" began eight years later,

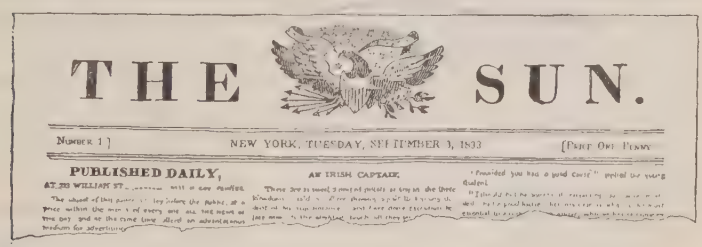
and since then improvements of Marconi's apparatus have enabled wireless messages to be sent half-way around the world. The still more recent introduction of wireless telephony promises to work another revolution in long-distance communication. Already speech without wires is possible between Paris and New York.

First Adhesive Penny Postage Stamp

The design, a conventionalized head of Queen Victoria, was used without change from 1840 to 1870.

The postal service

A regular postal service under government management existed in Europe as early as the seventeenth century, but it was slow, expensive, and little used. Stamps were unknown, prepayment of postage was considered an insult, and rates increased according to distance. The modern postal service began in Great Britain in 1840, with the adoption of a uniform charge irrespective of distance (penny postage), prepayment, and the use of stamps. These reforms soon spread to other countries and everywhere resulted in greatly increased use of the mails. The International Postal Union, with a central office at Berne, Switzerland, makes arrangements for common rates of foreign postage and for coöperation in carrying the mails from country to country.


THE SUN.

NUMBER 1] NEW YORK, TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1833 [PRICE ONE PENNY

PUBLISHED DAILY,

AN IRISH CAPTAIN.

The First Copy of the New York "Sun"

The New York *Sun*, established in 1833, was the first penny newspaper in the United States.

Newspapers

Weekly and daily newspapers also began to appear in the seventeenth century, but they were luxuries reserved for subscribers of the middle and upper classes. The cheap newspaper for the masses is a product of the Industrial Revolution. The London *Times* installed the

first steam printing press in 1814. A paper-making machine, which produced wide sheets of unlimited length, came into use soon after. To these inventions must be added the linotype machine. In newspaper offices, where rapid composition is necessary, it has largely superseded hand-work in setting type.

Many inventions in communication — the instantaneous camera, the cinematograph or motion picture, the phonograph, the automatic piano — are so new that we have scarcely as yet begun to realize their possibilities. Properly directed, they will furnish the common people in civilized countries with an education in art, music, and the drama which in former days could be secured only by persons of wealth and leisure. Their great service promises to be that of democratizing culture, as cheap newspapers and books have democratized knowledge.

The new communication

159. Commerce

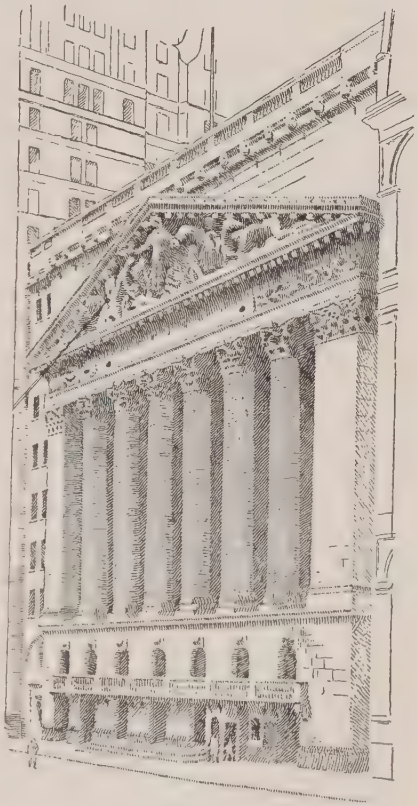
A tremendous expansion of commerce followed the improvements in transportation and communication. Macadamized roads, inland and ship canals, ocean steamships, and railroads reduced freight rates to a mere fraction of those once charged, while the telegraph, telephone, cheap postage, and newspapers made possible the rapid spread of information relating to crops and markets. It is estimated that the commerce of the world (including even backward countries) increased over twelve hundred per cent in the nineteenth century. Rapid as was the growth of the world's population during this period, commerce grew much faster; so that the average share of each human being in international trade amounted in 1900 to a sum six times that in 1800. During the first two decades of the twentieth century commercial expansion has been on a still more colossal scale.

Commercial expansion

The organization of commerce shows wonderful changes since the Middle Ages. There is now so steady a flow of commodities from producers through wholesalers and retailers to consumers that the old system of weekly markets and annual fairs is all but obsolete. Dis-

Exchanges

tinctively modern are produce exchanges for trade in the great staples (wheat, cotton, wool, sugar, etc.) and stock exchanges for buying and selling the stocks and bonds of corporations. Speculation on the exchanges confers a benefit upon commerce by safeguarding producers against the risks of sharp fluctuations in prices. When, however, it results in an artificial scarcity of commodities or securities through "corners" and "squeezes," it becomes an economic evil. The difficulty in practice is to draw the line between legitimate speculation and simple gambling.



The Stock Exchange, New York

The system of insurance is altogether an economic benefit, in view of the risks involved in most commercial undertakings. For a small payment the farmer insures his growing crop against hail or windstorm; the merchant, his stock against fire; the shipowner, his vessel against loss at sea. Marine insurance arose in medieval Italy, but for centuries it has centered in London. The first fire insurance policies were written in London after a great fire in the reign of Charles II. Other forms of business insurance originated much more recently. The present tendency seems to be to insure against every possible contingency which can be foreseen.

Insurance companies

Banks

A commercial bank, as distinguished from a savings bank or a trust company, may be defined as an institution which deals in money and credit. It attracts the deposits of many persons, thus gaining control of enormous sums available for loans to manufacturers and merchants. Banks do not increase the amount of capital (factory buildings, machinery, raw materials, etc.) in a community, but they help to put it at the disposal of active business men; in other words, banks make capital *fluid*. Furthermore, bank checks, drafts, and foreign bills of exchange provide a cheap and elastic substitute for money. It is possible through their use to discharge a large volume of indebtedness without the transfer of cash.

Development of banking

The earliest medieval banks were the private establishments of moneyed men in Italian cities. Venice and Genoa subsequently founded public or state banks, and during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries similar institutions arose in many European capitals. All the great European banks, as well as the national banks of the United States, have the privilege of issuing redeemable notes which circulate in place of gold.

The gold supply

In spite of the extensive use of checks and bank notes, the growth of commerce continues to absorb immense quantities of gold, the money metal. The supply has kept pace with the demand. The mines of California, Australia, South Africa, Alaska, and other countries produced in the second half of the nineteenth century nine times as much gold as had been produced between 1800 and 1850.

The gold standard

The supply of silver increased during the nineteenth century far in excess of the demand. Its declining value led the principal commercial states to diminish or suspend silver coinage. Great Britain first abandoned the double or bimetallic standard and adopted the single gold standard. Her example has been followed by the Continental nations, the British colonies, Japan, the South American republics, and the United States. China and Mexico are the only important countries which remain on a silver basis.

The almost universal use of gold as the standard of value facilitates the creation of a world market for money. Capitalists and bankers in progressive countries are thus enabled to supply funds for investment in less progressive countries. Statisticians estimate that up to 1914 not less than twenty billion dollars had been invested abroad by Great Britain, about half of it in her colonies and about half in foreign lands. French investments in Russia and other countries totaled about ten billion dollars, while those of Germany abroad also reached an impressively high figure. All through the nineteenth century the United States was a debtor nation, owing to the immense sums borrowed for the development of American railroads, mines, farms, and factories. This situation changed with startling suddenness during the World War, when the Allied nations purchased in the United States enormous amounts of food, raw materials, and munitions. Not only has the United States wiped off its indebtedness to Europe; it has now made Europe its debtor.

International finance

Commercial progress has been frequently interrupted during the past century by periods of depression called crises. They are a product of the Industrial Revolution. Arising in one country, perhaps as a result of bad banking, over-issue of paper money, speculation, unwise investments, or failure of crops, they tend to spread widely until all civilized countries are involved. What happens during a crisis is familiar to every one. Capitalists refuse to invest in new railroads, factories, and other undertakings; bankers will not lend money; merchants, unable to borrow, go into bankruptcy; and manufacturers, receiving fewer orders, either reduce their output or shut down their plants. Then ensues a period of "hard times," with low prices, low wages, much unemployment, and widespread destitution. The wave of prosperity sets in again, eventually, and times once more become "good." Crises have occurred at intervals of about ten or eleven years since 1800, but recently with lessening severity. They may cease altogether as modern commerce becomes still more efficient.

Crises

Many obstacles impeding the exchange of goods in the Middle Ages disappeared in modern times, especially after the French Revolution. State police finally suppressed highway robbery. Piracy, once so common, became obsolete in the era of modern steam navigation. The burdensome tolls imposed by feudal lords on transportation and travel were no longer exacted, now that feudalism itself had died out. A movement also began to reduce the high duties levied by every European nation on imports and exports.

Commercial freedom

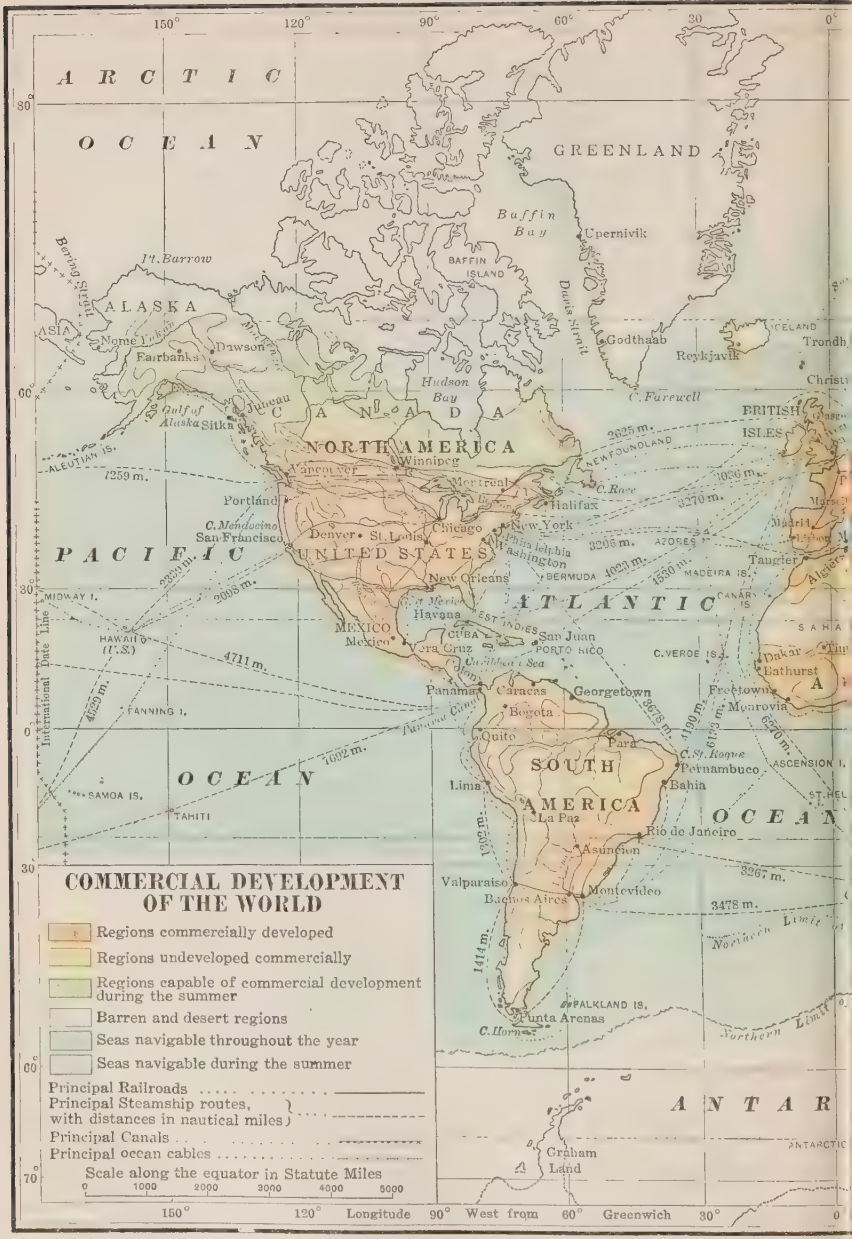
One nation went still further in the nineteenth century and adopted free trade. Great Britain, we have learned, enjoyed by 1815 a virtual monopoly in most lines of industry. Having no reason to fear the competition of foreign manufacturers, it was to her advantage to lower or abolish the duties on imports, especially those on raw materials. The Younger Pitt, influenced by the writings of Adam Smith, began the work of tariff reform; Sir Robert Peel continued it in the 'forties; and Gladstone completed it. Great Britain is now a free-trade nation. She imposes no restrictions whatever on exports and levies import duties only on a few articles, including coffee, tea, tobacco, alcoholic liquors, and sugar. Even these are for revenue, not for protection. They do not encourage the production at home of anything which can be produced more cheaply abroad. "To buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest" is the British policy.

Free trade in Great Britain

Another feature of the free-trade movement in Great Britain was the repeal of the Corn[1] Laws. These laws restricted or entirely prohibited the importation of wheat or other grains, in the interest of British farmers and landlords. Manufacturers, on the other hand, objected to legislation which made food dear for the working classes. After prolonged agitation the laws were repealed in 1846. Since then Great Britain has secured the bulk of her food abroad, from the fertile wheat areas of the United States

Repeal of the Corn Laws, 1846

[1] "Corn" to an Englishman means wheat; to a Scotsman or an Irishman, oats; and to an American, maize, or Indian corn.



COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE WORLD

- Regions commercially developed
- Regions undeveloped commercially
- Regions capable of commercial development during the summer
- Barren and desert regions
- Seas navigable throughout the year
- Seas navigable during the summer

Principal Railroads .....

Principal Steamship routes, with distances in nautical miles .....

Principal Canals .....

Principal ocean cables .....

Scale along the equator in Statute Miles

0 1000 2000 3000 4000 5000

FRANZ JOSEF LAND
ARCTIC OCEAN
NICHOLAS II LAND
C. Chelyuskin
NEW SIBERIA IS.
ARCTIC CIRCLE
SIBERIA
Archangel
Petrograd
Moscow
EUROPE
Tomsk
Omsk
Irkutsk
Okhotsk Sea
Nikolaiefsk
ASIA
Harbin
Vlad. Jostok
Mukden
Peking
Port Arthur
JAPAN
Tokyo
Yokohama
Nagasaki
Shanghai
Tashkend
Teheran
Bagdad
Delhi
Karachi
Calcutta
Bombay
Rangoon
Canton
Hongkong
PACIFIC OCEAN
TROPIC OF CANCER
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
Manila
Saigon
GUAM
Suakin
ARABIA
Maskat
INDIA
Madras
Bay of Bengal
Jibuti
C. Guardafui
Colombo
CELEBES
EQUATOR
Singapore
Batavia
JAVA
EAST INDIES
Mombasa
Zanzibar
INDIAN OCEAN
Mozambique
Mojanga
Tamatave
Beira
Lorenço Marquez
Durban
Port Elizabeth
TROPIC OF CAPRICORN
Palmerston
OCEANICA
Cooktown
TIJI IS.
NEW CALEDONIA
AUSTRALIA
Brisbane
NORFOLK I.
Perth
Albany
Adelaide
Sydney
Auckland
Melbourne
Wellington
Hobart
NEW ZEALAND
KERGUELEN
OCEAN
Enderby Land
Wilkes Land
3378 m.
2500 m.
5838 m.
THE MATTHEWS-NORTHRUP WORKS, BUFFALO, N.Y.
Longitude East from Greenwich

and the British colonies, and has paid for it with the products of her mines and factories.

The Navigation Acts [1] were repealed three years later, after having been in operation for nearly two centuries. Foreign ships were henceforth allowed to compete with those of Great Britain in the carrying trade. Competition has resulted in lower freight rates and consequently in cheaper food for the British people.

Repeal of the Navigation Acts, 1849

The free-trade movement spread to the Continent, where it led at first to a general lowering of tariff walls. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, however, France, Germany, and other countries returned to the policy of protection. Rightly or wrongly, they saw in protection the means of building up their own "infant industries," in order to supply the home market and even to compete with Great Britain in the markets of the world. The triumph of protectionism thus formed a sequel to the intense nationalism which had developed in Europe. The economic coöperation of the Allies during the World War and their continued coöperation under the League of Nations may lead to a reaction in favor of freer commercial intercourse between them.

Protection on the Continent

160. Agriculture and Land Tenure

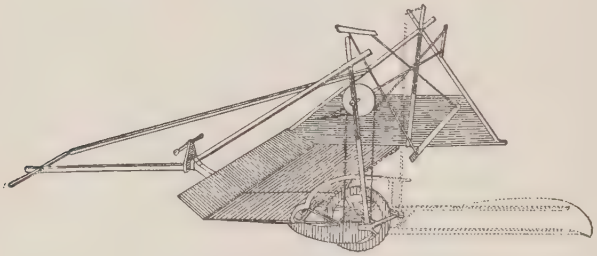
The agricultural system of the Middle Ages, with its wasteful "open fields" and fallow lands, its backward methods, and its scanty yield, began to be revolutionized with the approach of modern times. The Dutch were the first scientific farmers, and from them English farmers learned many secrets of tillage. Deeper plowing, more thorough pulverization of the ground, more diligent manuring, the shifting or rotation of crops from field to field, so that the soil would not have to lie fallow every third year, and the introduction of new crops, including turnips, clover, and rye, were some of the improvements which doubled the yield of agricultural land. The weight of cattle and sheep was also increased by half through careful selection in breeding.

Agriculture in the eighteenth century

[1] See page 334.

Agriculture in the nineteenth century

The improvements in agriculture have now extended to every progressive country. Machinery replaces the ancient scythe, sickle, flail, and other implements. One machine, of American invention, not only reaps the grain, but threshes it, winnows it, and delivers it into sacks at a single operation. The introduction of cheap artificial fertilizers makes profitable the cultivation of poor lands formerly allowed to lie idle. The advance of engineering science leads to the reclamation of marshes and arid wastes. Finally, steam navigation allows a country to draw supplies of wheat, meat, and other foodstuffs from the most



McCormick Reaper, 1834

The reaper with a vibrating cutter, as first patented by the inventor.

distant regions, with the result that the specter of famine, so common in the Middle Ages, has well-nigh disappeared from the modern world.

Inclosures

The "open-field" system of cultivation, whereby the same person tilled many small strips in different parts of the manor, was so wasteful of time and labor that medieval farmers began to surrender their scattered strips for compact holdings which could be inclosed with hedges or fences and cultivated independently. This inclosure movement continued in western Europe all through the modern period, until in the nineteenth century the old "open fields" had been practically abandoned in favor of separate farms and individual tillage.

Inclosures meant better farming everywhere, but in Great Britain they also helped to create the large estates so character-

istic of that country. The lord of the manor, not satisfied with inclosing his demesne lands, often managed to inclose those of the peasants as well, and even the meadows and forests, which had been formerly used by them in common. At the present time ten thousand persons own two-thirds of all England and Wales; seventeen thousand persons own nine-tenths of Scotland. The rural population of Great Britain consists of a few landlords; numerous tenant farmers who rent their farms from the lords; and a still larger number of laborers who work for daily wages and have no interest in the soil they till.

British landlordism

British economists and statesmen have long felt that, as a mere matter of national safety, Great Britain ought to raise more of her own food supply. Were the country effectively blockaded in time of war, the starvation of its crowded industrial population would soon result. As a result of the World War, millions of acres formerly withdrawn from cultivation were put under the plow. Efforts have also begun to break up the large estates by such heavy taxes that it will be no longer profitable to hold them. There seems reason to believe that Great Britain may yet become what Ireland under the Land Purchase Acts[1] has already become — a country of small farmers.

Agrarian reform in Great Britain

A considerable part of the agricultural land belonged to the French peasants even before the Revolution. Their possessions increased in the revolutionary era, as the result of legislation confiscating the estates of the Crown, the Church, and the emigrant nobles.[2] France to-day is emphatically a country of small but prosperous and contented farmers. In no European state would a socialistic revolution, involving the abolition of private ownership of land, have fewer chances of success.

French peasant proprietorships

The agrarian reforms of the French Revolution spread to Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, western Germany, and northern Italy, where peasant proprietorships are common. They are rare in much of Spain and in southern Italy and Sicily. Cen-

[1] See page 487.

[2] See pages 377 and 392.

tral and eastern Europe remained under the medieval manorial system throughout the nineteenth century. The land was owned by a few noble families and was worked by peasants, either as tenants or as day laborers. Outside of Russia proper, there were five of these landed aristocracies: in eastern Germany (Brandenburg, Pomerania, West Prussia, East Prussia), where serfdom disappeared only in the Napoleonic era; in Austria-Hungary, where it disappeared during the disorders of 1848–1849; in the Baltic provinces controlled by nobles of German origin; in Poland and Lithuania; and in Rumania. The revolutionary movements since 1914 promise to destroy the land monopoly of the aristocrats in all these countries. There will arise, instead, a new democratic society of peasant proprietors. This triumph of the small land owner in central and eastern Europe must be accounted one of the most important economic results of the World War.

Land tenure in other Continental countries

The abolition of Russian serfdom by Alexander II in 1858–1861,[1] which freed nearly fifty million people, was followed by measures establishing a new system of land tenure. The nobles were required to sell a portion of their estates to the peasants, about half of the agricultural area of European Russia thus changing hands. Except in certain districts where individual ownership prevailed, the farming land was intrusted to the entire village (*mir*) for redistribution at intervals among the inhabitants. All that the peasant really possessed in his own right was a house and a garden plot. The Russian Revolution of 1917 broke up the *mir* economy and also enabled the peasants to appropriate the estates of the nobles. The Bolsheviki have been obliged to countenance this procedure, in order to win the support of the peasantry. If Russia adopts complete individual ownership of land, it will mark a significant step in the progress of that country, where about nine-tenths of the population live wholly or mainly by agriculture. Russia may yet develop into one of the most stable of nations because its people have their feet on the ground, their own ground.

Land tenure in Russia

[1] See page 526.

161. The Labor Movement

The craft guilds, which modern Europe inherited from the Middle Ages, gradually became obsolete after the Industrial Revolution. They were out of place in a world of whirling machinery, crowded factories, free competition, and the separation of labor and capital. Few of them in Great Britain survived the eighteenth century. In France it required a decree of the National Assembly to end their existence. Those in Germany did not completely disappear until late in the nineteenth century.

Disappearance of the craft guilds

As contrasted with craft guilds, trade unions are combinations of wage-earners to maintain or improve the conditions under which they labor. These associations began to appear in Great Britain between 1700 and 1800, especially after the domestic system gave way to the factory system. Under the new conditions of industry, an employer could not know many of his employees personally; their relations, henceforth, tended to become cold-blooded and impersonal. At the same time, the workers in any one establishment or trade, being thrown more closely together, came to realize their common interests and to appreciate the need for organization.

Rise of trade unions

The unions immediately encountered opposition. The Common Law treated them as conspiracies in restraint of trade and hence as illegal. Moreover, the employers used their influence in Parliament to secure the passage of a long series of acts designed to prevent what were styled "unlawful combinations of workmen." The last of these acts even provided the penalty of imprisonment at hard labor for persons who combined with others to raise wages, shorten hours, or in any way control the conditions of industry.

Trade unions prohibited

Agitation by trade-union leaders induced Parliament in 1825 to repeal all the Combination Acts and to replace them by a new and more liberal statute. Laborers might now lawfully meet together for the purpose of agreeing on the rate of wages or the number of hours which

Trade unions legalized

they would work, as long as the agreement concerned only those who were present at the meeting. This qualification was removed a number of years later. Finally, the Trade Union Act of 1875 declared that nothing done by a group of laborers should be considered illegal unless it was also illegal when done by a single person. The act thus gave the working classes the full right of combination for which they had long been striving. It has been called the Magna Carta of trade unionism.

British trade unionism to-day

The trade unions of Great Britain have made much progress within recent years. They enroll several million factory operatives, railway workers, coal miners, and agricultural laborers. They send their representatives to Parliament and exercise great influence on labor legislation. Their officers also frequently serve as factory inspectors. Many unions enjoy a considerable income, which goes to support members who are temporarily out of work, sick, disabled, or infirm.

Trade unionism on the Continent

Continental trade unions are modeled upon the British organizations, but do not equal them in numbers, wealth, or influence. Many have a political character, being closely connected with socialist parties. In general, Continental workingmen rely for improvement in their condition rather upon State action than upon collective bargaining with their employers.

Coöperation

The coöperative movement also started in Great Britain. There are in that country a large number of societies, open to workingmen on the payment of a small fee, and selling goods to members at prices considerably lower than those charged by private concerns. Members share in the profits in accordance with the amount of their purchases. The success of coöperation in retailing has brought about its extension to wholesaling and even to manufacturing and banking. Similar societies are numerous on the Continent.

162. Government Regulation of Industry

Improvement in the lot of the working classes has taken place not only through the activities of trade unions, coöperative

societies, and other voluntary associations, but also by legislation. The need for government regulation of industry very soon became apparent. The crowded factories were unsanitary. Hours of labor were too long. Wages were on the starvation level. Furthermore, the use of machinery encouraged the employment of women and children, for whose labor there had been previously little demand outside the home. Their excessive toil amid unhealthy surroundings often developed disease and deformity or brought premature death. Much excuse existed for the passionate words of one reformer that the slave trade was "mercy compared to the factory system."

Evils of the factory system

These evils were naturally most prominent in Great Britain, where the Industrial Revolution began. Little effort was made at first to remedy them. The working classes exercised no political influence; indeed, by the Combination Acts they had been prohibited from forming trade unions for their protection. Statesmen, instead of meeting the situation by remedial legislation, adopted the *laissez-faire*, or "let-alone" policy.[1] The government, they declared, should keep its hands off industry. The greatest good to the greatest number could only be secured when "economic laws" of supply and demand were allowed to determine the wages and conditions of employment, just as they determined the prices, quantity, and quality of commodities produced.

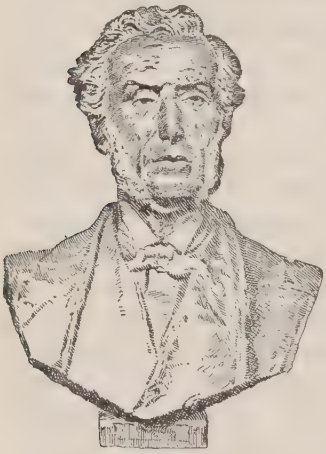
The "let-alone" policy

"Let alone" naturally became the watchword of selfish employers, to whose avarice and cruelty it gave full rein. Yet there were also humane employers who felt that the government ought to protect those who could not protect themselves. After some agitation the first British factory act was passed in 1802. This measure, which applied only to cotton factories, prohibited the binding-out for labor of pauper children under nine years of age, restricted their working hours to twelve a day, and forbade night work. Little more was done for thirty-one years. During this time several philanthropists, among whom Lord Ashley,

Early labor legislation

[1] See page 355.

afterwards earl of Shaftesbury, had the greatest influence, took up the cause of the oppressed workers and on the floor of Parliament, on the platform, in the pulpit, and in the newspapers waged a campaign to arouse the public to the need of additional legislation. The result was the passage in 1833 of an act which applied to all textile factories and provided for their regular inspection by public officials. A few years later Ashley, whose life was devoted to philanthropy and social reform, carried through Parliament an act forbidding the employment in mines of women and children. Parliament subsequently took the still more radical step of passing the Ten-Hour Act, which limited the labor of women and children in textile factories to ten hours a day. This measure became a law only after the fiercest opposition on the part of many manufacturers, but it proved so beneficial that henceforth the desirability of factory legislation was generally admitted.



THE EARL OF SHAFTESBURY

After a bust by Sir J. E. Boehm, in the National Portrait Gallery, London.

Government regulation of industry now began to become a reality. Mines, bakeries, laundries, docks, retail and wholesale shops, and many other establishments were gradually brought under control. At the present time the State restricts the employment of children so that they may not be deprived of an education. It limits the hours of labor, not only of children and women in most industries, but also of men in mines and factories. It requires employers to install safety appliances in their plants and to take all other precautions necessary for the preservation of the lives, limbs, and health of their employees. Recent legislation provides for the establishment of wage boards in certain

British labor legislation to-day

"sweated trades," where men and women work long hours for starvation pay. These boards, representing employees, employers, and the government, have power to fix a minimum wage — the lowest wage consistent with health and efficiency — and to forbid the payment of anything less, except to apprentices. The principle of the minimum wage has also been extended to miners and agricultural laborers. The government supports employment bureaus or labor exchanges, in order that the idle may find work. A national insurance act provides for the compulsory insurance of nearly all employees against sickness and loss of employment. An old-age pension law gives British subjects who have reached seventy years of age and who receive an income not exceeding £31, 10*d*. (about $150) a year, a maximum pension of 5*s*. (about $1.25) weekly. It is now proposed that every citizen of the United Kingdom, irrespective of his income, shall be qualified to draw a pension, upon reaching the required age.

Labor legislation on the Continent

The labor legislation of France, Belgium, Holland, Austria, and the Scandinavian states compares favorably with that of Great Britain. In no Continental country has it gone farther than in Germany. Bismarck gave it his powerful support, in order to check the spread of socialism. Germany has laws establishing a maximum number of working hours, limiting child and female labor, and providing a system of workingmen's insurance against accidents, sickness, incapacity, and old age.

Australasian labor legislation

The youthful commonwealths of Australia and New Zealand, unhampered by tradition, are trying a number of interesting experiments in government regulation of industry. Both countries give compensation to workingmen injured by accidents and old-age pensions to poor people. New Zealand, in addition, provides fire, life, and accident insurance, conducts postal savings banks, rents model homes to workingmen, and makes arbitration of labor disputes compulsory, in order to do away with strikes. If it turns out that under such paternalism more people are free and happy than under the individualism which prevails in the United

States and even in Great Britain, then Australia and New Zealand will have set an example to the rest of the world; if it is found that too much public regulation cramps private enterprise and takes away the incentive to industry, they will have warned the rest of the world off a dangerous course. But all this legislation is too recent for final judgment to be pronounced upon it.

International labor legislation

There has been a growing movement within recent years to secure concerted action by the various nations in the interest of the working classes. The movement received official recognition at the Peace Conference in 1919. The Peace Treaty with Germany establishes a permanent International Labor Office, under the League of Nations, and provides for annual international labor conferences to discuss needed legislation and recommend it to the different governments. Like the League of Nations of which it forms a part, this new labor machinery has only begun to function, but it promises to become an agency of enormous usefulness.

163. Public Ownership

Extension of State enterprise

The modern State, in all civilized countries, does many things which private individuals themselves did during the Middle Ages. It maintains an army and navy, administers justice, provides a police system, and furnishes public education. No one now questions either the need or the desirability of such activities. As we have just learned, the State also subjects private industry to ever-increasing regulation for the benefit of the less fortunate members of society. Furthermore, it engages in a variety of industrial undertakings.

Examples of State enterprise

Governments sometimes monopolize different branches of business in order to raise a revenue. A good instance is the tobacco monopoly of France. The post office is always in government hands, not so much for revenue as for the furtherance of cheap communication between different parts of the country. In Great Britain and on the Continent telegraphs and telephones are

managed by the government in connection with the post office, and the government parcel post does all the business which in the United States is partly absorbed by private express companies. Coinage is everywhere a public function, as well as banking in most European countries. In the United States banks are private institutions under state or national regulation. Germany and Russia have public forests; Prussia has public mines; and France has a number of canals belonging to the government.

On the Continent (Belgium, Switzerland, Italy, Germany, Austria, Russia) railroads are mostly State-owned and State-managed. Nearly all the French lines are privately owned, but they will revert to the government upon the expiration of their franchises. Great Britain and the United States took over their railroads for military purposes during the World War. The American lines, together with the express companies, have now been returned to private ownership. In Australia the government built the principal railroads and owns and operates all of them.

Railroads

Both British and Continental cities generally own and operate such public utilities as street railways, gas and electric lighting plants, and waterworks. Markets, slaughter houses, baths, pawn shops, docks, and harbor improvements are likewise often municipal monopolies. In the United States municipal ownership has been common in the case of waterworks, somewhat less common in the case of electric lighting plants, rare in that of gas plants, and scarcely known in that of street railways. Since free competition cannot prevail in these industries, the only choice is between municipal ownership or private ownership subject to municipal regulation of charges and service.

Municipal enterprise

It must now be obvious that the *laissez-faire* policy finds few adherents at the present time. Defense against external aggression, preservation of internal order, and the maintenance of a few public institutions do not exhaust the responsibilities of the State, as these are conceived to-day. The reaction against *laissez-faire* has been very marked

Decline of laissez-faire

during the last half century, one reason being the success of Germany in public regulation and ownership. Continental countries go farther in this direction than either Great Britain or the United States, because the Continental peoples have been accustomed to paternal rule for centuries. But as Australia and New Zealand show, even English-speaking peoples tend to abandon that system of "natural liberty" which, in Adam Smith's words, leaves every man "perfectly free to pursue his own interest in his own way, and to bring both his industry and capital into competition with those of any other man or order of men."

164. Socialism

What socialism is

Contemporary socialists unite in making the following demands. First, the State shall own and operate the instruments of production, that is, land and capital. Under this arrangement rent, interest, and profits, as sources of personal income, would disappear, and private property would consist simply of one's own clothing, household goods, money, and perhaps a house and a garden plot. Second, the leisure class shall be eliminated by requiring everybody to perform useful labor, either physical or mental. Third, the income of the State shall be distributed as wages and salaries among the workers, according to some fairer principle than obtains at present.

What socialism is not

Socialism, thus explained, is not identical with public ownership of railroads, telegraphs, telephones, the postal service, and other utilities. There is still a leisure class and there are still personal incomes in those countries where public ownership has been most completely developed. Similarly, labor legislation is not properly described as socialistic, since it fails to abolish private property, the factory system, and rent, interest, and profits.

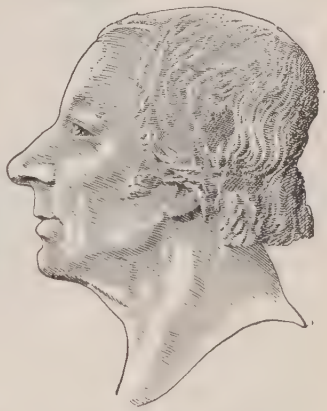
Socialism is, in part, an outcome of the Industrial Revolution, which completed the separation of capital and labor. The gulf between the capitalists and the landless, propertyless, wage-earning proletariat became wider, the contrasts between

rich and poor became sharper, than ever before. Vastly more wealth was now produced than in earlier ages, but it was still unequally distributed. The few had too much; the many had too little. Radical reformers, distressed by these inequalities and dissatisfied with the slow progress of the labor movement and government regulation of industry, began to proclaim the necessity of a wholesale reconstruction of society.

Socialism and the Industrial Revolution

In Great Britain the most prominent of these early radicals was Robert Owen, a rich manufacturer and philanthropist, who did much to improve the conditions of life for his employees. Among his innovations were coöperative shops, where workmen could buy good things cheaply and divide the profits between them. This principle of coöperative *distribution* subsequently attained great success in England, and Owen deserves credit as its originator. He also advocated coöperation in *production*. His special remedy for social ills was the establishment of small cooperative communities, each one living by itself on a tract of land and producing in common everything needed for its support. He thought that this arrangement would retain the economic advantages of the great inventions without introducing the factory system. Owen's experiments in coöperation all failed, including the one which he established at New Harmony, Indiana. Owen thus belongs in the class of Utopian socialists, men who dreamed of ideal social systems which were never realized.

Robert Owen, and coöperative communities



Robert Owen
After a plaster medallion by Miss Beech.

Socialism is also, in part, an outcome of the French Revolution. That upheaval destroyed so many time-hallowed institutions and created so many new ones that it gave a great

impetus to schemes for the regeneration of society. French radical thinkers soon set out to purge the world of capitalism as their fathers had purged it of feudalism. Their ideas began to become popular with workingmen after the factory system, with its attendant evils, gained an entrance into France.

Socialism and the French Revolution

The workers found a leader in Louis Blanc, a journalist and author of wide popularity. The revolution of 1789, he declared, had benefited the peasants; that of 1830 the capitalists or *bourgeoisie;* the next must be for the benefit of the proletariat. Blanc believed that every man had an inalienable right to remunerative employment. To provide it, he proposed that the State should furnish the capital for national workshops. These were to be managed by the operatives themselves, who would divide the profits of the industry between them and thus eliminate capitalists altogether. Blanc's ideas triumphed for a time in the "February Revolution" of 1848, which had been brought about by the Parisian proletariat. The second French Republic expressly recognized the "right to labor," set up the national workshops, and promised two francs a day to every registered workingman. The drain upon the treasury and the demoralization of the people by this State charity soon led to the abandonment of the entire scheme. The result was a popular uprising only crushed by military force. It should be said in justice to Blanc that the government appears to have purposely mismanaged the national workshops, in order to discredit the socialistic movement in France.

Louis Blanc and national workshops

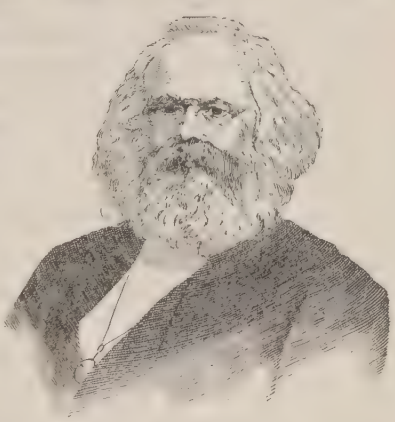
Meanwhile, a new socialism, more systematic and practical than the old, began to be developed by German thinkers. Its chief representative was Karl Marx. His parents were well-to-do Jews who had embraced Christianity. Marx as a young man studied at several German universities and received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Becoming interested in economic subjects, he founded a socialist newspaper to advocate the cause of the working classes. The government suppressed it, after the failure of the revolutionary

Karl Marx, 1818–1883

movement of 1848–1849, and expelled Marx from Germany. He went to London and lived there in exile for the rest of his days, finding time, in the midst of a hard struggle for existence, to write his famous work, *Das Kapital*.[1] It has a place beside Rousseau's *Social Contract* and Smith's *Wealth of Nations* among the books which have profoundly influenced human thought and action.

Marx felt little sympathy with Utopian schemes to make over society. In opposition to Owen, Blanc, and other earlier socialists, he sought to build up a system of socialism based on economic principles. Put in its simplest form, Marxism asserts that, while labor is the source of all value, laborers receive, in fact, only a fraction of what they produce. All the rest goes to the capitalistic *bourgeoisie*, or middle class, who produce nothing. Capitalism, however, is the inevitable result of the factory system. Like feudalism, it forms a stage, a necessary stage, in the development of mankind. It is fated to disappear with the progress of democracy, which, by giving the proletariat the vote, will enable them to displace the *bourgeoisie*, take production into their own hands, and peacefully inaugurate the socialist state.

Marxism



KARL MARX

During the 'seventies of the last century the co-workers of Marx in Germany founded the Social Democratic Party. The government, under Bismarck's leadership, tried to suppress it by prohibiting meetings of socialists and the circulation of

[1] The first volume of *Das Kapital* appeared in 1867. The second and third volumes were not published until after Marx's death.

socialist literature. Any effort to propagate socialist doctrine was made punishable by fines and imprisonment. The police were also authorized to deport all suspected persons. Persecution failed to check the movement, which grew phenomenally. However, many persons voting for Social Democratic candidates were not socialists, but German liberals who wanted to protest as effectively as possible against autocracy and militarism.

The Social Democratic Party

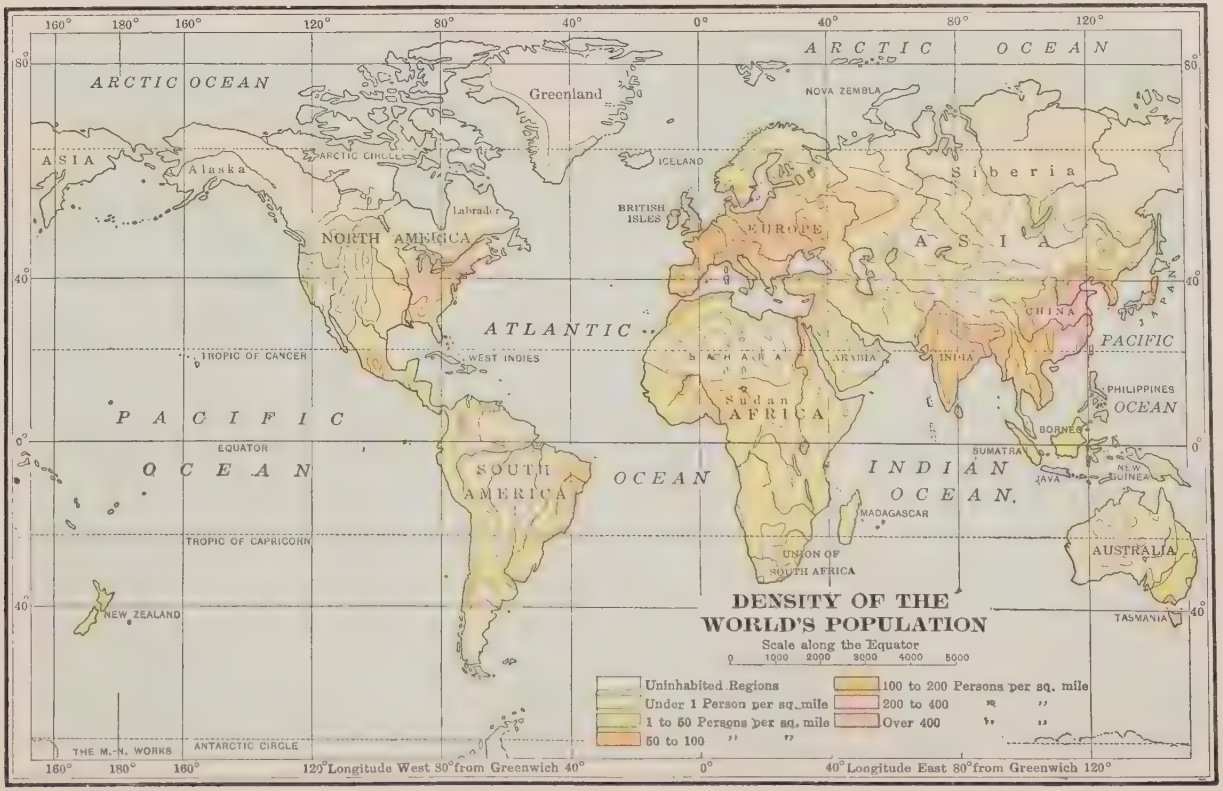
The Social Democratic Party provided a model for similar organizations of Marxian socialists in Great Britain, France, Italy, Austria, Russia, and the other European countries, as well as in the United States, Australia, and Japan. Congresses of delegates from the national parties have been held from time to time, in order to bring together the working classes of every land. In 1914 the socialists throughout the world polled about eleven million votes and elected over seven hundred representatives to the various parliaments.

National socialist parties

165. Poverty and Progress

The most important consequence of the Industrial Revolution is the increased population of the leading nations. The figures for Europe show an increase from about 175,000,000 to over 400,000,000 during the nineteenth century, and for the continental United States from about 5,000,000 in 1800 to over 105,000,000 in 1920. The number of people who can be supported in a given region now depends less on the food which they raise, than on their production of raw materials and manufactured goods to exchange for food. Thus Belgium and Great Britain, with only a limited agriculture, support more inhabitants to the square mile than any other countries. There are, of course, certain agricultural countries (Egypt, the Ganges valley and delta in India, part of China) where the exceptionally rich soil, coupled with a very low standard of living on the part of the inhabitants, has also made possible an enormous growth of population within the last century. Little of the world is now entirely uninhabited;

Increase of population


ARCTIC OCEAN
Greenland
NOVA ZEMBLA
ARCTIC OCEAN
ASIA
Alaska
ARCTIC CIRCLE
ICELAND
Siberia
Labrador
BRITISH ISLES
EUROPE
NORTH AMERICA
A S I A
CHINA
ATLANTIC
PACIFIC
TROPIC OF CANCER
WEST INDIES
ARABIA
INDIA
PHILIPPINES
OCEAN
Sudan
AFRICA
P A C I F I C
BORNEO
EQUATOR
SUMATRA
O C E A N
SOUTH AMERICA
OCEAN
INDIAN
OCEAN.
JAVA
NEW GUINEA
MADAGASCAR
TROPIC OF CAPRICORN
AUSTRALIA
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA
NEW ZEALAND
TASMANIA
DENSITY OF THE WORLD'S POPULATION
Scale along the Equator
0 1000 2000 3000 4000 5000
Uninhabited Regions
Under 1 Person per sq. mile
1 to 50 Persons per sq. mile
50 to 100 " "
100 to 200 Persons per sq. mile
200 to 400 " "
Over 400 " "
THE M.-N. WORKS
ANTARCTIC CIRCLE
160° 180° 160° 120° Longitude West 80° from Greenwich 40°
0° 40° Longitude East 80° from Greenwich 120°

still less is permanently uninhabitable and unlikely to receive a considerable population in the future. Even sandy and alkaline deserts can be rendered productive through irrigation, while vast tracts of fertile territory, in both the temperate and tropical zones, can support many more people than at present.

The increased population of the leading industrial nations has been largely concentrated in cities. The rise of the factory system and the improvement of facilities for travel and transportation soon led to an unprecedented urban development. Old cities grew with marvelous rapidity, while former villages and towns became transformed into new cities. The concentration of population is well illustrated in the case of the United States. This country in 1800 contained only six cities of over eight thousand inhabitants; now, according to the census of 1920, more than half of the American people are city dwellers.

Concentration of population

The Industrial Revolution is further chiefly responsible for the enormous emigration of Europeans during the past hundred years to lands beyond the seas. The United States received over 27,000,000 immigrants between 1800 and 1910, nearly all coming from Europe. Millions more went to the British colonies and to South America. The migration movement has been most marked since the middle of the nineteenth century, when the improvements in steam navigation so greatly multiplied and cheapened facilities for travel on the ocean.

Emigration

The increased wealth of the leading nations is another consequence of the Industrial Revolution. Statistics of government revenues and expenditures, imports and exports, income tax returns, deposits in savings banks, and assets of life insurance companies show how wealth has multiplied, especially within recent years. Other indications are furnished by the increase in the annual production of coal, in the amount of iron ore mined annually, in railway construction, and in the tonnage of merchant vessels. The enormous public loans, successfully floated during the World War, also reveal the resources now at the command of industrial peoples.

Increase of wealth

Notwithstanding the creation of huge individual fortunes as the result of the Industrial Revolution, the general standard of living has been raised by the addition of innumerable things — sugar, coffee, linen, cotton goods, glass, chinaware, wall paper, ready-made clothing, books, newspapers, pictures — which were once enjoyed only by a few wealthy persons. If the rich are undoubtedly getting richer, the poor are not getting poorer in western Europe and the United States. As a matter of fact, poverty is most acute in such thickly populated countries as Russia, India, and China, which modern industrialism has only begun to penetrate.

Diffusion of wealth

Nevertheless, no one conversant with social conditions in large cities can deny the existence there of very many people below or scarcely above the poverty line. Socialists allege that poverty is caused by the unequal and inequitable distribution of wealth under the present economic organization of society. The truth seems to be that no single condition — over-population, property in land, competition, the factory system — explains poverty, for each one has been absent in previous social stages. The causes of poverty, in fact, are as complex as modern life, some being due to faults of personal character or physical and mental defects, and others being produced by lack of education, bad surroundings, corrupt or inefficient government, and economic conditions which result in lack of employment, high cost of living, monopolies, and the like.

Causes of poverty

Since there is no single cause of poverty, there can be no single remedy for it. Putting aside socialism as undesirable, one may still look forward confidently to the prevention of much poverty by trade-union activity, by government regulation of industry (including old-age pensions, State insurance against sickness and disability, protection against non-employment, and the minimum wage), by education of the unskilled, by improved housing, and by all the agencies and methods of private philanthropy. One may even reasonably anticipate the complete

Prevention and abolition of poverty

abolition of poverty, at least all suffering from hunger, cold, and nakedness, in those progressive countries which have already abolished slavery and serfdom. Indeed, with the increase of wages, the growing demand for intelligent work, and the spread of popular education, skilled laborers have multiplied so rapidly as to outnumber those whose labor is entirely unskilled; they belong no longer to the "lower classes," but already live better than did the majority of the upper classes before the Industrial Revolution.

The evils of modern industrialism, though real, have been exaggerated. They are and were the evils accompanying the transition from one stage of society to another. Few would wish now to retrace their steps to an age when there were no factories, no railroads, and no great mechanical inventions. Machinery now does much of the roughest and hardest work and, by saving human labor, makes it possible to shorten hours of toil. The world's workers, in consequence, have opportunities for recreation and education previously denied them. After one hundred and fifty years of modern industrialism, we begin to see that, besides helping to produce political democracy, it is also creating economic democracy. It is gradually diffusing the necessaries and comforts, and even many of the luxuries of life, among all peoples in all lands.

Economic democracy

Studies

1. For what are the following persons famous: Arkwright; Cartwright; Watt; Stephenson; Whitney; Fulton; Morse; Bell; Langley; and Marconi? 2. Explain what is meant by the following: (*a*) capital; (*b*) capitalism; (*c*) domestic system; (*d*) factory system; and (*e*) division of labor. 3. Name in order the early inventions in the textile industry and explain the changes which each one produced. 4. On the map, page 590, indicate the principal manufacturing districts and cities of Great Britain. 5. "Of all inventions, the alphabet and the printing press alone excepted, those inventions which abridge distance have done most for the civilization of our species." Comment on this statement. 6. "Next to steam-locomotion, the telegraph is probably the most powerful mechanical agent invented for promoting the unification of the world." Comment on this statement. 7. Show how modern commerce has been facilitated by the submarine cable, wireless telegraphy, the postal system, and marine insurance, or underwriting. 8. How has the construction of the Suez and Panama canals affected oceanic trade routes? 9. Why did Great Britain adopt a free-trade policy? Why does she maintain it,

when other nations follow a policy of protection? 10. Comment on some of the social effects of peasant proprietorships. 11. Compare the modern trade union with the medieval craft guild. 12. Why must labor legislation, to become entirely effective, be international in scope? 13. Is it true, as Marx asserted, that labor is the source of all value? 14. Mention some of the probable advantages and some of the probable disadvantages of the socialist state. 15. "The growth of large cities constitutes perhaps the greatest of all the problems of modern civilization." Comment on this statement. 16. Why may the Industrial Revolution be considered as an "era still in progress"? 17. Using material in encyclopedias, prepare reports for class presentation upon the following inventions and discoveries: (*a*) the bicycle; (*b*) the typewriter; (*c*) lucifer matches; (*d*) illuminating gas; (*e*) electric lighting; (*f*) dynamite; and (*g*) photography.

Spinning, Carding, and Weaving in the Middle Ages

CHAPTER XVIII

MODERN CIVILIZATION

166. Internationalism

THE world, which seemed so large to our forefathers, to us seems very small and compact. Railroads, steamships, and airplanes bind the nations together, and the telegraph, the submarine cable, and the "wireless" keep them in constant communication. The oceans, no longer barriers, serve as highways uniting East and West, Orient and Occident. Commerce and finance are international; capital finds investment in foreign countries as readily as at home; and trade unionism, labor legislation, and socialism become common to all the world. National isolation disappears as ideas and ideals tour the globe.

Unity of modern civilization

Everywhere people build the same houses, use the same furniture, and eat the same food. Everywhere they enjoy the same amusements and distractions: concerts, "moving pictures," the theater, clubs, magazines, automobiles. They also dress alike. Powder, gold lace, wigs, pigtails, three-cornered hats, knee breeches, silk stockings, and silver-buckled shoes passed away in revolutionary France with the other follies of the Old Régime, and the loose coat and long trousers of the working classes became the accepted style for men's apparel, not only in France, but eventually in all civilized countries. Women's apparel still changes year by year, but the new fashions, emanating from Paris, London, or New York, are speedily copied in San Francisco, Melbourne, and Tokio.

Uniformity of modern civilization

The inconveniences resulting from the diversity of languages were never greater than to-day, when travel is a general habit and when nations read one another's books and profit by

one another's discoveries and inventions. The internationalism of modern literature, science, philosophy, and art demands an international medium of expression. Latin was the speech of learned men in Europe throughout the Middle Ages, and French has been the speech of polite society and diplomacy for more than two centuries. What is needed, however, is a universal language, which can be readily mastered by any one. Crude attempts at such a language have already appeared in Volapük and Esperanto, but a really satisfactory artificial idiom remains to be created.

Universal languages

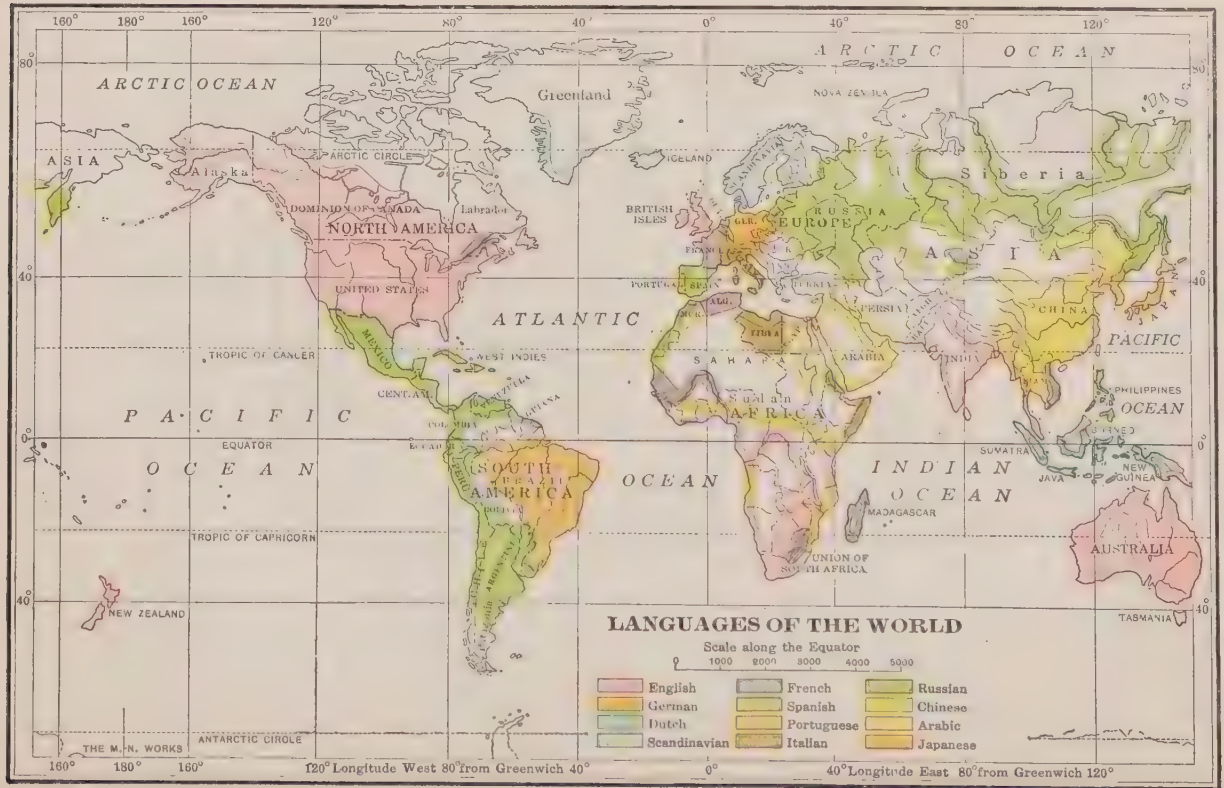
"Ridiculous Taste, or the Ladies' Absurdity"

One of the many caricatures of the extravagant fashions in headdress of both sexes during the eighteenth century.

Meanwhile, the spread of English-speaking peoples throughout the globe seems destined to make English, in some sort, a universal language. It is now used by perhaps 175 million people, either as their mother language or as an acquired tongue.[1] Those using Russian are estimated at 100 millions; German, 80 millions; Italian, 50 millions; Spanish, 50 millions, and French, 40 millions. The simple grammar and cosmopolitan vocabulary of English adapt it to an international rôle. In spite of an often arbitrary spelling and pronunciation,

The English language

[1] United Kingdom, 45,000,000; Canada and Australia, 12,000,000; British Africa, 5,000,000; British India and other possessions, 3,000,000; the United States, 110,000,000.


ARCTIC OCEAN
Greenland
ASIA
Alaska
ARCTIC CIRCLE
DOMINION OF CANADA
Labrador
NORTH AMERICA
UNITED STATES
ATLANTIC
OCEAN
TROPIC OF CANCER
MEXICO
CENTRAL AMERICA
WEST INDIES
P A C I F I C
EQUATOR
SOUTH AMERICA
TROPIC OF CAPRICORN
NEW ZEALAND
THE M. N. WORKS
ANTARCTIC CIRCLE
ICELAND
BRITISH ISLES
EUROPE
RUSSIA
NOVA ZEMBLA
Siberia
A S I A
CHINA
PERSIA
INDIA
ARABIA
SAHARA
Sudan
AFRICA
MADAGASCAR
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA
PACIFIC OCEAN
PHILIPPINES
SUMATRA
JAVA
NEW GUINEA
INDIAN OCEAN
AUSTRALIA
TASMANIA
LANGUAGES OF THE WORLD
Scale along the Equator
1000 2000 3000 4000 5000
English
German
Dutch
Scandinavian
French
Spanish
Portuguese
Italian
Russian
Chinese
Arabic
Japanese
120° Longitude West 80° from Greenwich 40°
40° Longitude East 80° from Greenwich 120°

it is more easily learned than any other of the great languages of the world.

The idea of a universal exposition, to which all countries should send their art treasures or the marvels of their industry, first took shape in the Crystal Palace Exhibition (London, 1851). Since then European expositions have been numerous, each one larger than its predecessor. The Universal Exhibition (Paris, 1900) attracted 51,000,000 visitors. The United States began with the Philadelphia Centennial of 1876. This was followed by the World's Fair at Chicago in 1893 and by the more recent expositions at St. Louis and San Francisco.

Universal expositions

World congresses are constantly being held to deal with such matters of common interest as the metric system of weights and measures, monetary standards, protection of patents and copyrights, improvement in the condition of the working classes, advancement of social reform, woman suffrage, and the establishment of universal peace. Two thousand such gatherings took place in the half century immediately preceding the World War. Some of them have resulted in the formation of permanent organizations such as the Red Cross Society[1] and the Postal Union.[2] Frequent meetings of distinguished scholars and men of letters from the different countries also help to produce what has been well called the "international mind."

The "international mind"

Increased intercourse between civilized peoples not only broadens their outlook but also widens their sympathies. Feelings of human brotherhood, once limited in prehistoric times to the members of one's clan or tribe and during antiquity and the Middle Ages to one's city or state, expand to include all mankind. There develops an "international conscience," which emphasizes the obligations of the strong toward the weak and protests against the oppression of any members of the world community by any others. Let us consider some of its manifestations during the past century.

The "international conscience"

[1] See page 632.

[2] See page 599.

167. Social Betterment

Little more than one hundred years ago the slave trade was generally regarded as a legitimate business. Hardly any one thought it wrong to kidnap or purchase African negroes, pack them on shipboard, where many died in the stifling holds, and carry them to the West Indies or the American mainland to be sold as slaves. It is estimated that by the close of the eighteenth century more than three million negroes were brought to the New World and that at least a quarter of a million more perished on the way thither. Denmark first abolished this shameful traffic. Great Britain and the United States took the same step in 1807–1808, and in subsequent years the Continental nations, one after another, agreed that it should no longer enjoy the protection of their flags. Since the last decade of the nineteenth century the European powers have also taken concerted measures to stamp out what remains of the slave trade in the interior of the Dark Continent.

Abolition of the slave trade

Slavery was all but extinct in Christian lands by the close of the Middle Ages. It revived, on a much larger scale, after the era of geographical discovery, which opened up Africa as a source of slaves and America as a field for their profitable employment. The French revolutionists abolished slavery in the colonies of France, but Napoleon restored it. Great Britain in 1833 passed an act to free the slaves in the British West Indies, paying one hundred million dollars to their former masters as compensation. This abolition of slavery, as well as of the slave trade, is a monument to the humanitarian labors of William Wilberforce, who for nearly half a century devoted his wealth, his energies, and his powerful oratory to the cause of the oppressed negroes. Within the next thirty years slavery peacefully disappeared in the colonial possessions of France, Portugal, and Holland, but in the United States only at the cost of civil war. Brazil, in 1888, was the last Christian state to put an end to slavery.

Abolition of slavery

The penal code of eighteenth-century Europe must be de-

scribed as barbarous. Torture of an accused person, in order to obtain a confession, usually preceded his trial. Only a few nations, Great Britain among them, forbade its use. Prisons were private property, and the inmates, whether innocent or guilty, had to pay their keeper for food and other necessaries. Men, women, and children were herded together, the hardened criminals with the first offenders. Branding, flogging, and exposure in the pillory formed common punishments. Death was the punishment for murder, arson, burglary, horse-stealing, theft, forgery, counterfeiting, and many other crimes. The British code included over two hundred capital offenses. A man (or a woman) might be hanged for stealing as little as five shillings from a shop or for picking a pocket to the value of a single shilling. Transportation to America or to Australia was often substituted, however, for the death penalty. Executions took place in public, on the mistaken theory that to see them would deter from crime.

The old penal code

The great name in penal reform is that of the Italian Beccaria, whose *Essay on Crimes and Punishments* appeared in 1764. It bore early fruit in the general abolition of torture and of such ferocious punishments as burning alive, breaking on the wheel, and drawing and quartering. Penal reform in France was hastened by the Revolution. Great Britain from about 1815 began to reduce the number of capital offenses, until only high treason, piracy, and murder remained. One consequence of the reform was a striking diminution of crime, though judges and other conservative persons had predicted just the reverse. Capital punishment has now been abolished by several European countries, including Italy, Portugal, Holland, Norway, and Rumania. A few American states do not inflict the death penalty.

Reform of the penal code

Prison reform accompanied the reform of the criminal code. One of the leaders of this humanitarian movement was a Quakeress, Mrs. Elizabeth Fry. Much has been done within the past century to improve sanitary conditions in prisons, to abolish the lock-step, striped clothing,

Prison reform

Elizabeth Fry

and other humiliating practices in the treatment of prisoners, and, by means of juvenile courts and reformatories, to separate first offenders from hardened criminals. Even as regards the latter, the idea is now to make confinement less a punishment than a means of developing the convict's self-respect and manhood, so that he may return to free life a useful member of society. Prison reform in the various countries has been much advanced by international congresses.

The modern attitude toward the feeble-minded and the insane contrasts sharply with earlier ideas concerning them.

Treatment of defectives

Mentally defective persons are no longer regarded with amusement or contempt, but are rather considered as pitiful victims of heredity or of circumstances for which they were not responsible. Every civilized country now provides asylums for their proper care under medical supervision. There are also special schools for the benefit of the blind and of the deaf and dumb.

A Lunatic

After an eighteenth century engraving, showing a lunatic, barefoot, scantily clothed, and chained by the neck to a wall.

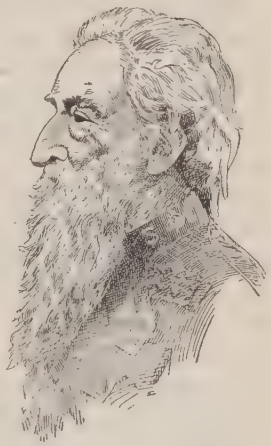
Treatment of animals

An increasing sympathy with the brute creation also characterizes our age. The British Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals was founded in 1824. Ten years later Parliament did away with bull baiting and cock fighting, which had long been favorite amusements of the lower classes, and prohibited cruel treatment of all domestic

animals. Similar legislation has been enacted on the Continent, as well as in the United States.

The crusade against alcoholism further illustrates humanitarian progress. The use of intoxicants, formerly uncondemned, more and more comes under moral reprobation, as it is realized that they form one of the most potent agencies of man's degeneration. The World War led Russia to abolish the government monopoly of vodka and other countries to restrict the consumption of alcoholic liquors. Norway and Belgium have adopted partial prohibition (excluding beer and light wines), while Finland has declared for unlimited prohibition. Abolition of the liquor traffic in the United States was long agitated by private organizations, such as the Women's Christian Temperance Union (under the presidency of Miss Frances E. Willard) and more recently by the Anti-Saloon League. Maine early adopted legal prohibition. Many states in the Middle West and the South subsequently took the same action. Prohibition sentiment became at length so strong that a constitutional amendment, forbidding the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors throughout the country, and their importation into it, was ratified in 1918–1919 by more than three-fourths of the state legislatures. This Eighteenth Amendment went into effect one year after ratification.

Abolition of the liquor traffic



William Booth

Efforts to relieve poverty and suffering have given rise to charity organization societies, associations for improving the condition of the poor, dispensaries, anti-tuberculosis leagues, fresh-air funds, and numerous other philanthropic agencies in both Europe and America. The Salvation Army was started in Great Britain by William Booth, a Methodist minister, with the idea of better-

Philanthropic agencies

ing both the physical and spiritual condition of those who are not reached by other religious bodies. The Young Men's Christian Association also arose in Great Britain. The International Red Cross Society, with headquarters at Geneva, has now become a world-wide institution for the relief of all suffering, whether caused by war or by pestilence, floods, fire, or other calamities. It is the greatest single agency at work for the amelioration of mankind.

168. Emancipation of Women and Children

Woman's position in Europe a century ago was what it had been in the Middle Ages — a position of dependence on man. She received little or no education, seldom engaged in anything but housework, and for support relied on husband, father, or brother. After marriage she became subject to her husband. In Great Britain she could neither make a will nor enter into a contract without his consent. All her possessions belonged to him. Any money that she earned or inherited was his and might be taken to pay his debts. The law even deprived her of control over her own children. Similar disabilities rested upon Continental women.

Disabilities of woman

The humanitarian sentiment evoked by the French Revolution began by freeing slave and serf, but presently demanded the emancipation of woman also. The demand received a powerful impetus from the Industrial Revolution, which opened new employments to woman outside the home and thus lessened her economic dependence on man. The agitation for woman's rights has so far succeeded that most civilized countries now permit her to own property, engage in business, and enter the professions on her own account. Her educational opportunities have also steadily widened, until to-day both elementary and higher education are open to women in most European countries.

Woman's rights

Woman suffrage scored its first victories in Scandinavia. During the decade before the World War, both Finland and Norway permitted women to vote at general elections. Den-

mark and Sweden extended voting privileges to women shortly after the outbreak of the war. The women of Holland have now received full suffrage, and those of Belgium, partial suffrage. Republican Germany, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, and Poland give women the vote. The Equal Franchise Act,[1] passed by the British Parliament in 1918, practically doubles the electorate of the United Kingdom. Australia and New Zealand also have woman suffrage.

Woman suffrage abroad

As far back as 1869, when the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution, granting suffrage to negroes, was before Congress, Miss Susan B. Anthony and her associates appealed to the legislators for the recognition of women as well. The appeal was denied. The women then organized the National Woman Suffrage Association and began a campaign of education to convince thinking people of the justice of their cause. Years passed without much apparent progress being made. Wyoming, when admitted to statehood, gave the ballot to women, and by 1918 fourteen other states had done the same. Finally, the constitutional amendment for woman suffrage (sometimes called the "Susan B. Anthony Amendment"), which had been constantly before Congress for forty years, received the approval of that body and was speedily ratified by three-fourths of the states in 1920. With its ratification the United States has established complete political democracy.

Woman suffrage in the United States

Susan B. Anthony
After a photograph taken at the age of 48.

The divorce laws of the Christian world exhibit a bewildering variety. Roman Catholic countries, including Italy and Spain (and Portugal until the recent revolution there), preserve the medieval conception of marriage as a sacrament and therefore

[1] See page 478.

do not allow divorce under any circumstances. The same is true of most Latin American states. Countries adhering to the Greek Church allow divorce. Those governed or influenced by the *Code Napoléon*, in particular, France, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, and Germany, do the same. Divorce is rare in Great Britain, as well as in Canada. The laws of the United States present no uniformity, some states permitting divorce on much easier terms than others. This country now grants more divorces than all the rest of Christendom. In general, modern legislation tends to treat marriage as a civil contract and to permit its dissolution for immorality, cruelty, desertion, habitual drunkenness, and serious crime, that is, for such behavior of one party to the contract as makes married life impossible or unbearable to the other party.

Divorce

The decline of the husband's power over his wife has been accompanied by a decline of the father's authority over his children. Among early peoples, the ancient Romans for example, the father's control of his offspring was absolute, and their liberty was often sacrificed to his despotic rule. The Roman idea of family obligations survived in Europe through the Middle Ages and still lingers in Latin countries at the present time. In Anglo-Saxon countries, on the other hand, both law and custom regard the grown-up child as independent of the father. Even his authority over minors is considered mainly in the light of guardianship. This liberal conception of paternal rights bids fair to prevail among all civilized peoples.

Emancipation of children

169. Popular Education and the Higher Learning

The schools of the Middle Ages were neither public nor free nor secular. All were private schools where pupils paid fees for their tuition, and almost all were founded and conducted by the clergy. The beginnings of popular education reach back to the Reformation era, when elementary schools, supported by general taxation, began to spring up in Germany, Holland, Scotland, and Puritan New

Popular education

England. This free common school system, which it is the glory of the reformers to have established, gradually spread throughout the United States during the nineteenth century and became entirely secular in character. Secondary education was also democratized by the founding of free high schools for both boys and girls. The advance of democratic ideas in Europe has produced a similar movement there in favor of popular education.

Public schools in Great Britain

British statesmen for a long time looked with disfavor upon projects for public schools. Education, they thought, unfits the people for manual labor and nourishes revolutionary ideas. "If a horse knew as much as a man, I should not like to be its rider," declared a peer in Parliament, when voting against an appropriation for educational purposes. After the passage of the Second Reform Act,[1] which enfranchised the working classes, the government set up for the first time a national system of instruction. Elementary education in Great Britain is now free, compulsory, and secular. Many parents, however, prefer to send their children to private institutions under the control of the Established Church. The public and private schools together have well-nigh abolished illiteracy.

Public schools in France

The French revolutionists believed with Danton that "next to bread, education is the first need of the people." They prepared an elaborate scheme for public schools, but never carried it into effect. Napoleon also aimed to set up a State system of education through primary and grammar grades to the *lycées*, or high schools. Lack of funds and of experienced lay teachers handicapped the emperor's efforts, and at the close of the Napoleonic era the majority of French children still attended private schools conducted by the Church. France waited until the 'eighties of the last century before securing a truly national system of education. In recent decades the government has appropriated large sums for educational purposes, and illiteracy is to-day practically non-existent.

[1] See page 477.

Prussia began to reorganize elementary education along modern lines as early as the reign of Frederick the Great and carried the work further after her crushing defeat by Napoleon.[1] The public school movement has made much progress in other Continental countries during recent years. The percentage of illiteracy is still high in Italy and higher still in Spain, Portugal, and the Balkan states, while in Russia most of the peasants are too ignorant to sign their names. With such exceptions, however, Europe now agrees with the United States that at least the rudiments of an education should be the birthright of every child, that common schools are the pillars of democracy.

Public schools elsewhere on the Continent

The United States has done much more than Europe in popularizing the higher learning. The American state university, with its wide curriculum of both liberal and practical subjects, is another nineteenth-century innovation. Previous to its establishment private denominational institutions prepared men for the ministry and a few other learned professions. State universities, admitting both men and women, are now found in all the American commonwealths south and west of Pennsylvania. Their work is supplemented not only by private colleges and universities, but also by the splendid benefactions associated with the names of Rockefeller and Carnegie. A university education in Europe is still commonly restricted to people of means. There is a growing tendency, however, to make the higher learning more accessible to poor but ambitious students.

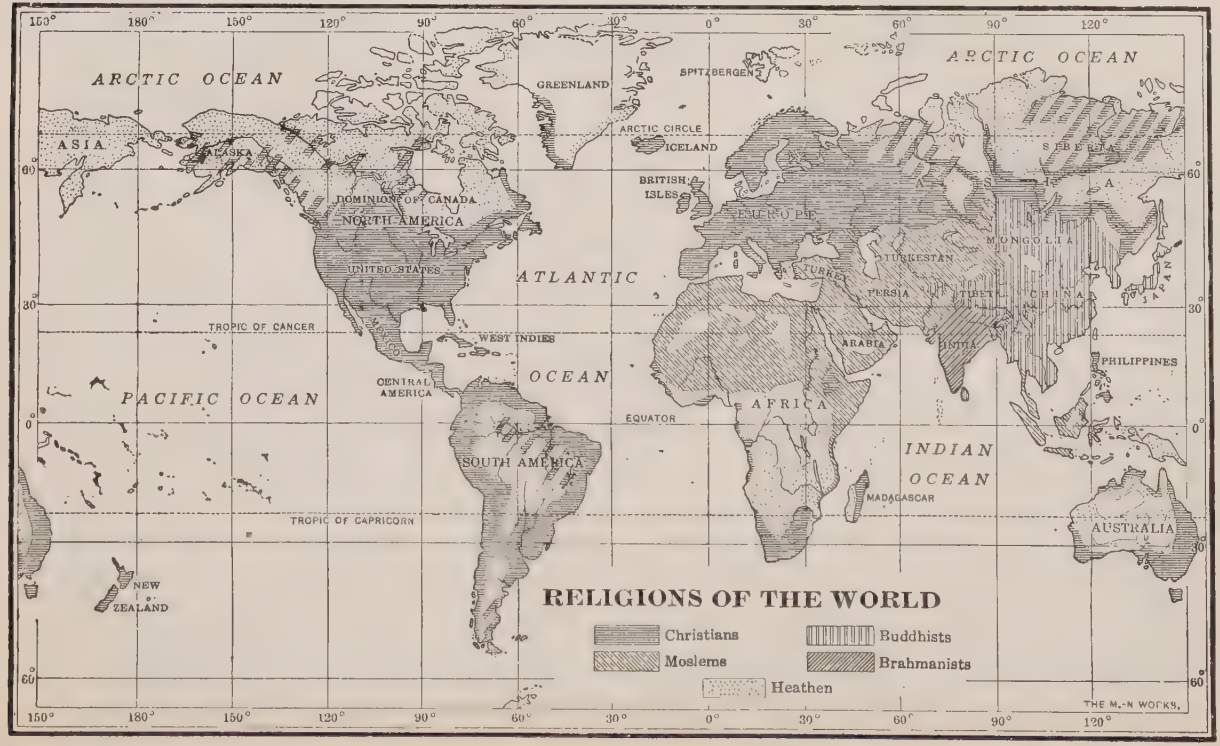
The higher learning

170. Religious Development

Few of us realize how gradually the principle of religious toleration has won acceptance in modern times. At first only certain Protestant sects, such as the Lutherans in Germany after the Peace of Augsburg and the Huguenots in France after the Edict of Nantes, enjoyed liberty of conscience and worship. Next, the same privileges were granted to all Protestant sects, as in Holland, in England

Religious toleration

[1] See page 403.


ARCTIC OCEAN
ARCTIC OCEAN
GREENLAND
SPITZBERGEN
ARCTIC CIRCLE
ICELAND
ASIA
ALASKA
SIBERIA
DOMINION OF CANADA
NORTH AMERICA
BRITISH ISLES
EUROPE
MONGOLIA
UNITED STATES
ATLANTIC
TURKESTAN
TURKEY
PERSIA
TIBET
CHINA
JAPAN
TROPIC OF CANCER
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ARABIA
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PHILIPPINES
CENTRAL AMERICA
OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
AFRICA
EQUATOR
INDIAN OCEAN
SOUTH AMERICA
MADAGASCAR
TROPIC OF CAPRICORN
AUSTRALIA
NEW ZEALAND
RELIGIONS OF THE WORLD
Christians
Buddhists
Moslems
Brahmanists
Heathen
THE M.-N WORKS.

by the Toleration Act, and in the American colonies. Finally, toleration was extended to every one, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, Christian or non-Christian. The First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States provides that Congress shall make no law prohibiting the "free exercise of religion." The French revolutionists in the Declaration of the Rights of Man also announced that no one should be disturbed on account of his religious opinions, provided he did not thereby trouble public order. Prussia secured religious toleration under Frederick the Great. It was secured in the rest of Germany and in Austria-Hungary and Italy only during the latter part of the nineteenth century. While Roman Catholicism is the prevailing faith in all the Latin American republics, freedom of worship is commonly permitted by them. It may be said, broadly, that throughout the Christian world the various countries have now abandoned the practice of compulsion in religion.

Separation of Church and State in the New World

The Church in the Middle Ages controlled, or tried to control, the State, upon the theory that temporal as well as spiritual authority is derived from the pope. The Reformation, in those countries where it succeeded, merely substituted a number of separate national churches for the one Church of Rome. To Roger Williams and William Penn in the seventeenth century belongs the honor of having established in Rhode Island and Pennsylvania, respectively, the first political communities where religious matters were taken entirely out of the hands of the civil government. The ideas of Williams and Penn found expression in the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. Congress is forbidden to make any law "respecting an establishment of religion." This means that the federal government cannot appropriate money for the support of any church. No such restriction binds the several states, but most of their constitutions repeat the federal prohibition. Church and State are absolutely separate in Canada, as well as in Mexico, Brazil, and some of the smaller Latin American countries.

The separation of Church and State prevails in Australia, South Africa, and other parts of the British Empire. The Liberal Party under Gladstone disestablished the Anglican Church in Ireland and under Lloyd George disestablished it in Wales. The French revolutionists separated Church and State, but Napoleon's Concordat with the pope again made Roman Catholicism the official religion. The Concordat was abrogated as recently as 1905, and both Catholic and Protestant bodies in France now depend entirely upon voluntary contributions for support. The Portuguese revolutionists, when founding a republic in 1910, disestablished the Roman Church, and the Russian revolutionists in 1917 disestablished the Greek (Orthodox) Church. The new constitution of republican Germany practically disestablishes the Prussian Protestant Church, whose head was the kaiser. This action has considerable significance, for before the German Revolution the Protestant Church in Prussia formed a leading prop of divine-right monarchy; altar and throne justified and blessed each other. The constitutions of Czecho-Slovakia and Poland also provide for the separation of Church and State.

Disestablishment in the Old World

The liberal movement in religion has carried further that multiplication of sects which began with the Reformation.[1] Baptists, Quakers, and Methodists arose in Great Britain during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[2] Other sects, including the Adventists, Universalists, and Disciples of Christ, and even new religions, such as Mormonism, Spiritualism, and Christian Science, have originated in the United States.

Sects

Both Freemasonry and Oddfellowship took their present form in Great Britain about two centuries ago. They now have thousands of lodges and several millions of members throughout the world. Their insistence upon religious toleration makes it possible for them to admit votaries of even non-Christian faiths, as in India.

Secret societies

Considerably over a third of the earth's peoples are Chris-

[1] See page 264. [2] See page 352.

tians. The adherents of Roman Catholicism number perhaps 275,000,000; those of the Protestant denominations, perhaps 175,000,000; and those of the Greek Church, perhaps 125,000,000. The Jews are estimated at 15,000,000. For the other world religions the following figures must be considered merely rough approximations: Moslems, 225,000,000; Brahmanists (in India), 225,000,000; Buddhists (China, Japan, Tibet, Mongolia, Indo-China), 450,000,000. In this estimate the entire populations of China and Japan are counted as Buddhists, owing to the difficulty of separating Buddhism in those countries from the national faiths.

The world religions

The conversion of the non-Christian world, including perhaps 150,000,000 heathen in Africa, Asia, Oceania, and America, is the stupendous task to which Christian peoples have addressed themselves since the Middle Ages. The work of Roman Catholic missionaries in christianizing most of the Filipinos and the Indians of Latin America and Canada was largely accomplished in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Several Protestant denominations founded missionary societies in the eighteenth century, and by the middle of the nineteenth century almost every branch of Protestantism, both in Europe and America, had representatives throughout the non-Christian world. The number of Christians attached to missions is reckoned at 10,000,000, about equally divided between Catholic and Protestant converts.

Missions

But the results of Christian missions cannot be expressed statistically. Missionaries have been well called the advance-guard of modern civilization. They establish schools and colleges, build hospitals, introduce scientific medicine and sanitation, familiarize the natives with inventions and discoveries, and often succeed in stamping out such debasing practices as cannibalism and human sacrifice. Native converts become, in turn, the means of extending the benefits of modern civilization among their countrymen. The effect of missionary enterprise is therefore enor-

Missions and civilization

mous, even when conversions are relatively few. We may safely include Christian missions among the most important of all agencies for bringing backward peoples into the common brotherhood of mankind.

171. Science

A hundred years ago, science enjoyed only a limited recognition in universities and none at all in secondary and elementary schools. The marvelous achievements of scientific men fixed public attention on their work, and courses in science began to displace the older "classical" studies. At the same time science has become an international force which recognizes no national boundaries, no distinctions of race or religion. Scientists in every land follow one another's researches; they carry on their labor in common.

Science in modern life

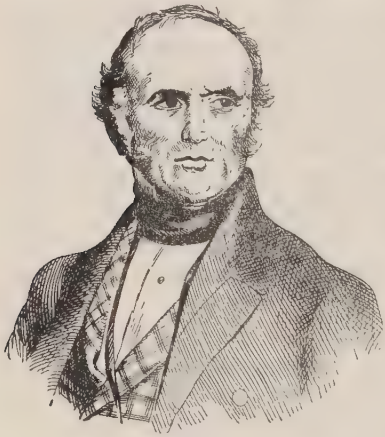
Many pages would be needed merely to enumerate the scientific discoveries of our age. The astronomer found a new planet, Neptune;[1] measured the distances of the fixed stars; and began the enormous task of photographing the heavens and cataloguing the five hundred to one thousand billion suns which form our universe. The physicist determined the velocity of light and showed that light, radiant heat, electricity, and magnetism are due to waves or undulations of the ether; are, in fact, interconvertible forms of cosmic energy. The chemist proved that matter exists in a solid, liquid, or gaseous state according to the degree of heat to which it is subjected; that it is composed of one or more of eighty-odd elements; and that these elements combine with one another in fixed proportions by weight, as when one pound of hydrogen unites with eight pounds of oxgyen to form nine pounds of water. The biologist discovered that all plants and animals, from the lowest to the highest, are made up of cells containing the transparent jelly or protoplasm which is the basis of life.

Pure science

[1] Uranus had been discovered in the eighteenth century. See page 356.

New conceptions of the earth were set forth by Sir Charles Lyell in his *Principles of Geology* (1830–1833). He explained the changes which have produced mountains, valleys, plains, lakes, sea-coasts, and other natural features, not as the result of convulsions or catastrophes, as had been previously supposed, but as due to erosion by water, the action of frost and snow, and other forces working gradually over immense periods of time. The acceptance of Lyell's uniformitarian theory, coupled with the discovery of fossils in the rocks, made it necessary to reckon the age of the earth by untold millions, instead of a few thousands, of years. The further discovery in western Europe of rude stone implements and human bones associated with the remains of extinct animals, such as the mammoth, woolly rhinoceros, and cave bear, indicated the existence of man himself at a remote period.

The uniformitarian theory



Sir Charles Lyell

After a painting by T. H. Maguire.

Extraordinary interest has been excited in recent years by the so-called relativity theory put forth by the German-Swiss physicist and mathematician, Albert Einstein. His contributions to our ideas of time and space, and to our knowledge of the world in general, are regarded as comparable in importance with those of Copernicus and Newton. Einstein conceives of the universe as four-dimensional, "time" being accepted as the fourth dimension, along with length, breadth, and height. He would explain gravitation as the effect of a warping or strain in this four-dimensional universe, due to the presence of matter in space. This explanation, if accepted, disposes of the old view of gravita-

The relativity theory

tion as a real force acting between any two bodies at a distance from each other. Einstein also rejects the hypothesis of space as filled by the mysterious ether, since such an hypothesis does not seem necessary to explain light and other electro-magnetic phenomena. He also presents another conception of the universe, which is regarded by him as continuous like any sphere but yet of finite size. The theory of relativity has already been to some extent confirmed by experiments, but its full significance cannot be grasped without the aid of the higher mathematics.

The practical applications of science are innumerable. Applied physics gave us the telegraph, telephone, electric lighting, and electric motive force. More recently, wireless telegraphy and telephony have developed from the discovery of the "Hertzian waves," or electro-magnetic vibrations in the other. In 1895 the German Röntgen discovered the X-rays, and three years later the French professor Curie, assisted by his Polish wife, obtained from the mineral called pitchblende the mysterious radium. It is a more intense producer of the X-rays than any other substance, yet wastes away with incredible slowness. Physicists have now found many other radioactive bodies and have proved that radioactivity is due to the breaking-up of atoms, which are not the indivisible entities they were once supposed to be. This revelation of vast atomic energy leads to the belief that, long before our supplies of coal and oil are exhausted, a source of unlimited power may be found in the disintegration of the atom. Applied chemistry gave us illuminating gas, friction matches, such powerful explosives as dynamite and nitroglycerine, which are produced from animal or vegetable fats, artificial fertilizers, beet sugar, aluminium, and various derivatives of coal tar, including the aniline dyes, carbolic acid, naphtha, and saccharine. The chemist now creates in his laboratory many organic substances which had previously been produced only by plants or in the bodies of animals.

Applied physics and chemistry

The practical applications of biology are seen in the germ theory of disease. The researches of the Frenchman, Louis

Pasteur, upon vegetable microörganisms (bacteria) proved that the harmful kinds are responsible for definite diseases in both plants and animals. Dr. Robert Koch of Berlin soon isolated the germs which produce tuberculosis and cholera, and during recent years those producing diphtheria, typhoid fever, influenza, pneumonia, lockjaw, bubonic plague, and other dread scourges have been identified. In some cases remedies called antitoxins are now administered to counteract the bacterial toxins or poisons. Another step in medicine is the discovery that certain diseases are spread in some one particular way. The bite of one species of mosquito causes malaria and that of another yellow fever; lice transmit typhus; the tsetse-fly carries the sleeping sickness; and fleas on rats convey the bubonic plague to man. All this new knowledge enables us to look forward with confidence to a time when contagious and infectious diseases will be eliminated from civilized countries. Meanwhile, surgery has been revolutionized by the use of anæsthetics and the introduction of antisepsis and asepsis.

Medicine and surgery

The wonderful progress of modern science has been largely due to the improvement of apparatus. The giant telescope enables the astronomer to measure the movements of stars so incredibly remote that their light rays, which we now see, started earthwards before the dawn of the Christian era. The spectroscope analyzes the constituents of the most distant heavenly bodies and proves that they are composed of the same kinds of matter as our planet. The compound microscope reveals the existence of a hitherto unsuspected realm of minute life in earth and air and water. The scientific possibilities of the photographic camera, especially in the form of moving pictures, have only recently been revealed. Science now depends on the use of precise instruments of research as much as industry depends on machinery.

Scientific apparatus

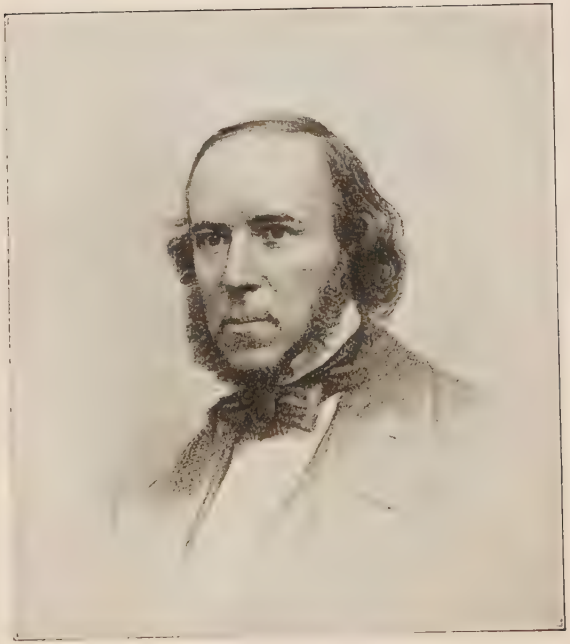
172. Literature

Since the beginning of modern times man has become more and more interested in himself; he has resolved to learn what

MADAME CURIE

LOUIS PASTEUR

IMMANUEL KANT



HERBERT SPENCER

he is, whence he came, and what he shall be. These are the old questions of philosophy. Perhaps no other great thinker has more influenced his age than Immanuel Kant (1724–1804). During a long and quiet life of lecturing and writing at the Prussian university of Königsberg, Kant produced epoch-making works in almost every field of philosophy, as well as in theology and natural science. He found the real basis of faith in God, free-will, and immortality in man's moral nature. A later and also very influential philosopher was Herbert Spencer (1820–1903). The close friend of Darwin, Spencer sought to build up a philosophic system upon evolutionary principles. The ten volumes of his *Synthetic Philosophy* form an ambitious attempt to explain the development of the universe as a whole, from the atom to the star, from the one-celled organism to man. Spencer was a pioneer in the study of psychology, that branch of philosophy dealing with the mental processes of both man and the lower animals.

Philosophy

Spencer also broke fresh ground in the study of sociology. He carried over the principle of evolution into human society, with the purpose of showing how languages, laws, religions, customs, and all other institutions naturally arise and develop among mankind. "Sociology," as the name for this new subject, had been previously introduced by the French philosopher, Auguste Comte.

Sociology

The study of history has been transformed under the influence of the sociologists. It is no longer merely a narrative in chronological order of political and military events, but rather an account of the entire culture of a people. Some historical students do not limit inquiry to civilized man, but also investigate the culture of savage and barbarous peoples, as found to-day, or once found in remote ages. History, so considered, is closely related to anthropology, one of the most fascinating of the newer branches of learning.

History and anthropology

Public schools, public libraries, and cheap books, magazines, and newspapers have multiplied readers. Literature, in consequence, is now a profession, and the successful novelist or poet may secure a world-wide audience. Sir Walter Scott did

much to give the novel popularity through his historical tales. Dickens, Thackeray, and other English writers made it a presentation of contemporary life. On the Continent, almost all the celebrated authors of the past century have been novelists. It is sufficient to mention three only, whose fame has gone out into many lands: the Frenchman Victor Hugo; the Russian Tolstoy; and the Pole Sienkiewicz.

Fiction

VICTOR HUGO
After a painting by Léon Bonnat.

The drama rivals the novel in popularity among all classes. It presents either a picture of bygone ages or scenes from everyday life. In no country does it assume more importance than in France, where the theater is considered a branch of public instruction. Much dramatic poetry, however, is written to be read, rather than for acting on the stage, for instance, the *Faust* of Goethe. Lyric poetry has been produced in all countries, notably in Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and the United States, and has become the favorite style of poetic expression.

Poetry

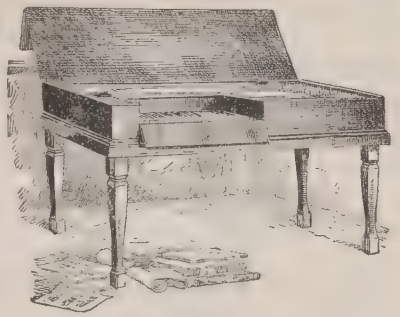
173. Music and the Fine Arts

Music now takes almost as large a place as literature in modern life. Even more than literature, it ranks as an international force, for the musician, whatever his nationality, uses a language which needs no translation to be intelligible.

Music in modern life

During medieval times music was chiefly used in the services of the Church. The Renaissance began to secularize music, so that it might express all human joy, sadness, passion, and aspiration. The secular art thus includes operas, chamber music (for rendition in a small apartment instead of in a theater or concert hall), compositions for soloists, and orchestral symphonies.

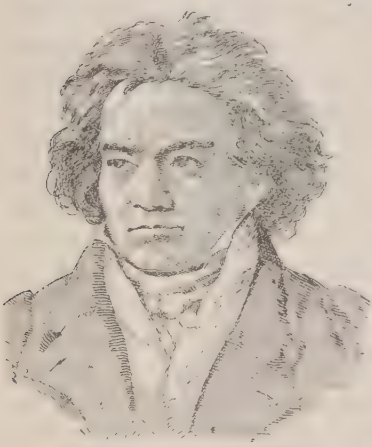
Sacred and secular music



Mozart's Spinet
Stadt Museum, Vienna
The spinet had only one string to a note, plucked by means of a quill or a plectrum of leather.

The Middle Ages knew the pipe-organ, harp, flute, drum, trumpet, and many other instruments. These were often played together, but with no other purpose than to increase the volume of sound. There was not the slightest idea of orchestration. After the Renaissance new instruments began to appear, including the violin, viols of all sizes, the slide trombone, and the clarinet. Percussion action, applied to the old-fashioned spinet and harpsichord, produced in the eighteenth century the pianoforte. The symphony, a tone poem combining all musical sounds into a harmonious whole, now began to assume its present form. The great symphonists — Haydn, Mozart, that supreme genius Beethoven, and their successors in the nineteenth century — thus created a new art to enrich the higher life of mankind.

The orchestra



Ludwig van Beethoven
After a painting by A. Kloeber, 1817.

Another master of music, Richard Wagner, created the musical drama, which unites music, poetry, and acting. Wagner believed that the singer should also be an actor and should adapt both song and gesture to the orchestra. He also gave much attention to the scenery and stagesetting, in order to heighten the dramatic effect. Wagner's most famous work, *The Ring of the Nibelung*, consists of four complete dramas based on old Teutonic legend.

The musical drama

A new source of music has been opened up in the melodies of the European peasantry — their folk songs. Almost every country in Europe is rich in these musical wild flowers, and they are now being gathered by trained collectors. Lullabies, marriage ditties, funeral dirges, and ballads are some of the varieties of folk songs.

Folk songs

Like music, sculpture illustrates the internationalism of art. The three greatest sculptors of the nineteenth century were Canova, an Italian, Thorwaldsen, a Dane, and Rodin, a Frenchman. The first two found inspiration mainly in classic statuary, which seeks ideal beauty of form; the third expressed in marble the utmost realism and naturalism. Much fine work has also been done in bronze, for instance, the statue of Abraham Lincoln[1] by St. Gaudens, who is perhaps the most eminent sculptor produced by America.

Sculpture

No century has witnessed more activity in the construction of churches, town halls, court houses, theaters, schools, and other public edifices than the nineteenth, but these have usually been reproductions of earlier buildings. Architects either went to Greece and Rome for models or imitated the Romanesque and Gothic styles. The extensive use of structural steel has now begun to produce an entirely new architectural style, more appropriate to modern needs, in the "skyscraper" of American cities. It is sometimes criticized as being "not architecture, but engineering with a stone veneer." The criticism seems hardly just in all cases. Such a structure as the Woolworth Building in New York has a beauty of its own and truly expresses the spirit of our industrial age.

Architecture

[1] See the plate facing p. 341.

Modern painters, no longer restricted to religious pictures, often choose their subjects from history or contemporary life. They excel in portraiture, and their landscape paintings unquestionably surpass the best which even the "old masters" of the Renaissance could produce. Painting flourishes especially in France, where the leading artists receive their training and exhibit their pictures at an annual exposition, the Salon at Paris.

Painting

Studies

1. What is the "international mind"? The "international conscience"? 2. Look up in an encyclopedia accounts of the Rhodes Scholarships and the Nobel Prizes. 3. What arguments are often urged against capital punishment? 4. What is the work of the Rockefeller Foundation? Of the Carnegie Institution? 5. Name and locate ten of the great European universities. 6. Prepare an oral report on the kindergarten movement in Europe and America. 7. Show that religious toleration and an established church may exist side by side. 8. What have been some of the services of missionaries in geographical exploration? 9. Why has Darwin been called "the Newton of biology"? 10. Explain the germ theory of disease. 11. Distinguish between antisepsis and asepsis. 12. How are the X-rays used in medicine and surgery? 13. Mention some of the most famous novels by Dickens, Scott, and Thackeray. 14. Have you read any novels by Victor Hugo, Tolstoy, or Sienkiewicz? 15. Name six great lyric poets of Great Britain during the nineteenth century. Can you name any of France, Germany, and Italy? 16. Mention some of the great composers of the nineteenth century. 17. "Civilization, which once was *fluvial* — as on the Nile, the Euphrates, the Ganges, the Hoang-ho; then *maritime* — as on the Persian Gulf, the Ægean, the Mediterranean, the Yellow Sea; then *oceanic* — as was possible after Columbus and Magellan; has lately become *planetary*." Comment on this statement.

CHAPTER XIX

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, 1871–1914[1]

174. The Triple Alliance

MODERN civilization, which on the one side creates an international current drawing the world's peoples together in art, literature, science, and industry, on the other side creates a national current tending to keep them apart. Internationalism or cosmopolitanism lays stress on our common humanity, on the brotherhood of man. Nationalism or patriotism emphasizes love of country and devotion to the "fatherland." National rivalries and antipathies were never stronger than in the nineteenth century, and in the twentieth century they brought forth the calamitous World War.

National rivalries and antipathies

The national movement in Europe, we have learned, arose during the revolutionary and Napoleonic era, helped to produce the popular revolts between 1815 and 1830, and assumed special importance between 1848 and 1871, when both Italy and Germany won by the sword their long-desired unification. The creation of a united Italy, and especially of a united Germany, quite upset the delicate equilibrium of European politics as established at the Congress of Vienna. The old balance of power disappeared, for the German Empire, from the hour of its birth, took the first place on the Continent.

Primacy of Germany on the Continent

Bismarck's former policy of "blood and iron" had resulted in the wars with Denmark, Austria, and France. Now that Germany was "satiated," as he declared, he became a man of peace. His policy, henceforth, hinged upon France. The catastrophe of the Franco-German War seemed to remove that country from the

Franco-German relations

[1] Webster, *Historical Source Book*, No. 28, "Peace Circular of Nicholas II. 1898"; No. 29, "Final Act of the First Hague Peace Conference, 1899."

EUROPE
IN 1871 A.D.
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500
20° Longitude West 10°
0°
10° Longitude 20° East from 30° Greenwich 40°
50°
60°
FAROE IS.
SHETLAND IS.
ORKNEY IS.
HEBRIDES
SCOTLAND
Glasgow
Edinburgh
BRITISH ISLES
Belfast
Dublin
Irish Sea
IRELAND
Cork
Plymouth
Lands End
Newcastle
Manchester
ENGLAND
WALES
Birmingham
London
Dover
Calais
English Channel
Brussels
Amsterdam
HOLLAND
BELGIUM
Luxemburg
Metz
Strassburg
Paris
Brest
Orleans
Seine
Loire
FRANCE
Bay of Biscay
Bordeaux
Garonne
Bayonne
Lyons
Geneva
Bern
Basel
SWITZERLAND
Milan
Turin
Genoa
Florence
Nice
Marseilles
Barcelona
CORSICA
ELBA
Rome
Naples
SARDINIA
Cagliari
Palermo
SICILY
Catania
MALTA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
C. Ortegal
C. Finisterre
Coruña
Oporto
Lisbon
PORTUGAL
Duero
Tagus
Guadiana
SPAIN
Madrid
C. St. Vincent
Cadiz
Gibraltar
Cartagena
BALEARIC IS.
MINORCA
MAJORCA
IVIZA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
AFRICA
NORWAY
Bergen
Christiania
Christiansand
Göteborg
DENMARK
Copenhagen
HELGOLAND
Kiel
Hamburg
Bremen
Elbe
Berlin
GERMANY
Leipzig
Cologne
Dresden
Frankfort
Prague
Munich
Vienna
Buda
Pest
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
Trieste
Venice
ITALY
ADRIATIC SEA
Sarajevo
SERBIA
Belgrade
RUMANIA
Bukharest
Danube
Varna
Sofia
Cetigne
MONTE NEGRO
TURKEY
Scutari
Adrianople
Salonika
Gallipoli
Brindisi
Aegean Sea
Athens
GREECE
IONIAN IS.
CRETE
CYPRUS
Smyrna
ASIA MINOR
Trebizond
Batum
Constantinople
BLACK SEA
Sevastopol
Crimea
Sea of Azov
Odessa
Galatz
Taganrog
Rostov
Don
Kharkov
Kiev
Dnieper
Dniester
Lemberg
Cracow
Warsaw
Danzig
Konigsberg
Vilna
Minsk
Dunaburg
Duna
Vitebsk
Smolensk
Moscow
Orel
Penza
Volga
Ural
Uralsk
Caspian Sea
RUSSIA
Vologda
Viatka
Novgorod
St. Petersburg
Lake Ladoga
Lake Onega
Helsingfors
Gulf of Bothnia
ALAND IS.
Stockholm
SWEDEN
GOTHLAND
BALTIC SEA
Riga
Kiev
THE M.-N. CO., BUFFALO, N.Y.

ranks of the great powers, but she recovered rapidly under a republican government and soon paid off the indemnity imposed upon her by the Treaty of Frankfort. But France was not reconciled to the loss of Alsace and Lorraine.[1] The annexation of these two provinces kept alive the spirit of revenge in France and made her Germany's irreconcilable enemy. The French in 1870–1871 had fought alone; should they secure the support of Austria-Hungary, Italy, or Russia, the issue of a second Franco-German War might be quite unlike that of the first. Accordingly, Bismarck did all he could to keep France friendless among the nations.

The "Iron Chancellor" turned first to Austria-Hungary. He had prepared the way for good relations by his moderation in arranging terms of peace with Francis Joseph I at the close of the "Seven Weeks' War."[2] After 1871 the Hapsburgs began to seek compensation in the Balkans for the territory which they had lost in Germany and Italy. Bismarck supported their pretensions at the Congress of Berlin. Here the "honest broker," as he called himself, successfully opposed the extension of Russian influence in the Balkan Peninsula and agreed to an Austrian occupation of the Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina.[3] In 1879 Germany and Austria-Hungary made a secret alliance binding themselves to aid each other if either should be attacked by Russia or by another power which had the help of Russia.

Germany and Austria-Hungary

Bismarck scored a further triumph in 1882, when he induced Italy to throw in her lot with Germany and Austria-Hungary, thus forming the Triple Alliance. Italy took this action, partly to secure good friends on the Continent, but chiefly because of resentment against France, which had just established a protectorate over Tunis, a region marked for Italian colonization. Rumania also joined the group of Central Powers in 1883. The Triple Alliance continued unbroken until Italy declared war against Austria-Hungary. Rumania likewise repudiated it, upon entering the World War.

Germany and Italy

Bismarck also did his best to convince Russia of Germany's

[1] See page 466. [2] See page 463. [3] See page 536.

"Dropping the Pilot"

A cartoon by Sir John Tenniel which appeared in the English journal *Punch* for March 9, 1890.

good will. During the 'eighties the two countries actually bound themselves to benevolent neutrality in case one or the other should be assailed. This "reinsurance compact" was secretly signed in 1884 and was renewed three years later. But William II, who forced Bismarck's retirement in 1890,[1] did not continue the friendly understanding with Russia. The kaiser seems to have believed that the Triple Alliance sufficiently guaranteed the security of Germany and that the "reinsurance compact" would interfere with Germany's obligations to Austria-Hungary, whose rivalry with Russia in the Balkans had now become more acute than ever.

Germany and Russia

175. The Dual Alliance and the Triple Entente

The creation of the Triple Alliance was a challenge to France and Russia to form an opposing alliance. Bismarck's diplomatic skill had postponed it as long as he remained chancellor, but even before 1890 the two countries had begun to draw together. An alliance between them seemed very improbable, in view of the fact that they had fought each other bitterly in the Napoleonic and Crimean wars and of the further fact that one was a revolutionary republic and the other a reactionary autocracy. International politics sometimes makes strange bedfellows, however. Feelings of both revenge and fear stirred France: revenge for the humiliating defeats of 1870–1871 and the loss of Alsace-Lorraine; fear lest with the rapid increase of German wealth, population,

Franco-Russian relations

[1] See page 519.

and military power she might be suddenly attacked and overwhelmed by her Teutonic neighbor. Under Bismarck, Germany had pursued a peaceful policy; what would be her policy under the kaiser no one could say. In any case, mighty Russia seemed a most desirable ally. Russia, on her part, now realized more keenly the conflict between her interests in the Balkans and the interests of Germany's ally, Austria-Hungary; she held Germany responsible for her failure at the Congress of Berlin; and she, too, felt alarm at the growing preponderance of Germany in European affairs. The time was obviously ripe for a Franco-Russian understanding.

The Dual Alliance, 1891

Close relations between France and Russia began in the financial sphere, when the tsar's government, in order to build the Trans-Siberian Railway and develop Russian industries, sold large blocks of securities to French investors. A secret treaty between the two countries was concluded in 1891 and was publicly announced four years later. The precise terms of the treaty are unknown. Apparently, France and Russia agreed that in case either nation was attacked the other nation would come to its assistance, and that peace should be made in concert. The Dual Alliance, like the Triple Alliance, thus appears to have been a defensive undertaking on the part of the powers concerned. France no longer stood alone, and Germany on her eastern flank had a potential enemy. It was the "nightmare coalition" so feared by Bismarck.

Isolation of Great Britain

Ever since the Crimean War Great Britain had kept aloof from Continental entanglements. She was no friend either of France or Russia, for the colonial aspirations of these powers, the one in Africa and the other in Asia, clashed with her own. Lord Salisbury,[1] Disraeli's successor as leader of the Conservative Party during the last two decades of the nineteenth century, continued the traditional Francophobe and Russophobe policies of Great Britain.

Toward Germany and the other members of the Triple

[1] Prime minister, 1885–1886, 1886–1892, and 1895–1902.

Alliance the British attitude was most amicable throughout the period of Bismarck's chancellorship. To avoid giving offense to Great Britain Bismarck scrupulously observed Belgian neutrality during the war of 1870–1871, and for the same reason he long opposed the acquisition of colonies by Germany. The supposed kinship of Germans and Anglo-Saxons and the close connections of the German and British courts (William II was a grandson of Queen Victoria) also made for good relations between the two countries. Nevertheless, as the 'nineties advanced, Great Britain and Germany began to draw apart. One reason was the amazing industrial development of Germany, which by this time had made her a serious competitor of Great Britain in foreign markets. Another reason was the aggressive colonial policy of Germany and her apparent intention of founding a world empire rivaling that of Great Britain. But the most important reason was Germany's declared purpose to build up a great navy as well as a great army. To the average Britisher the new German navy seemed a dagger pointed at his country's heart. The sympathetic attitude of the kaiser and his associates towards the Boers, both before and during the South African War, further disturbed the serenity of Anglo-German relations.

Anglo-German relations

The early years of the twentieth century saw Great Britain emerge from her isolation, which some described as "splendid" but others as "dangerous," and seek new friendships on the Continent. The first step was reconciliation with France. The two nations found it possible to adjust their conflicting claims in Africa and to arrive at a "cordial understanding" (*entente cordiale*). This was not a formal alliance; it did not provide for military measures, either of defense or of offense; nor did it have special reference to Germany or any other Continental power. The significance of the *entente cordiale* lay in the fact that it healed the ancient feuds between the two nations and prepared the way for their closer coöperation in the future.

The entente cordiale, 1904

Three years later Great Britain and Russia, who for half a century had jealously watched each other's expansion in Asia, composed their differences. The Anglo-Russian Convention[1] settled the troublesome questions relating to Persia, Afghanistan, and Tibet in a manner satisfactory to both powers. The *entente cordiale* thus became transformed into a Triple Entente, for Russia was already an ally of France. Japan, a British ally since 1902,[2] also reached an understanding with Russia in regard to their respective spheres of influence in the Far East.

The Triple Entente, 1907

The change in international relations which made Great Britain an actual ally of Japan and a potential ally of France and Russia, has been called a diplomatic revolution. Its significance was not lost on Germany. While British statesmen believed that they were only preparing defensive measures against a possible German attack, most Germans pictured Great Britain as plotting their country's ruin. The rift between the two nations steadily widened; by 1914 it had become a chasm.

The diplomatic revolution

Such, in outline, was the tangled skein of European diplomacy for nearly forty years following the Franco-German War. The Triple Alliance under Bismarck's guidance had dominated Europe without a competitor, before the creation of the Dual Alliance. Something like a balance of power then replaced the earlier primacy of Germany. The old coalition, however, continued to be far stronger than the new, until Great Britain aligned herself with France and Russia. Germany, resentful at what she described as the "encirclement policy" of her enemies, at the "iron ring" which she professed to see being forged around her, now bent every effort to break up the Triple Entente by diplomatic action and by military threats. At the same time she tried to create a "Middle Europe" which, with its annexes in Asia, would effectually separate Great Britain and France from their Russian ally. These German projects raised new colonial problems and reopened the Eastern Question.

Balance of power

[1] See page 552.

[2] See page 563.

176. Colonial Problems

Nationalism and imperialism

Something has been said in a previous chapter about the Greater Europe which arose during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. European expansion went on most rapidly after 1871, when one country after another endeavored to form an empire overseas. This new imperialism was especially fostered by the revival of national sentiment in Europe. Both Italy and Germany wished to obtain colonial dependencies where their people could settle and maintain the language, customs, and traditions of the home land. France sought compensation for her "Lost Provinces" by acquiring African possessions. Russia, Japan, and the United States annexed additional territories. Great Britain, the leading colonial power in the world for more than a century, took renewed pride in her dominions and prepared to extend them as occasion offered. European peoples could not compete for markets, trading-posts, spheres of influence, protectorates, and colonies in every part of the world without becoming as bitter rivals abroad as they were at home. Imperialism, as well as nationalism, thus sowed the seeds of future conflict between them.

Germany's "place in the sun"

A late-comer in the family of nations, Germany found that the best regions for colonization in the temperate zone already belonged to other powers. The colonies which she acquired in Africa and Oceania did not attract settlers, provided no important markets, and imposed a heavy burden on the imperial treasury for maintenance. If Germany was to secure "a place in the sun," [1] it could only be at the expense of other countries and by reliance upon "the good German sword." [2] William II made preparations for the partition of China, but the uprising of the Chinese under the "Boxers" led to the abandonment of this enterprise. He tried to get a foothold in South America by sending his warships to demand from Venezuela the payment of German debts, only to be pulled up sharply by President Roosevelt, who concentrated the American fleet in the West Indies and in-

[1] The kaiser's phrase (1901). [2] The crown prince's phrase (1903).

voked the Monroe Doctrine. Not more successful was the kaiser's policy in Morocco.

Morocco at the beginning of the twentieth century was a Moslem state inhabited by half-civilized and very unruly tribes. The rich natural resources of the country and its proximity to Algeria made it an inviting field for French expansion. Germany also had some economic interests there. William II precipitated the first Moroccan crisis, at a time when Russia, the ally of France, was involved in war with Japan. He paid a visit to the native ruler, openly flouted the French claims, and asserted in vigorous language the independence of Morocco. France could not afford to accept the challenge thus flung in her face and agreed to submit the matters in dispute to an international conference, which met at Algeciras, Spain, in 1906. The assembled powers prohibited the annexation of Morocco, but left France free to continue her policy of "peaceful penetration." The outcome of the conference thus proved disappointing to the kaiser.

First Moroccan crisis, 1905–1906

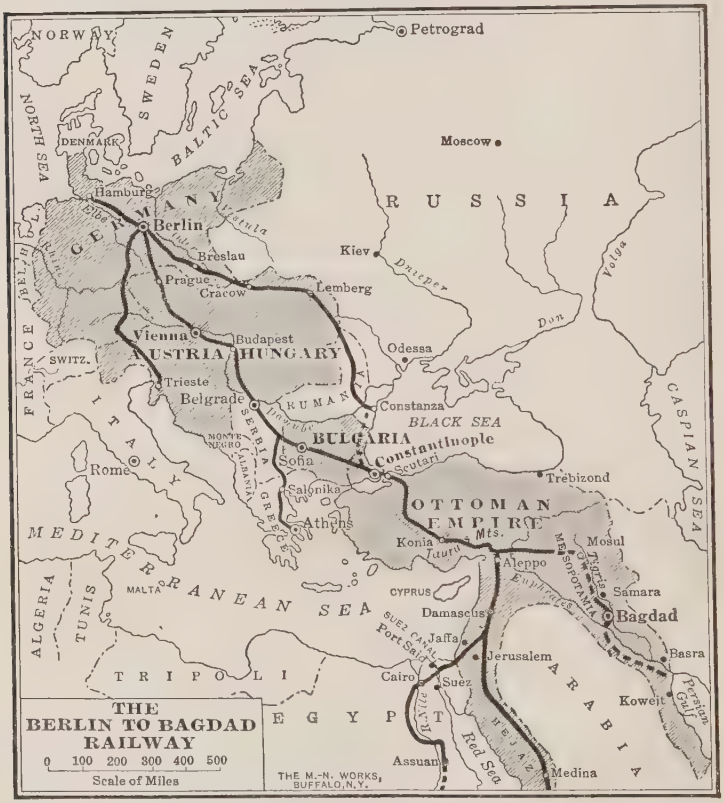
Germany soon found another occasion to test the strength of the Anglo-French *entente*. Owing to the anarchy in Morocco, a French army had occupied the capital (Fez). The kaiser at once dispatched a warship to Agadir on the Moroccan coast, as a notice to France to withdraw her troops. Feeling mounted high in both countries, and Europe for the moment seemed to be on the verge of the long-dreaded war. Great Britain, however, made common cause with France, for Agadir in German hands and converted into a naval base would have formed a palpable threat to British trade routes in the Atlantic. Germany now decided to yield. She agreed to the establishment of a French protectorate over Morocco, accepting as compensation some territory in the French Congo. This "Agadir incident" further embittered international relations. The French regarded their Congo cession as so much blackmail levied by Germany; the Germans looked upon Great Britain's support of France as an unwarranted interference which had inflicted upon them a diplomatic defeat.

Second Moroccan crisis, 1911

177. The Eastern Question

Bismarck had treated the whole Eastern Question with contempt, declaring it "not worth the bones of a single Pomeranian grenadier." Under William II, however, Germany managed to supplant Great Britain as the protector of the Ottoman Empire against Russia. The

Germany and Turkey



kaiser twice visited the sultan,[1] a bloodthirsty despot whose massacres of Bulgarians and Armenians had aroused the horror of Christian Europe, and ostentatiously proclaimed himself the champion of all Moslems, the ally of Allah.

[1] Abdul Hamid II ("Abdul the Damned"), 1876–1909. See page 537.

Germany now began the "peaceful penetration" of Asiatic Turkey. The fertile regions of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, sparsely settled and undeveloped, offered many opportunities for the investment of German capital, markets for German goods, and homes for the superfluous population of Germany. Economic exploitation was to be followed by military and political control of the Ottoman Empire, with Germany in command of the Turkish armies and supreme throughout the wide area from the Black Sea to the Indian Ocean. All these dazzling possibilities were foreshadowed in the scheme for a railway intended to unite Constantinople with Bagdad and the head of the Persian Gulf. Nearly all the line as far as Bagdad had been completed by the opening of the World War. German capitalists also began to construct a branch line running from Aleppo in Syria to Medina and Mecca in Arabia. It is obvious that the Bagdad Railway, with its connections, menaced the position of Great Britain in India and British control of Egypt and the Suez Canal.

The Bagdad Railway

The practical annexation of Asiatic Turkey formed only a part of the kaiser's ambitious policy. European Turkey, the Balkan states, and Austria-Hungary were to unite with Germany into a huge combination for purposes of offense and defense. "Middle Europe" might ultimately draw within its embrace Holland, the Scandinavian states, and a projected Polish kingdom to include almost the entire manufacturing area of Russia. German commerce would exploit and German militarism would dominate every one of these countries.

"Middle Europe"

The success of the "Middle Europe" project depended upon the attitude of the independent Christian states of the Balkans. It was essential that they should be amenable to German, or at least to Austro-Hungarian, influence and that the influence of Russia should be entirely eliminated from their councils. Dynastic relationships seemed to make this possible. Prince (afterwards Tsar) Ferdinand of Bulgaria was a German; King Charles of Rumania was the kaiser's kinsman; and the wife of the future King Constantine of Greece was the kaiser's

Germany and the Balkan states

sister. Even Serbia had a pro-Austrian ruler until 1903, when a revolution of Belgrade brought to the throne King Peter, who leaned toward Russia. The Balkan policy of the Central Powers consequently received a setback, for Serbia lay on the line of the railway from Berlin to Constantinople.

Events now moved rapidly in the Balkans. Taking advantage of the Young Turk Revolution,[1] Austria-Hungary in 1908 proceeded to annex Bosnia and Herzegovina. These two provinces had been freed from the direct control of the Turks by Serbia and Russia, during the Russo-Turkish War of the 'seventies, but the Congress of Berlin had handed them over to Austria-Hungary to occupy and administer.[2] Their annexation, violating the Berlin settlement, raised a storm of protests in Serbia. The people of Bosnia and Herzegovina are Slavs, and Serbia expected some day to incorporate them and the Montenegrins in a South Slavic state stretching from the Danube to the Adriatic. Russia also seethed with indignation at what she considered an affront to Slavic peoples by a Teutonic power. Russian troops now began to move toward the Austrian border. At this moment Germany ranged herself by the side of Austria-Hungary "in shining armor," as the kaiser afterwards expressed it, and dared Russia to attack her ally. Both France and Great Britain refused to join Russia in a general European war, and that country, not yet recovered from the struggle with Japan, thereupon gave way, withdrew her support from Serbia, and looked on in deep humiliation while the Central Powers proceeded to reap the fruits of their diplomatic triumph.

First Balkan crisis, 1908

The First Balkan War (1912–1913) produced another international crisis. Early in the course of the struggle the Serbians seized Durazzo, a port in the Turkish province of Albania, in order to gain access to the Adriatic. The Montenegrins also captured Scutari, another important Albanian town. Austria-Hungary would not consent to these annexations, which barred her own expansion to the southeast, and demanded that Durazzo and Scutari be evacu-

Second Balkan crisis, 1912–1913

[1] See page 537.

[2] See page 536.

ated. Germany, as before, backed her ally. A general European war again seemed very near, until Serbia and Montenegro yielded to the pressure put upon them by the great powers and gave up their conquests. The result was the formation of a new Albanian state with a German prince as its ruler and under German influence. The Central Powers had won a second diplomatic triumph in the Balkans.

The outcome of the Second Balkan War (1913), however, profoundly disappointed the Central Powers. The Treaty of Bukharest[1] left Germany's vassal, Turkey, with only a footing in Europe; it humiliated Bulgaria, the friend of Austria-Hungary; and it planted a hostile Serbia squarely in Macedonia, where she blocked the "Middle Europe" scheme. Even before the treaty had been signed, Austria-Hungary made ready to attack Serbia, but held her hand when Italy refused to coöperate, on the ground that the terms of the Triple Alliance required its members to aid each other only in the case of a defensive war. Germany also seems to have dissuaded Austria-Hungary from undertaking her perilous adventure in 1913. The hour had not yet struck to precipitate a European conflict. Meanwhile, the Central Powers feverishly hastened military preparations, and the other countries, seeing the war clouds on the horizon, likewise took steps to increase their arms and armies.

The Balkan situation in 1913

178. Militarism

Between 1871 and 1914 there were wars in the Balkans, in Asia, and in Africa. The nations of western Europe, however, did not draw the sword against one another for more than forty years. Yet at no other period had there been such enormous expenditures for armaments, such huge standing armies, and such colossal navies. Western Europe enjoyed peace, but it was an "armed peace" based upon fear.

"Armed peace"

The improvements in weapons in the latter part of the nineteenth century made warfare a branch of applied science

[1] See page 538.

requiring expert technical knowledge both on the battle-field and in the munition factory. One needs only refer to the breech-loading rifle, machine gun, and smokeless powder, together with the continuous enlargement of cannon and the use of long-range, high-explosive projectiles. In death-dealing efficiency these new means of

New means of destruction

"THE BLESSINGS OF PEACE"

"Hans and Jacques (together): 'And I hear there's more to come!'" A cartoon that appeared in *Punch*, February 26, 1913.

destruction threw all previous inventions into the shade. Having created modern civilization, science seemed ready to destroy it.

The changed methods of fighting demanded the "nation in arms," rather than the old-fashioned armies composed of

volunteers and mercenaries. As early as the eighteenth century, European monarchs began to draft soldiers from among their subjects, but at first only artisans and peasants. During the revolutionary era France resorted to forced levies, allowing, however, many exemptions. Prussia went further during the Napoleonic era and adopted universal military service, as well in time of peace as in time of war. All able-bodied men were to receive several years' training in the army and then pass into the reserve, whence they could be called to the colors upon the outbreak of hostilities. This Prussian system, having proved its worth in the War of Liberation against Napoleon,[1] was extended by William I soon after his accession to the throne.[2] The speedy triumphs of Prussia in 1866 and 1870 led all the principal nations, except Great Britain, to adopt universal military service. Europe thus became an "armed camp," with five million men constantly under arms.

Standing armies

Great Britain found sufficient protection in her fleet, which it had long been the British policy to maintain at a strength at least equal to that of any two other powers. Her widespread empire depends upon control of the seas, and, being no longer self-supporting, she would face starvation in time of war were she blockaded by an enemy. Germany, however, would not acquiesce in British maritime supremacy, and under the inspiration of the kaiser, who declared that the "trident must be in our hands," started in 1898 to build a mighty navy. Helgoland,[3] off the mouth of the Elbe, was converted into a naval base, a second Gibraltar. The Kiel Canal, originally completed in 1896, was reconstructed in 1914 to allow the passage of the largest warships between the Baltic and the North Sea. Great Britain watched these preparations with unconcealed dismay. Her answer was the complete reorganization of the British fleet, the scrapping of nearly two hundred vessels as obsolete, and the laying-down of dreadnoughts and super-dreadnoughts. The naval rivalry threatened

Navies

[1] See page 403.

[2] See page 460.

[3] Acquired by Great Britain in 1815 and ceded to Germany in 1890.

to become so enormously expensive that British statesmen twice proposed a "naval holiday," that is, an agreement to keep down the rate of increase. But Germany refused to enter into an arrangement which would have left Great Britain still mistress of the seas.

The crushing burden of standing armies and navies produced a popular agitation in many countries to abolish warfare. The movement took practical shape as the result of a proposal by Nicholas II for an international conference, which should arrange a general disarmament. The tsar's rescript of 1898 was a telling indictment of militarism in these words: "The preservation of peace has been put forward as the object of international policy. In its name the great states have concluded between themselves powerful alliances; the better to guarantee peace, they have developed their military forces in proportions hitherto unprecedented, and still continue to increase them without shrinking from any sacrifice. All these efforts, nevertheless, have not yet been able to bring about the beneficent results of the desired pacification. . . . In proportion as the armaments of each power increase, do they less and less fulfill the objects which the governments have set before themselves. Economic crises, due in great part to the system of armaments *à outrance*,[1] and the continual danger which lies in this accumulation of war material, are transforming the 'armed peace' of our days into a crushing burden which the peoples have more and more difficulty in bearing. It appears evident, then, that if this state of things continues, it will inevitably lead to the very cataclysm which it is desired

Peace rescript of Nicholas II, 1898

Nicholas II

[1] "To the utmost."

to avert, and the horrors of which make every thinking being shudder in anticipation."

As the result of the tsar's rescript, delegates from twenty-six sovereign states met in 1899 at The Hague, Holland, in the First Peace Conference. A Second Peace Conference of forty-four sovereign states assembled in 1907. Attempts were made at these gatherings to mitigate the horrors of future wars, for instance, by prohibiting the use of asphyxiating gases and "dumdum" bullets and the dropping of projectiles from balloons. Every proposal to reduce armaments encountered, however, the strenuous opposition of Germany. The German government would not abandon those deep-laid schemes for conquest, first in Europe and ultimately throughout the world, which are summed up in one word — Pan-Germanism.

Peace conferences

179. Pan-Germanism

The material development of Germany between 1871 and 1914 was perhaps unparalleled in European history. Her population increased from forty-one to sixty-five millions; her foreign trade more than trebled; and she became an industrial state second in Europe only to Great Britain. Proud of their army, navy, and police, of their handsome, well-ordered cities, of their technical schools and universities, of their science, literature, music, and art, the Germans came to believe that they enjoyed a higher culture (*Kultur*) than any other people. The Russians, by comparison, were barbarians; the French and Italians decadent; and the British and Americans, mere money-grabbers. "We are the salt of the earth," the kaiser told his countrymen. Such ideas found a fertile soil in the exaggerated nationalism which had been fostered by the creation of the German Empire.

Kultur and nationalism

The ardent belief in the superiority of German *Kultur* seemed to impose the duty of extending it to alien and therefore inferior peoples. This was Germany's divine mission, according to her philosophers, historians, clergymen, and government officials. Even the kaiser could say in all

Kultur and imperialism

seriousness that "God has called us to civilize the world; we are the missionaries of human progress."

Before the world could be remade upon the German model, it had to be first conquered. Both backward and "decadent" nations possessed their own standards of civilization, which they would not willingly abandon even for Germany's so-called beneficent *Kultur*. World-power, in fact, meant war. Accordingly, the leaders of German society labored in press and school and pulpit to prove that war is a holy and righteous thing; that it corresponds in the life of nations to the "struggle for existence" [1] in animal life; and that by war the weaker, incompetent states are weeded out and room is made for those stronger, more efficient states which alone deserve to inherit the earth. At the same time the people were led to consider war inevitable because of the hostile attitude of Russia, the "Slavic peril"; because France wanted revenge for her "Lost Provinces"; and because Great Britain only awaited a favorable opportunity to take the German navy and stifle German commerce. It was taught that Germany ought not to delay until her enemies were ready for a combined attack; she should attack first and reap the advantage of her military preparedness. This idea of an offensive-defensive war particularly appealed to a people who owed their national greatness to successful conflicts deliberately incurred by unscrupulous rulers.

Kultur and militarism

The autocratic nature of the German government, vesting the control of foreign affairs so largely with the emperor,[2] made the egotistical, domineering personality of William II a very important factor in the international situation. The kaiser inherited the warlike traditions of Frederick the Great and William I; and even the shadowy claims to universal dominion put forth during the Middle Ages by the Holy Roman Emperors. His public utterances for thirty years were a constant glorification of war and conquest. One of his first speeches after mounting the throne had an ominous sound: "I solemnly vow always to be mindful of the fact that

The kaiser

[1] See page 642. [2] See page 513.

EUROPE
IN 1914 A.D.
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500
20° Longitude West 10°
0°
10° Longitude 20° East from 30° Greenwich 40°
50°
60°
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BLACK SEA
AFRICA
FAROE IS.
SHETLAND IS.
ORKNEY IS.
HEBRIDES
SCOTLAND
BRITISH ISLES
IRELAND
ENGLAND
WALES
Glasgow
Edinburgh
Belfast
Newcastle
Liverpool
Manchester
Dublin
Irish Sea
Cork
Plymouth
Lands End
London
Birmingham
Amsterdam
Dover
Calais
Antwerp
Ghent
Brussels
Luxemburg
English Chan.
Havre
Brest
Paris
Orleans
Metz
Strassburg
Loire
Seine
Bay of Biscay
Bordeaux
Garonne
Rhône
Lyons
Geneva
Turin
Genoa
Milan
Venice
Bern
Basel
Zurich
Munich
Bayonne
Marseilles
Nice
Florence
Rome
Naples
Brindisi
Cagliari
Palermo
Catania
Sicily
Malta
Barcelona
Valencia
Cartagena
Gibraltar
Cadiz
Lisbon
Madrid
Tagus
Guadiana
Duero
Ebro
Oporto
Coruña
C. Ortegal
C. Finisterre
C. St. Vincent
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
FRANCE
SWITZERLAND
ITALY
CORSICA
ELBA
SARDINIA
BALEARIC IS.
MINORCA
MAJORCA
IVIZA
Bergen
Christiania
Christiansand
NORWAY
SWEDEN
Goteborg
DENMARK
Copenhagen
Kiel
Hamburg
Bremen
Berlin
GERMANY
Leipzig
Dresden
Cologne
Frankfort
Prague
Danzig
Königsberg
Warsaw
Cracow
Lemberg
Vienna
Buda Pest
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
Trieste
Sarajevo
Cetigne
Scutari
Durazzo
Salonika
Gallipoli
Adrianople
Philippopolis
Sofia
BULGARIA
Varna
Bukharest
Galatz
Belgrade
Nish
SERBIA
ALBANIA
RUMANIA
Danube
Constantinople
Scutari
Smyrna
Athens
GREECE
CRETE
CYPRUS
Aegean Sea
IONIAN IS.
Gulf of Bothnia
ALAND IS.
Helsingfors
Stockholm
GOTHLAND
Riga
Dunaburg
Vilna
Duna
Vitebsk
Smolensk
Minsk
Kiev
Dnieper
Odessa
Kharkov
Taganrog
Rostov
Don
Crimea
Sevastopol
Sea of Azov
Caspian Sea
Volga
Ural
Uralsk
Penza
Moscow
Orel
Vologda
Viatka
Novgorod
St. Petersburg
Lake Ladoga
Lake Onega
RUSSIA
Trebizond
Erzerum
Batum
TURKEY
ASIA MINOR
THE M.-N. WORKS, BUFFALO, N.Y.

the eyes of my ancestors are looking down upon me from the other world, and that one day I shall have to render to them an account both of the glory and the honor of the army." And on another occasion he said: "It is the soldiers and the army, not parliamentary majorities, that have welded the German Empire together. My confidence rests upon the army."

During the earlier years of his reign the kaiser seemed to find sufficient outlet for his restless energy in the development of Germany. The task lost its novelty and interest after a time, and he turned his uneasy gaze outside the empire to the aggrandizement of Germany abroad. More and more he came to be in sympathy with the aggressive policies advocated by the German militaristic class. It included the army and navy officers, both active and retired; the large landowners (*Junkers*); the merchant princes, bankers, and manufacturers; the university professors, diplomats, and higher government officials — all, in short, who expected to profit from a greater and enormously more wealthy Germany. These men organized in 1890 the Pan-German League, which soon became the most powerful political organization in the empire.

The Pan-German League

The Pan-Germans thought that they could conquer Europe, nation by nation. They expected to overwhelm France by a sudden blow, capture Paris, seize the former Franche-Comté and what remained of French Lorraine,[1] together with the Channel ports, take the French colonies, and levy an indemnity large enough to pay the expenses of the war. Then they intended to turn against Russia and annex her Polish and Baltic provinces. Their Austrian ally, meanwhile, would overrun Serbia and open the German "corridor" to the Orient. Once mistress of the Continent, Germany might look forward confidently to the issue of a future struggle with Great Britain and the British Empire for the dominion of the world.

The Pan-German program

Every preparation was made, every precaution was taken, to insure a prompt, decisive victory. By the summer of 1914,

[1] Once part of the Holy Roman Empire. See page 299.

a special war tax, to be expended on fortifications and equipment, had been collected. The army had been much increased. Enormous stocks of munitions had been accumulated. The Kiel Canal had been reconstructed. Strategic railways leading to the Belgian, French, and Russian frontiers had been laid down. All things were ready for "The Day."

"The Day"

Studies

1. Explain the following: (*a*) *entente cordiale;* (*b*) the "Lost Provinces"; (*c*) "Middle Europe"; (*d*) "Agadir incident"; and (*e*) "reinsurance compact." 2. "The Franco-German War of 1870–1871 was the starting point of a new era in European diplomacy." Comment on this statement. 3. How was Alsace-Lorraine the "open sore" of European politics after 1871? 4. "The history of Europe in recent years often has hinged upon such remote points as a railroad in Asia Minor, or a protectorate in northern Africa, or a harbor in China." Comment on this statement. 5. How would you define (*a*) militarism and (*b*) imperialism, as these terms have been used in the present chapter? 6. What are some of the arguments for and against compulsory military service? 7. "England's navy is a necessity; Germany's a luxury." Explain this statement. 8. Why has war been called the "national industry" of Prussia? 9. Point out on the map the European countries included in the Pan-German program. 10. On the map between pages 718–719 trace the present Slav-German boundary in Europe.

CHAPTER XX

THE WORLD WAR, 1914–1918[1]

180. Beginning of the War, 1914

"THE DAY" soon dawned. On June 28, 1914, the archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the Hapsburg throne, and his wife were assassinated at Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia. The two murderers, who were Bosnians and therefore Austrian subjects, belonged to a Serbian secret society which aimed to separate Bosnia and Herzegovina from the Dual Monarchy and add them to Serbia. The Austrian government, after conducting an investigation, alleged that they had been aided by Serbian officials, with the connivance of the government of Serbia. This accusation has never been proved. No doubt exists, however, that the Sarajevo assassination was a political crime, the natural outcome of the propaganda among the South Slavs (Jugoslavs) for the expulsion of Austria from the Balkans as she had been expelled from Italy and Germany.

The Sarajevo assassination

Nearly a month passed. Then on July 23 Austria-Hungary sent a note to Serbia, harsh, peremptory, and, except in name, an ultimatum. It demanded that Serbia suppress anti-Austrian publications and organizations, dismiss from the army or the civil service all those implicated in the anti-Austrian propaganda, eliminate anti-Austrian teachers and textbooks from the public schools, and consent to "the collaboration in Serbia of representatives of the Austro-Hungarian government for the suppression of the subversive move-

Ultimatum to Serbia

[1] Webster, *Readings in Medieval and Modern History*, chapter xxxv, "Diplomacy of the Great War." Webster, *Historical Source Book*, No. 31, "Wilson's Fourteen Points, 1918"; No. 32, "Declaration of Independence of the Czecho-Slovak Nation, 1918."

ment directed against the territorial integrity of the monarchy." Forty-eight hours only were granted for the unconditional acceptance or rejection of the ultimatum.

Serbia's reply

Serbia replied on July 25. She agreed to all the Austrian demands except those which required the presence on Serbian soil of representatives of the Dual Monarchy. Such an arrangement, Serbia pointed out, would violate her rights as a sovereign state — would make her, in fact, an Austrian vassal. She concluded by offering to submit the entire dispute to arbitration by the international tribunal at The Hague or to the mediation of the great powers. Austria-Hungary rejected the Serbian reply as unsatisfactory and on July 28 declared war upon her little neighbor.

Ineffective peace proposals

Russia, the protector of the Slavs of the Balkans, could not look on without concern while a great Teutonic power destroyed the independence of a Slav state. But if Russia intervened to aid Serbia, by making war on Austria-Hungary, then Germany, as the latter's ally, would surely attack Russia; and France, bound to Russia in firm alliance, would be obliged to attack Germany. Efforts to preserve the peace of Europe began at once. The Triple Entente first asked Austria-Hungary to extend the time limit for the answer from Serbia. Austria-Hungary declined to do so. Great Britain and France then urged Serbia to make her answer to the ultimatum as conciliatory as possible. After the Serbian reply had been delivered, Great Britain, through Sir Edward Grey, Minister for Foreign Affairs, suggested that the four great powers not directly involved should hold a conference in London to adjust the Austro-Serbian difficulty. France, Italy, and Russia accepted the suggestion. Germany rejected it, saying that she could have nothing to do with bringing her ally before a European tribunal. Finally, Great Britain invited Germany herself to propose some method of mediation, but the German government declared that the whole dispute concerned only Austria-Hungary and Serbia and that Russia should not interfere in it. If Russia did interfere, Germany would back her ally.

We know now why these and other peace proposals during that last fateful week of July, 1914, were ineffective. Austria-Hungary and Germany had already decided upon aggressive action against Serbia. Their reason was the situation in the Balkans. The First and Second Balkan Wars had brought an enormous accession of strength to Serbia and Montenegro, whose people now looked forward with increasing assurance to the liberation of their brothers in the Jugoslav provinces of the Austrian Empire. This situation, threatening the integrity of the Empire, threw the Viennese diplomats into a state of panic so great that they actually drafted and presented a memorandum to Berlin, on the necessity of crushing Serbia, *before* the assassination of the archduke. The assassination only supplied a convenient pretext for the punitive measures which had already been decided upon by Austria. The German government sanctioned these measures in advance, without, apparently, being aware of their exact nature. The kaiser and his advisers thus gave Austria a "blank check" to be filled in as Austria pleased.

Attitude of Austria-Hungary and Germany

How it was filled in we also know now. The present republican government of Austria published in the latter part of 1919 an official volume[1] of documents found in the archives of the former imperial government, from which it appears that a ministerial meeting held in Vienna, July 7, 1914, took the momentous decision to force war on Serbia. This was to be done by sending a note with such impossible demands that the Serbian government would be compelled to reject them. An Austro-Hungarian declaration of war would then follow in due course. The Foreign Minister, Count Berchtold, who presided at the meeting and afterward signed the note to Serbia, declared to the ministers that the kaiser had "emphatically" assured him of the "unconditional support of Germany in case of a warlike complication with Serbia." Germany was thus prepared to support Austria-Hungary to the uttermost.

The "blank check"

[1] *Diplomatic Documents on the Antecedents of the War of 1914*, Part I, Vienna, 1919. State Printing Office.

Russia had yielded to the Central Powers in the Balkan crises of 1908 and 1912–1913. Would she yield once more in 1914? The Central Powers apparently believed that she would do so, when confronted with the grim prospect of war. The tsar's government, however, disappointed their calculations of an easy diplomatic victory. As soon as news came that the Austrians were attacking Serbia, Russia started a partial mobilization of her armies along the Austrian frontier. This was soon extended into a general mobilization upon the entire western border of the Russian Empire. Russia thus served notice on the Central Powers that she would fight rather than look on supinely while they deprived Serbia of independence and annihilated Russian influence in southeastern Europe. War, if it broke out, was not to be "localized" in the Balkans.

Attitude of Russia

Russian mobilization provided the leaders of the German war party with the pretext that was essential to them. They must not allow Russia to gain while peace continued an advantage that might prove disastrous to Germany after hostilities began. If Germany were to take up arms, she must reap the full advantage of her military preparedness; she could not afford to wait until her slower-moving antagonist had brought gigantic forces into the field. The kaiser's government, accordingly, sent an ultimatum to Russia ordering that country to start demobilization within twelve hours or accept the consequences (July 31). Russia did not reply to this peremptory demand. The kaiser, exercising his right to make "defensive warfare," immediately signed the document declaring that a state of hostilities existed between Germany and Russia (August 1).

Germany at war with Russia

Asked by Germany what was to be her attitude in the coming struggle, France replied that she "would do that which her interests dictated," and began to mobilize. Germany then declared war on France (August 3). It is now known[1] that had France decided to re-

Germany at war with France

[1] Revelations of M. Pinchon, Minister for Foreign Affairs, at the Sorbonne, Paris, March 1, 1918.

main neutral, repudiating her treaty with Russia, the German government intended to demand the surrender of the fortresses of Toul and Verdun as a pledge of French neutrality until the close of the war. Germany thus showed herself so anxious to embroil France in the conflict that she made demands which that country could not and was not expected to accept.

Germany also tried to learn the attitude of Great Britain. The German Chancellor, Bethmann-Hollweg, promised that if Great Britain would stand aloof, Germany would agree not to take any European territory from France, but he refused to give assurances as to the French colonies. Sir Edward Grey retorted that Great Britain could never conclude such a disgraceful bargain with Germany at the expense of France. The British Foreign Minister, however, made it clear that Great Britain would not be drawn into a Franco-German War unless France and Russia rejected "any reasonable proposal" for peace put forward by the Central Powers. After the German declaration of war on Russia and the German invasion of neutral Luxemburg,[1] Great Britain promised France the help of the British fleet in case the German fleet operated against the unprotected western coast of France. The British government felt that it could not do less, for, in accordance with the Anglo-French *entente*, France since 1912 had concentrated her fleet in the Mediterranean so that the British fleet might be concentrated in the North Sea against the possibly hostile German navy.

Attitude of Great Britain

William II

[1] See page 428 and note 1.

The neutrality of Belgium was guaranteed by the European powers, including France and Prussia, both in 1831 and 1839;[1] furthermore, the Second Peace Conference in 1907, with Germany consenting, expressly declared the territory of neutral states to be inviolable. The French government on August 1 announced its intention to respect Belgian neutrality. The next day, however, Germany addressed a note to Belgium demanding permission to move troops across the country into France and threatening, in case of a refusal, to leave Belgium's fate to the "decision of arms." The Belgian government, under King Albert, declined to "sacrifice the honor of the nation and betray its duty toward Europe." On August 4 the German army invaded Belgium. Bethmann-Hollweg frankly admitted before the Reichstag, the same day, that the invasion was "a breach of international law," — "necessity knows no law," said Bethmann-Hollweg — and the kaiser, in a cable message to President Wilson,[2] acknowledged that Belgian neutrality "had to be violated by Germany on strategical grounds."

Violation of Belgian neutrality

An invasion of Belgium was, in fact, vital to the success of the German plan of campaign, which involved a swift, crushing blow at the French before Russian mobilization could be completed. No rapid movement against France was possible from the east, first, because the high bluffs and narrow river valleys in this part of the country made defense easy; and, second, because the eastern frontier had been protected, since the Franco-German War, by fortresses all the way from Verdun to Belfort. An attack from the northeast presented fewer difficulties, for a comparatively level plain, well provided with roads and railways, stretches from Germany through Belgium and France to the environs of Paris. Furthermore, France had not strongly fortified her frontier on the side of Belgium, having trusted to the neutrality of that country for protection.

Strategic importance of Belgium

The neutrality of Belgium has been a cardinal point in British foreign policy since the Middle Ages. It seems essential

[1] See page 428.

[2] Sent August 10, 1914.

to Great Britain that the Belgian coast shall not be occupied by a strong military power, thus menacing British control of the Channel. Over this question she fought with Philip II of Spain in the sixteenth century and later with Louis XIV and Napoleon. Great Britain, moreover, had her explicit treaty obligations to Belgium, obligations which no honorable nation could fail to respect. When, therefore, news came that German troops were entering Belgium, the British government, at this time controlled by the Liberals under Mr. Asquith, sent an ultimatum to Germany, requiring assurances by midnight, August 4, that Belgian neutrality would be respected. Germany refused, and Bethmann-Hollweg, in his final interview with the British ambassador at Berlin, complained that Great Britain was about to fight a kindred nation just for "a scrap of paper." About midnight Great Britain declared war on Germany.

Germany at war with Great Britain

Herbert H. Asquith

The primary responsibility for kindling the great conflagration must be shouldered by the former governments of Austria-Hungary and Germany. The one government, by its ultimatum to Serbia, precipitated a grave international crisis. The other government, by its unconditional support of its ally, nullified every effort to avert a conflict put forth by Great Britain, France, and Italy, and even by Russia. After 1871 the opposing interests of the European powers had again and again threatened to result in war. Peace, nevertheless, remained unbroken, because there was a mutual desire to keep it. In 1914 two of the powers refused to tread further the path of peace. They flung a flaming torch into the powder magazine of Europe.

Responsibility for the war

181. The Western Front

The war quickly converted the Triple Entente into a Triple Alliance. Great Britain, France, and Russia engaged not to make peace separately and to accept a general peace only on terms agreeable to all of them. The instinct of self-preservation, which had united Europe against France under Louis XIV and Napoleon, was now aroused against the military domination of Germany under the kaiser. As on previous occasions, Great Britain, with her fleet, her money, and eventually her army, formed the keystone of the coalition.

The Allies, 1914

Germany and Austria-Hungary, though less populous and wealthy than their antagonists, held a better geographical position, and at the outset they possessed a superiority both in the number of trained soldiers and in guns, munitions, and equipment. Above all, they were prepared. Austria-Hungary had already massed part of her army against Serbia, while Germany, by means of her strategic railroads, could move and concentrate troops on her eastern or western frontier with greater speed than either Russia or France. Should it prove to be a short war, the Central Powers seemed likely to win an overwhelming victory.

The Central Powers, 1914

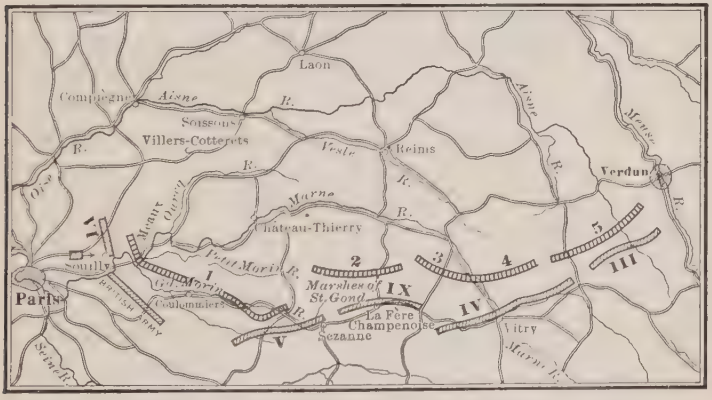
Hostilities began on the western front with the converging advance of the Germans through Luxemburg and Belgium. They occupied the tiny grand duchy without resistance and then threw themselves upon the Belgians. The fortresses of Liège and Namur, supposedly impregnable, were smashed to pieces by the huge German siege guns, and Brussels itself was captured. Nevertheless, the Belgian resistance — heroic, unexpected — delayed by at least twelve days the arrival of the Germans on the frontiers of France. The French gained time to complete mobilization and the British to send an expeditionary force of one hundred thousand men. After the first clash at Mons, the Anglo-French armies retired southward, fighting delaying actions all the way. The invaders soon crossed the Marne and at one point came within fifteen miles of Paris. The opposing forces were now

The German advance

extended in an immense semi-circle, one hundred and fifty miles in length, from the vicinity of the French capital to below Verdun.

Battle of the Marne, September 6–12, 1914

The retreat of the Allied armies stopped at the Marne. "The hour has come," said General Joffre in a stirring message to his soldiers, "to advance at all costs, and to die where you stand rather than give way." The battle of the Marne, lasting an entire week, was not a single conflict, but a whole series of conflicts, in which 2,500,000 men participated. On the extreme west of the line the French and British attacked the invaders near Paris; on the extreme east the French repulsed them from the fortresses between Verdun and Belfort. At the same time General Foch's magnificent assault drove in the German center on both sides of the marshes of St.-Gond. The weight of the combined movement hurled the enemy back in confusion, and with heavy



PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF THE MARNE

British army (Field-Marshal French).
VI. French army (Manoury).
V. " " (Franchet d'Esperey).
IX. " " (Foch).
IV. " " (Langle de Cary).
III. " " (Sarrail).
1. German army (Von Kluck).
2. " " (Von Bulow).
3. " " (Von Hausen).
4. " " (Duke of Würtemberg).
5. " " (Crown Prince of Prussia).

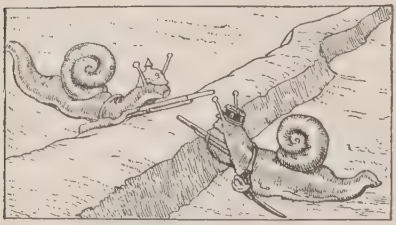
losses of men and material, across the Aisne River. The Germans had been out-generaled and out-fought; German plans for a speedy triumph had been upset; and Paris had been saved.

The race to the sea

Both sides now bent every effort to extend their lines northward to the sea. The Germans hoped to seize Dunkirk and Calais, two important Channel ports, and thus to interrupt the direct line of communication between Great Britain and France; but the Allies reached the Channel first and further north at Nieuport. Then followed in October and November, 1914, the first battle of Ypres, when the Germans, by massed attacks, tried vainly to break through the British lines. Near the coast the Belgians cut the dikes of the river Yser, flooding the lowlands and stopping any further advance in this direction. Trench warfare now began to replace open fighting all along the western front from the North Sea to the Swiss frontier, a distance of six hundred miles.

The deadlock

Repeated efforts to break the deadlock on the western front marked the year 1915. Both French and British made some progress in clearing enemy trenches by means of concentrated shell-fire, but as yet the production of high-explosive shells was insufficient for prolonged "blasting operations." The Germans, on their part, employed poison gas in the second battle of Ypres, during April and May. The situation was critical for a time, until the French and British manufactured gas masks to overcome the choking fumes. The Allies were eventually obliged themselves to use this hideous device against the enemy.



"The Advance on Paris and Berlin"

The first half of 1916 was marked by the German assault upon Verdun, the most important French stronghold on the eastern frontier. The siege of the city lasted nearly five months and cost the lives of at least half a million men on both

THE WESTERN FRONT
Farthest German Advance, September 1914
"Hindenburg Line" 1917
Farthest German Advance, March-July 1918
Battle Line, November 1918
(at signing of armistice)
Scale of Miles
0
50
100
THE M. N. WORKS, BUFFALO N.Y.
Longitude East from Greenwich
ENGLAND
FRANCE
BELGIUM
GERMANY
HOLLAND
English Channel
North Sea
Strait of Dover
London
Thames
Sheerness
Chatham
Croydon
Canterbury
Dover
Folkestone
Hastings
Eastbourne
Brighton
Chichester
Portsmouth
Flushing
Zeebrugge
Ostend
Nieuport
Dunkirk
Dixmude
Bruges
Ghent
Antwerp
Mechlin
Diest
Louvain
Termonde
Alost
Brussels
Waterloo
Namur
Liège
Spa
Maastricht
Aachen
(Aix-la-Chapelle)
Düsseldorf
Cologne
Bonn
Coblenz
Ehrenbreitstein
NEUTRAL ZONE
Marburg
Frankfort
Wiesbaden
Mainz
Darmstadt
Worms
Mannheim
Heidelberg
Karlsruhe
Rastatt
Baden
Black Forest
Freiburg
Mülhauser
Altkirch
Colmar
Hartmannsweiler Kopf
Thann
St. Amarin
Markirch
St. Dié
Strassburg
ALSACE
Wörth
LORRAINE
Metz
Saarbrucken
Thionville
Treves
Moselle
Luxemburg
LUXEMBURG
Calais
St. Omer
Hazebrouck
Boulogne
Messines Ridge
Ypres
Ypres
Lys
FLANDERS
Armentières
Lille
Courtrai
Passchendaele
Béthune
Lens
Vimy Ridge
Arras
Douai
Mons
Valenciennes
Maubeuge
Cambrai
Charleroi
Dinant
Givet
Le Cateau
Avesnes
Combles
Albert
Abbeville
Canche
Somme
Amiens
Peronne
Nesle
Guise
St. Quentin
Rocroi
Charleville
Mézières
Sedan
Semois
Montmedy
Longwy
WOËVRE
PICARDY
Cantigny
Montdidier
Noyon
La Fere
Laon
Craonne
Rethel
Vouziers
Argonne
Compiègne
Oise
CHEMIN DES DAMES
Aisne
Soissons
Fismes
Senlis
Belleau Woods
Reims
CHAMPAGNE
Château-Thierry
Epernay
Marne
Meaux
Châlons-sur-Marne
Verdun
Troyon
St. Mihiel
Pont-à-Mousson
Toul
Nancy
Luneville
Vosges Mts.
Epinal
St. Denis
Paris
Versailles
Dieppe
Fécamp
Le Havre
Honfleur
Trouville
Caen
Seine
Rouen
Evreux
Melun
Montereau
Yonne
Sens
Auxerre
Troyes
Seine
Chatillon-sur-Seine
Chaumont
Langres
Neufchâteau
Vitry-le-François
St. Dizier
Bar-le-Duc

sides. The Germans, led by the crown prince, Frederick William, were determined to take the place at any cost. The French, commanded by General Pétain, were equally determined to keep it at any cost. "They shall not pass!" became the battle-cry of all France. They did not pass. More than that, in the fall of 1916 the French resumed the offensive and within seven hours drove the Germans back almost to their original lines. Ruined Verdun, like ruined Ypres, thus remained in Allied hands.

Siege of Verdun, February–July, 1916

British Recruiting Poster

What more than anything else relieved the pressure on Verdun was the Anglo-French attack against the German lines along the river Somme. Great Britain by this time had adopted conscription and had built up a magnificent army commanded by Sir Douglas Haig. The Allies now possessed more heavy guns and munitions than the Germans, and in the "tanks" a weapon destined to prove its value in breaking the trench deadlock. The Allied advance took place on a front of twenty miles to a maximum depth of about nine miles. It was finally checked by German counter-attacks and by bad weather.

Battle of the Somme, July–November, 1916

To forestall another attack, the Germans in the spring of 1917 retired on a wide front to the shorter and more defensible Hindenburg Line. The territory evacuated by them was laid completely waste, every building being destroyed, vineyards uprooted, and orchards

The Hindenburg Line

cut down. The Allies advanced over this wilderness and from April to December conducted a steady offensive, which brought them appreciable gains. The Hindenburg Line still held, however, when the approach of winter put an end to active operations.

Guild Hall, Ypres

The Guild Hall of the Cloth Merchants (begun 1201, completed 1304) was the chief edifice of the sort in Belgium and one of the finest examples of secular Gothic architecture in Europe. The façade measured 460 feet and had two ranges of painted windows. At each end rose a turret and in the middle the massive belfry.

Military Wartime Practices

The military treatment of Belgium and northern France aroused the horror of the civilized world. Deliberate, systematic massacres of the civil population to prevent or punish resistance, the looting and burning of entire villages, the destruction of Louvain with its famous university, the shelling of the Guild Hall of Ypres and the cathedral of Reims, the imposition of excessive taxes and heavy fines on Belgian and French cities, the robbing of Belgium and northern France of coal, metals, machinery, and raw materials, finally, the forcible deportation of tens of thousands of civilians, both men and women, for forced labor in Germany — these were some of the wartime practices which characterized military treatment of the conquered territory. The inhabitants would have perished had it not been for the efficient system of relief organized by an American, Mr. Herbert C. Hoover,

who enlisted the help of the Allies and of the United States in providing food, clothing, and other necessaries of life for the invaded districts.

182. The Eastern Front

There was no deadlock on the eastern front. The Russians mobilized more rapidly than had been expected and put large forces in the field, under the general command of the grand duke Nicholas, an uncle of the tsar. Their plan of campaign involved a simultaneous advance against the Germans in East Prussia and the Austrians in Galicia. The Russian armies which entered East Prussia, a difficult country of lakes, marshes, and rivers, were surprised and well-nigh annihilated by Hindenburg at the battle of Tannenberg (August, 1914). The following January, when the Russians again ventured into this part of Germany, Hindenburg won another overwhelming victory at the battle of the Mazurian Lakes.

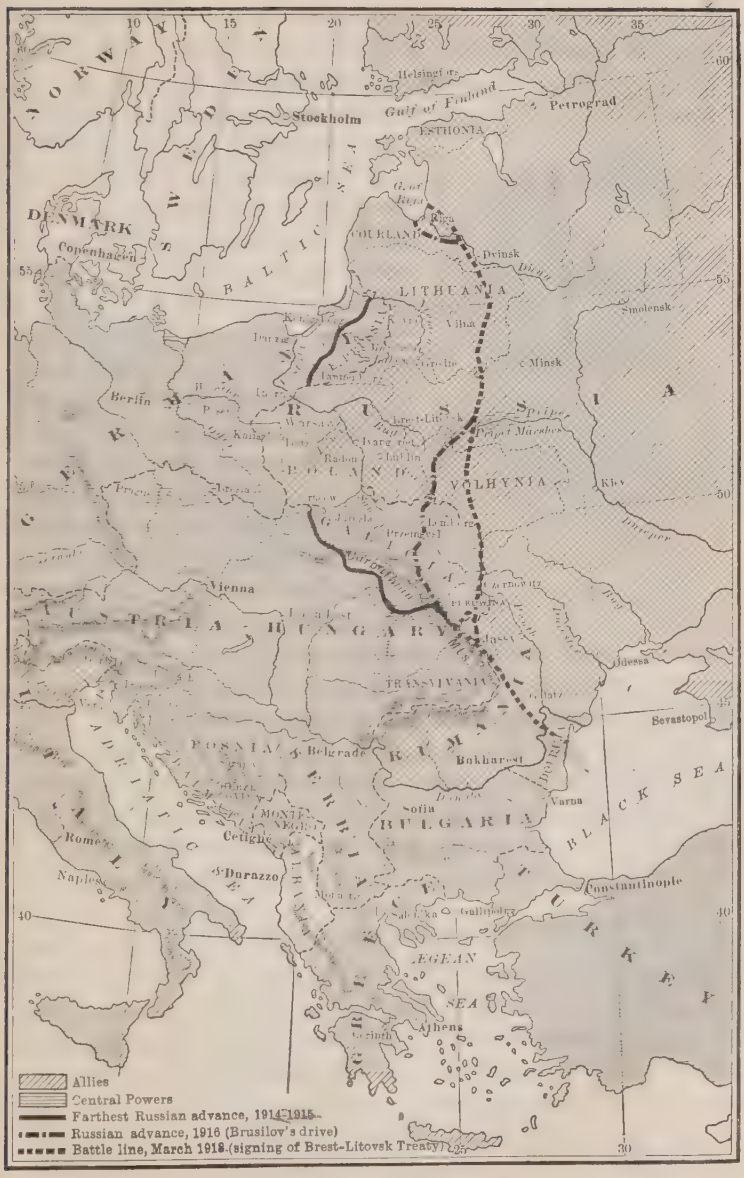
The Grand Duke Nicholas

The Russians in East Prussia, 1914–1915

The Russians met better luck in Galicia. They overran all this Austrian province and by the spring of 1915 began to penetrate the Carpathian passes into Hungary. These successes had the further result of causing the withdrawal of German troops from the western front, with a consequent weakening of Germany's offensive power against the French and British.

The Russians in Galicia, 1914–1915

The summer of 1915 saw some of the most tremendous engagements of the entire war. Hindenburg now assumed com-



THE EASTERN FRONT

mand of the eastern armies of both the Central Powers and started a terrific "drive" in Poland and Galicia. The Germans made full use of poison gas and a smothering fire of high-explosive shells, while the Russians were hampered by lack of guns and ammunition. The result of the fighting is best traced on the accompanying map, which shows the enormous territory reoccupied or newly acquired by the Central Powers. At the end of 1915 the battle-line on the eastern front stretched from the Gulf of Riga to the Rumanian frontier.

Hindenburg's "drive," 1915

HINDENBURG

Russia's recuperative power was strikingly exhibited the following year. General Brusilov attacked the Austro-German armies on a wide front between the Pripet Marshes and Bukowina, pushing them back from twenty to fifty miles and making huge captures of men and supplies. The outbreak of the Russian Revolution, early in 1917, made it impossible to continue the offensive. From this time there was little more fighting on the eastern front. Nevertheless, Russia's part in the World War should not be minimized. The sacrifices which she made without stint during the first three years of the struggle were essential to the ultimate victory of the Allies.

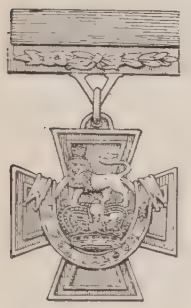
Brusilov's "drive," 1916

183. The Balkan and Italian Fronts

As soon as the war broke out, Montenegro made common cause with Serbia. The three other Christian states of the Balkans at first did not declare themselves. Bulgaria had no love for Austria-Hungary, but she cordially hated Serbia, her most successful foe in the Second Balkan War. Rumania was friendly neither to Austria-Hungary nor to Russia, for both possessed provinces which she wished to

Neutrality of the Balkans

"redeem" from alien rule.[1] Public opinion in Greece, as voiced by Venizelos, the prime minister, favored the Allies. The pro-German King Constantine and the court party managed, however, to preserve a nominal neutrality.



The Victoria Cross

Established in 1856 for acts of bravery in battle. It is a bronze Maltese cross with the royal crest (lion and crown) in the center and below it a scroll inscribed "For Valour."

Turkey, largely controlled by Germany and fearful of Russia's designs on Constantinople, soon espoused the cause of the Central Powers. Her entrance did not at first appreciably affect the situation, for she was still cut off from her associates by a neutral Bulgaria and a hostile Serbia. The sultan proclaimed a holy war of extermination against the "enemies of Islam." Contrary to German hopes, the Moslems of North Africa, Egypt, and India, instead of revolting, loyally supported France and Great Britain. An Anglo-French fleet in 1915 tried without success to force the Dardanelles and thus to open the way to Constantinople. No greater success attended the heroic efforts of the "Anzacs" (Australians and New Zealanders) to secure a footing on the peninsula of Gallipoli, and the troops were finally withdrawn from this graveyard of Allied hopes.

Turkey joins the Central Powers, October, 1914

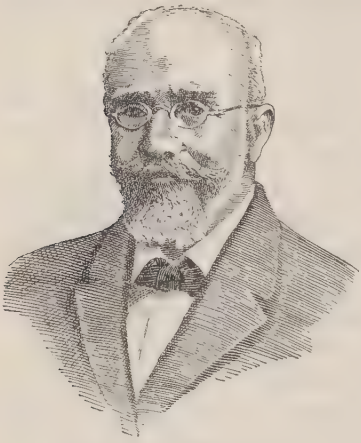
The Iron Cross

Bulgaria, after long hesitation, also threw in her lot with the Central Powers. The situation in the Balkans now changed over night. Brave little Serbia, who earlier in the war had twice expelled the Austrians, quickly collapsed under the double attack of Austro-Germans from the north and Bulgarians from the east. Montenegro, Serbia's ally, was likewise conquered, together with northern Albania. The triumph

Bulgaria joins the Central Powers, October, 1915

[1] Transylvania, Bukowina, and Bessarabia.

of the Central Powers had the important result of opening up railway communication between Berlin and Constantinople.



Eleutherios Venizelos

Rumania joins the Allies, August, 1916

Military operations in the Balkans were not yet over. Influenced by the success of Brusilov's "drive" on the eastern front and the Anglo-French victories at Verdun and on the Somme in the West, Rumania decided to join the Allies. Her armies promptly invaded Transylvania. A German-Austrian-Bulgarian counter-stroke drove them out and led to the speedy conquest of two-thirds of their own territory. The Rumanian collapse brought enormous advantages to the Central Powers, who now had access to the grain fields and oil wells of Rumania. It also shortened their battle-front by five hundred miles and facilitated their communications with Bulgaria and Turkey.

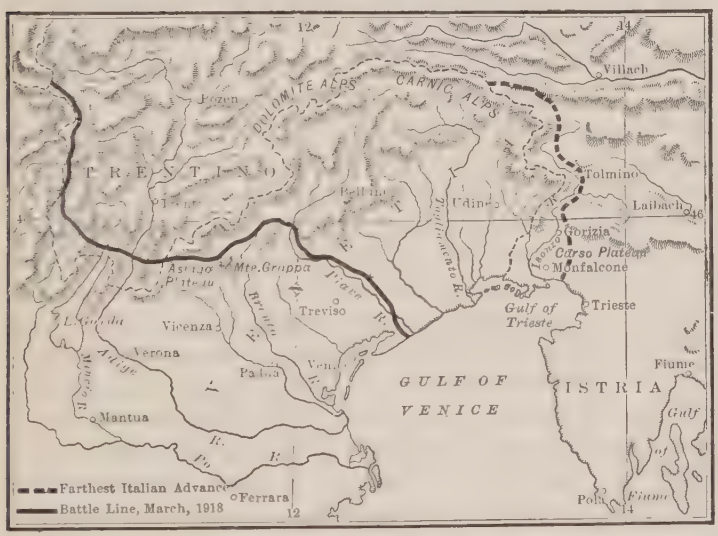
After the failure of the Dardanelles campaign a large Anglo-French force had been gathered behind the defenses of Salonika in Greece, partly as a threat to Turkey and Bulgaria and partly to prevent King Constantine from bringing Greece into the war on the side of the Central Powers. He was finally deposed by the Allies, who placed his second son, Alexander, on the throne. Venizelos, whom Constantine had dismissed from office, became prime minister once more and immediately took steps to insure the coöperation of his country with the Allies. The Balkan front henceforth extended westward from the Ægean to the Adriatic.

Greece joins the Allies, June, 1917

Italy declared neutrality in 1914, giving the same reason which she had given in 1913, namely, that the terms of the

Triple Alliance did not bind her to assist the Central Powers in an offensive war.[1] But Italy was unable to remain neutral. Union with the Allies meant an opportunity to secure *Italia Irredenta*, those regions around Trent and Trieste still "unredeemed" from the grasp of Austria-Hungary. There were other glittering prospects. Great Britain, France, and Russia, in order to secure her aid, promised

Italy joins the Allies, May, 1915



THE ITALIAN FRONT

by a secret treaty that she should be allowed to annex part of the Dalmatian coast, besides a share of Turkish territory, if the Ottoman Empire were partitioned as a result of the war. The pressure of national interests thus helped to range Italy with the Allies, but even more compelling, perhaps, was the conviction on the part of the Italian people that the Allies were fighting in a just cause for everything that mankind holds dear. Italy, an ancient home of civilization, would aid her Latin sister France in defending civilization against what seemed a fresh inroad of the Teutonic barbarians.

[1] See page 661.

The entrance of Italy added another front and almost completed the encirclement of the Central Powers. Italian armies marched against Trieste and the Trentino, but for a long time made slow progress. The Austrians held the crest of the mountains and the passes, and the Italians had to force their way upward in the face of the enemy. During the summer of 1916 they finally crossed the Isonzo River and occupied Gorizia on the way to Trieste. The break-up of Russia after the revolution freed large forces of the Central Powers for service against Italy. An Austro-German attack, late in 1917, undid all that the Italians had accomplished in more than two years of hard fighting and forced them back as far as the Piave River. There, with some aid from French and British troops, the Italians checked their foes.

Italian campaigns

The military situation in Europe at the end of 1917 clearly favored the Central Powers. On the western front they held Luxemburg, nearly all of Belgium, and a broad strip of northern France containing valuable coal and iron mines. On the eastern front they held Poland, Lithuania, and Courland, the richest industrial districts of the Russian Empire. They had overrun Serbia, Montenegro, northern Albania, and a large part of Rumania. They had taken most of Venetia from the Italians. Their only territorial losses to the Allies were in southern Alsace and eastern Galicia. A different picture, however, was presented outside of Europe and on the sea.

The Allies and the Central Powers, 1917

184. The War outside of Europe and on the Sea, 1914–1917

The sea-power of the Allies enabled them to capture Germany's colonial possessions. The British and French seized Togo and the Cameroons in West Africa. British troops from the Union of South Africa, assisted by loyal Boers, took German Southwest Africa, and in coöperation with Belgian forces took German East Africa. The German possessions in the Pacific, south of the equator, were conquered by the Australians and New Zealanders, and those north of the equator by the Japanese.

Capture of the German colonies

Japan promptly entered the war on the side of the Allies. She had not forgotten the kaiser's slighting references to the "Yellow Peril" nor the fact that Germany had been chiefly instrumental in depriving her of Port Arthur and Liaotung Peninsula, after the Chino-Japanese War in 1895.[1] Moreover, Japan had entered into an alliance with Great Britain providing for mutual support were the territorial rights or special interests of either power in the Far East threatened by another power.[2] Japan's special contribution to the Allied cause was the capture of Kiauchau, the German naval base and stronghold in the Far East.

Capture of Kiauchau, 1914

Germany's ally, Turkey, suffered the loss of her outlying possessions. Great Britain proclaimed a protectorate over Egypt and set up a new ruler, or sultan, who was to be quite independent of the sultan at Constantinople. The British also encouraged a revolt of the Arabs against Turkey. Arab troops secured Mecca and Medina, the sacred places of Arabia, and established the kingdom of Hejaz, which extends along the eastern coast of the Red Sea.

Freeing of Egypt and Arabia

Two other countries, long under the heel of the Turk, owed their liberation to Great Britain. An expeditionary force, largely composed of Indian contingents, invaded Mesopotamia by way of the Tigris River and entered Bagdad in triumph (March, 1917). Another British army, starting from Egypt, invaded Palestine and took possession of Jerusalem (December, 1917). The Holy City, after nearly seven centuries, was again in Christian hands.

Freeing of Mesopotamia and Palestine

The fleets of the Allies quickly swept the merchantmen of the Central Powers from the ocean and compelled their warships to keep the shelter of home ports. The few German raiders which remained at large after hostilities began were either captured or sunk. Once only did the German "High Seas Fleet" slip out of Kiel Harbor, to be met by the British battle cruisers off the coast of Jutland (May 31, 1916). Both sides suffered heavy losses in the engagement which followed. With the approach of darkness, however,

Allied control of the sea

[1] See page 558.

[2] See page 563.

the German ships returned to their safe anchorage and did not emerge again during the remainder of the war.

Allied control of the sea led to an immediate blockade of Germany and Austria-Hungary. Three results followed. The Allies were able freely to import food and raw materials from their colonies and neutral states. They kept the ocean lanes safe for the transportation of troops from Africa, India, Australia, and Canada, meanwhile preventing the return of Austro-German reservists from the United States and other countries. Finally, the Allies extinguished the commerce of the Central Powers, who were henceforth hard pressed to find the necessary sinews of war for their armies and food for their civilian population.

The blockade

The Allied blockade became more and more stringent. At first, it prevented the importation into Germany only of munitions and other materials used for military purposes. In February, 1915, Great Britain also declared foodstuffs contraband, and as such liable to seizure if carried from neutral countries in neutral ships to Germany. The British justified their action on the ground that the German government had already commandeered the stocks of grain in private hands to insure the feeding of its armies, in other words, had itself treated foodstuffs as practically indispensable to the conduct of the war.

Extension of the blockade

The Central Powers relied on submarines (U-boats) to break the blockade. During the first months of the war the submarines attacked only enemy warships, but before long they began to destroy without warning enemy merchantmen. This was in flagrant defiance of international law, which requires that a cargo or a passenger ship, under either an enemy or a neutral flag, shall be warned before being attacked and every effort made to safeguard human lives. After the British action in making food contraband, Germany went so far as to declare the waters around the British Isles a "war zone," where all enemy merchantmen would be sunk, whether or not passengers and crews could be rescued. Neutral vessels were also warned against trespassing within the zone.

Submarine warfare

It goes without saying that this declaration constituted only a "paper blockade," of the sort that had been already prohibited by international law. The attempt to enforce the blockade by piratical means brought about the entrance of the United States into the World War.

German Barred Zone (February 1, 1917)

185. Intervention of the United States

President Wilson announced the neutrality of the United States immediately upon the outbreak of hostilities. No other course seemed possible, in view of our traditional policy of non-interference in European affairs and our peaceful temper. The President also asked for neutrality of sentiment on the part of the American people, so that the United States, as the one great nation at peace, might in time be able to mediate between the warring countries. While the government did remain neutral, American citizens could not avoid taking sides. The Central Powers had

The United States as a neutral

many active sympathizers, especially among those of German birth or parentage. Public opinion, however, favored the Allies; above all, France, who had helped us so much in the Revolutionary War, and Belgium, so innocent and so cruelly wronged. But as yet there was little thought of our active participation in the war.

THE "LUSITANIA"

Submarine atrocities

The United States, before long, was drawn into diplomatic controversies with the belligerents. President Wilson made repeated and vigorous protests to Great Britain regarding alleged infringements by that country of our neutral rights at sea, especially the detention of American ships in British ports to determine whether or not the ships carried contraband goods. But Germany's proclamation of a "war zone" raised a much more serious issue. President Wilson protested at once, declaring that the United States would hold the German government to a "strict accountability" for American ships destroyed or American citizens killed. Germany disclaimed all responsibility for "accidents" which might occur. U-boats proceeded to torpedo the great British liner *Lusitania* with the loss of over one hundred American men, women, and children (May 7, 1915),[1] and also attacked American ships and those of other neutral nations. A "war of notes" between the United States and Germany finally extorted a German pledge not to sink merchant vessels without warning, unless they attempted to escape or offered resistance (May, 1916). Germany

[1] In all, 1195 persons were drowned.

never intended to keep her pledge any longer than convenient, as the frank Bethmann-Hollweg afterwards admitted in a public statement. At the end of January, 1917, she notified the American government of her purpose to sink at sight all ships, both enemy and neutral, found within certain areas adjoining the British Isles, France, and Italy, and in the Mediterranean. Only narrow "safety lanes" to one British port and to Greek waters were left open for a limited amount of neutral traffic inside the barred zone. Germany thus proposed to violate every right to the freedom of the seas for which the United States had ever contended. President Wilson then severed diplomatic relations with the German government. This act did not necessarily mean war, but it prepared the way for war.

THE GERMAN "LUSITANIA" MEDAL

The obverse, shown here, bears under the legend *Keine Bannware* ("No Contraband") a representation of the sinking ship. The designer of the medal has added guns and airplanes, which, however, the *Lusitania* did not carry.

Submarine atrocities combined with Austro-German intrigues and conspiracies throughout the United States to arouse the warlike temper of the American people. Official and non-official representatives of the Central Powers had done all they could to destroy munition plants and steel factories supplying the Allies. Funds were sent to the German ambassador for use in bribing Congress to declare an embargo on the traffic in munitions. Spies were multiplied throughout the country. Efforts were made to foment ill feeling in the United States against Japan and in Mexico against the United States. When Germany was about to proclaim unrestricted submarine warfare and believed the intervention of the United States would follow, she even invited Mexico to enter an alliance with her, promising aid in helping that country recover the American Southwest. Such actions convinced our people that Germany and her satellites were running amuck

Intrigues and conspiracies

S. J. Res. 1. (PUBLIC RESOLUTION....NO. 1 ....65th CONGRESS.)

Sixty-fifth Congress of the United States of America;

At the First Session,

Begun and held at the City of Washington on Monday, the second day of April, one thousand nine hundred and seventeen.

JOINT RESOLUTION

Declaring that a state of war exists between the Imperial German Government and the Government and the people of the United States and making provision to prosecute the same.

Whereas the Imperial German Government has committed repeated acts of war against the Government and the people of the United States of America: Therefore be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the state of war between the United States and the Imperial German Government which has thus been thrust upon the United States is hereby formally declared; and that the President be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of the Government to carry on war against the Imperial German Government; and to bring the conflict to a successful termination all of the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States.

C. Champ Clark,

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Thos. R. Marshall

Vice President of the United States and President of the Senate.

Approved 6 April, 1917

Woodrow Wilson

THE UNITED STATES DECLARATION OF WAR

under irresponsible rulers and that national safety, no less than national honor, required us to take the side of the Allies.

American intervention soon became an accomplished fact. The President, in an address before a special session of Congress, urged that since Germany had repeatedly committed hostile acts against the United States, we should formally accept the status of belligerent thus thrust upon us. Congress responded by declaring war on Germany (April 6, 1917). Similar action was taken as to Austria-Hungary in December of the same year. Diplomatic relations with Turkey and Bulgaria were also broken.

The United States as a belligerent

The people of the United States, the President said, had no quarrel with the people of the Central Powers, who had been led blindly into the war by their autocratic governments. Our quarrel was with these governments alone. The United States, in consequence, asked nothing for herself — neither annexations nor indemnities. She fought to uphold the freedom of the seas, to defend the rights of small nations and oppressed nationalities, to put down divine-right monarchy, secret diplomacy, and militarism, to promote among mankind that ordered liberty under law which she had long enjoyed, and to make the world "safe for democracy." In such a cause American citizens were privileged to spend their lives and their fortunes.

A world "safe for democracy"

The United States prepared on a colossal scale for the war. Part of the navy was immediately sent to Europe, including a number of torpedo boats and destroyers to fight the German submarines. The American navy, with some assistance from that of Great Britain, also planted more than 70,000 mines in the North Sea for a distance of 240 miles from the Orkney Islands to the coast of Norway. This deadly marine barrage was laid down in 1918. It effectually shut out German submarines from ingress into the Atlantic, for the narrow strait of Dover had already been closed by mines and nets. The government adopted conscription as the most rapid and democratic method of raising an army, and two months after the declaration of war over ten million young men were

War preparations in the United States

North Sea Mine Fields

registered for service. Officers' training camps were established, and thirty-two cantonments — virtual cities, each housing forty thousand men — were set up within ninety days to accommodate the private soldiers under training. Congress made huge appropriations for the construction of airplanes, for building cargo ships to replace those sunk by the enemy, for loans to the Allies, and for the purchase of immense quantities of food, clothing, rifles, machine guns, artillery, munitions, and all the other equipment of a modern fighting force. The money was raised partly by increased taxation, partly by borrowing (the Liberty Loans). Other features of the American war program

included fuel control, food control, under the efficient direction of Mr. Herbert C. Hoover, and government operation of railroads, express companies, and telegraph and telephone lines. American engineers in France also constructed docks, barracks, and even entire railways for the reception of America's armies.

Public opinion in Latin America very generally approved of the action of the United States in entering the conflict against Germany. During 1917 Brazil, Cuba, and Panama ranged themselves by the side of the United States; during 1918 Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Haiti followed the same course. Five countries — Santo Domingo, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and Uruguay — broke off diplomatic relations with Germany. The seven remaining countries — Mexico, Salvador,[1] Venezuela, Colombia, Chile, Argentina, and Paraguay — continued their formal neutrality. The Mexican government showed itself pro-German throughout the war. Chile and Argentina kept neutral largely as the result of clever German propaganda. Brazil was thus the only one of the larger Latin-American republics to aid the Allies. She took this step because of her traditional friendship for the United States, and also because she wished to give to her foreign policy, at a critical moment of the world's history, a practical form of "continental solidarity."

Latin America and the World War

186. The Russian Revolution

The Russian Revolution, beginning on the eve of American intervention, revealed the war more clearly than ever as no mere conflict for the preservation of power in Europe, but as a world-wide struggle between democracy and autocracy. Popular uprisings in Russia between 1905 and 1906 had compelled the tsar to grant a national legislature (Duma), without, however, seriously weakening the position of the government.[2] The war disclosed how inefficient, weak, and even corrupt that government was. Late in 1916 the pro-German party at the court secretly began negotiations with the Central Powers for a separate peace.

"Dark forces" in Russia

[1] Salvador declared a benevolent neutrality toward the United States.

[2] See page 529.

Patriotic Russians in the Duma passed a resolution that "dark forces" in high places were betraying the nation's interest. Nevertheless, the intrigue went on, and the demoralization of Russia proceeded apace.

A severe shortage of food in Petrograd brought matters to a crisis. Rioting broke out, and the troops were ordered to suppress it with bullet and bayonet in the usual pitiless fashion. But the old army, so long the prop of autocracy, languished in German prison camps or lay underground. The new army, mostly recruited from peasants and workingmen since the war, refused to fire on the people. Autocracy found itself helpless. The Duma then induced the tsar to sign the penciled memorandum which ended the Romanov dynasty after three hundred and four years of absolute power.[1]

Abdication of the tsar, March 15, 1917

The revolutionists set up a provisional government, headed by the executive committee of the Duma. Nearly all the members belonged to the party of Constitutional Democrats, representing the middle class, or *bourgeoisie*. Many liberal reforms were announced: liberty of speech and of the press; the right of suffrage for both men and women; a general amnesty for all political offenders and Siberian exiles; and a constituent assembly to draw up a constitution for Russia. The United States and the western Allies promptly recognized the new government.

Rule of the Constitutional Democrats

Socialists did not rest satisfied with these measures. They planned to give the revolution an economic rather than merely a political character. Throughout Russia they organized *soviets*, or councils representing workingmen and soldiers. The most important of these bodies was the Petrograd Council of Workingmen's and Soldiers' Delegates. The socialistic propaganda for a general peace on the basis of "no annexations and no indemnities" also made rapid headway with the army at the front. The troops began to elect their own officers, to fraternize with the enemy, and to desert in large numbers. The Petrograd *soviet*, having won the sup-

Soviets

[1] See page 304.

port of the army, then abolished the Duma as a stronghold of the *bourgeoisie* and replaced the Constitutional Democrats in the provisional government with socialists.

The socialist leader was a young lawyer named Alexander Kerensky. His impassioned oratory gave him great influence, and by July, 1917, he had become practical dictator. But Kerensky turned out to be neither a Cromwell nor a Napoleon, at a time when Russia required a combination of both for her salvation. A moderate socialist, he did not please the Constitutional Democrats, and he pleased the radical socialists still less. In November, 1917, a second revolution in Petrograd overthrew him and the provisional government which he headed.

Alexander Kerensky

The two men at the head of the revolutionary movement were Nicholas Lenin and Leo Trotsky. They belonged to the Bolsheviki,[1] an organization of radical socialists. Lenin was born of Russian parents and was brought up in the Orthodox faith. He received an education in economics and law at the university of Petrograd. His socialistic activities soon resulted in a three years' exile to Siberia. After his release he went abroad and became prominent in the revolutionary circles of many European capitals. Trotsky, a Russian Jew, also suffered exile to Siberia as an undesirable agitator, the first time for four years, the second time for life. Having managed to escape, Trotsky went to western Europe and later to the United States. After the Russian Revolution both men returned to their native country and engaged in socialistic propaganda, with the results that have been seen. Lenin became premier and Trotsky foreign minister (subsequently minister of war) in the new government.

Lenin and Trotsky

The Bolsheviki now made peace with the Central Powers. They agreed to recognize the independence, under German auspices, of both Finland and the Ukraine. Poland, Lithuania, and Courland, conquered by Germany in 1915, were surrendered to that country, together with Livonia and Esthonia. This humiliating treaty

Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, March 3, 1918

[1] A Russian word meaning "majority men."

deprived Russia of about a third of her population and a third of her territory, including the richest agricultural lands, the chief industrial districts, most of the iron mines and coal mines, and many of the principal railways of the former empire. Had the Brest-Litovsk Treaty endured, Germany would have been the real winner of the World War, whatever might have been the outcome of the conflict elsewhere in Europe.

187. War Aims of the Allies

The issues at stake in the World War became clearer as the struggle proceeded. When, on August 1, 1917, Pope Benedict XV proposed that the belligerent nations negotiate with one another on the basis of conditions existing before 1914, President Wilson answered, for both the United States and the Allies, that no enduring peace could be arranged with the autocratic and irresponsible German government. On December 2, 1917, the Bolshevist envoys at Brest-Litovsk brought forward their own proposals for ending the war through a congress of delegates chosen by the parliament of each country. Then on January 5, 1918, Mr. Lloyd George, in a speech before the Trade Union Conference at London, set forth more specifically than ever before the purposes of the Allies. Permanent peace could not come, the British premier declared, until three conditions were fulfilled: first, the sanctity of treaties must be reëstablished; second, territorial settlements must be based on the right of self-determination of nationalities, or the consent of the governed; and third, some international organization must be created to limit the burden of armaments and diminish the probability of future conflicts.

Peace proposals

This speech was followed on January 8, 1918, by President Wilson's address to Congress, setting forth a program for a just and lasting settlement. While the President spoke only for the United States, his "Fourteen Points" met general acceptance in Great Britain, France, and Italy as embodying the war aims of the Allies. The "Fourteen Points" included: abolition of secret diplomacy; freedom of the seas; removal of economic barriers between the

The "Fourteen Points"

THE WORLD WAR IN 1918 A.D.

nations; reduction of armaments; impartial adjustment of colonial claims, evacuation by Germany of all conquered territory and the restoration of Belgium and Alsace-Lorraine; readjustment of Italian frontiers along the lines of nationality; an independent Poland; self-government for the different peoples of Austria-Hungary and the Ottoman Empire; and, finally, the formation of a general association of nations.

188. End of the War, 1918

Situation at the beginning of 1918

The satisfaction with which the western Allies greeted the overthrow of autocracy in Russia turned to dismay when that country, within a year, embraced radical socialism and withdrew from the war. The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk gave the Central Powers a free hand in the West. Great Britain, France, and Italy recognized this fact and prepared to remain on the defensive until the United States should be able to throw the full weight of its resources into the struggle. The Allies, now under the resolute leadership of Lloyd George in Great Britain, Clemenceau in France, and Orlando in Italy, could afford to wait. To the Central Powers a prolongation of the war spelled ruin. "Frightfulness" on the ocean had not broken the blockade or starved Great Britain or interrupted the stream of transports carrying

"Von Pot und Von Kettle"

After a cartoon in *Punch*. The German general and the German admiral are blaming each other for the failure to stop the Americans either by sea or on the land.

American troops in ever larger numbers to Europe. Germany realized that her supreme effort for world dominion must be made in 1918, or never. "If the enemy does not want peace," declared the kaiser, "then we must bring peace to the world by battering in with the iron fist and shining sword the doors of those who will not have peace." [1]

German "drives"

Having gathered every available man and gun, Field Marshal Hindenburg and his associate, General Ludendorff, on March 21, 1918, started a "drive" along the line from Arras to La Fère. Their plan was obvious: to split the Anglo-French forces at the point of juncture on the Oise River; to roll each army back, the British upon the Channel, the French upon Paris; and then to destroy each army separately. The battle which followed surpassed in intensity every previous engagement on the western front. By terrific massed attacks, the Germans regained in a few days all the ground so slowly and painfully won by the Allied offensives in 1916 and 1917. The British were pushed back twenty-five miles, bringing the enemy within artillery range of Amiens and its important railway connections. The critical condition of affairs led the Allies to establish unity of military action by putting all their forces under the command of General Foch, an admirable strategist, who shared with Joffre the glory of the Marne battle. Before this step was taken, General Pershing had already offered the entire American army to be used wherever needed by the Allies. The Germans in April launched another "drive" to the north, between Arras and Ypres, against the British guard-

Eric von Ludendorff

[1] Address to the Second German Army in France, December 22, 1917.

ing the road to the Channel ports. The enemy again drove a deep wedge into the British line. It was at this dark hour of the struggle that Sir Douglas Haig issued his historic order: "With our backs to the wall, and believing in the justice of our cause, each one of us must fight to the end. The safety of our homes and the freedom of mankind depend alike upon the conduct of each one of us at the critical moment." French reinforcements arrived on the scene in time to check the German advance. A third "drive" at the end of May, between Soissons and Reims, brought the Germans back once more to the Marne at Château-Thierry, only forty-three miles from Paris, but French and American troops again halted the advance. Renewed German efforts in June and July to pierce the Allied line and reach Paris were fruitless. And now the tide turned.

The turn of the tide

General Foch, always an advocate of the offensive in warfare, found himself by midsummer able to put his theories into practice. He now possessed the reinforcements sent by both Great Britain and Italy to help hold the long line from the sea to Switzerland, together with more than a million American soldiers — "Pershing's crusaders" — whose mettle had been already tested and not found wanting in engagements at Cantigny, in the Belleau Woods, and at Château-Thierry. July 18, 1918, is a memorable date, for on that day the Allies began the series of rapid counter-strokes, perfectly coördinated, which four months later brought the war on the western front to a victorious conclusion. How the French and Americans pinched the Germans out of the Marne salient; how the Americans, in their first independent operation, swept the enemy from the St.-Mihiel salient, south of Verdun, thus getting within range of the great fortress of Metz, and started an advance east of the Argonne Forest which carried them to Sedan; how the British, with French and American assistance, broke the "Hindenburg Line"; how the Belgians, British, and French liberated Flanders — these are only the outstanding events of a period unsurpassed in interest and importance since the dawn of history.

MARSHAL JOFFRE

MARSHAL FOCH

GENERAL PERSHING

SIR DOUGLAS HAIG

Portraits © Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

With disaster impending on the western front, Germany could no longer support her confederates in the other theaters of the war. Bulgaria was the first of the Central Powers to collapse. A vigorous offensive, begun during September by British, Greek, Serbian, French, and Italian troops in the Balkans, split the Bulgarian armies apart, thus opening the way for an immediate advance upon Sofia. Bulgaria then surrendered unconditionally. Tsar Ferdinand abdicated shortly afterward.

Armistice with Bulgaria, September 29, 1918

Turkey, now isolated from Germany and Austria-Hungary, was the second of the Central Powers to collapse. The campaign against the Turks during September and October formed an unbroken succession of victories. British forces, keeping close touch with their Arab allies, advanced northward from the neighborhood of Jerusalem. They took Damascus, the capital of Syria, and soon entered Aleppo, close to the railway between Constantinople and Bagdad.[1] The British at the same time captured the Turkish army on the Tigris. Nothing remained for Turkey but to sign an armistice which demobilized her troops and opened the road to Constantinople for the Allies.

Armistice with Turkey, October 30, 1918

Simultaneously, Austria-Hungary collapsed. What Italians call the battle of Vittorio Veneto began at the end of October, when General Diaz, the Italian commander, struck a sudden blow at the Austrian armies and hurled them back along the whole front from the Alps to the sea. The battle soon assumed the proportions of a disaster perhaps unequaled in the annals of war. The Italians chased the Austrians out of northern Italy, occupied Trent and Trieste, and captured six hundred thousand prisoners and seven thousand guns. Austria-Hungary then signed an armistice which, as in the cases of Bulgaria and Turkey, amounted to an unconditional surrender.

Armistice with Austria-Hungary, November 3, 1918

The military overthrow of the Dual Monarchy quickly led to its disintegration. Separate states arose, representing the

[1] See the map on page 658.

various nationalities formerly subject to the Hapsburgs. Emperor Charles I bowed to the inevitable and laid down the imperial crown which he had assumed in 1916 upon the death of Francis Joseph I. Such was the end of the Hapsburg dynasty, rulers of Austria since the latter part of the thirteenth century.[1]

Revolution in Austria-Hungary

The Hohenzollerns also disappeared from the scene. As Germany during that fateful summer and autumn of 1918 began to taste the bitterness of defeat, the popular demand for peace and democratic government became an open summons to the kaiser to abdicate. He long resisted, vainly making one concession after another, until the red flag had been hoisted over the German fleet at Kiel, and Berlin and other cities were in the hands of revolutionists. Then he abdicated and fled to Holland. The other German crowns quickly fell, like overripe fruit. Germany soon became a socialist republic, controlled by the Social Democrats.[2]

Revolution in Germany

The armistice, which practically ended the war, was concluded by the Allies and the United States with the new German government. It formed a long document of thirty-five clauses, covering every aspect of the military situation and making it impossible for Germany to renew hostilities before the peace settlement. Germany agreed to return all prisoners of war; to surrender her submarines, the best part of her fleet, and immense numbers of cannon, machine guns, and airplanes; to evacuate Belgium, Luxemburg, France, and Alsace-Lorraine; and to allow the joint occupation by Allied and American troops of the Rhinelands, together with the principal crossings of the Rhine (Mainz, Coblenz, and Cologne) and bridgeheads at these points on the right bank of the river. A neutral zone was reserved between the occupied territory and the rest of Germany.[3] The German government signed the armistice on the understanding that the final peace settlement would accord with President Wilson's "Fourteen Points," which had been accepted by the Allies as a summary of their war aims.

Armistice with Germany, November 11, 1918

[1] See page 521. [2] See page 619. [3] See the map, page 679.

The sudden termination of hostilities found the greater part of Europe in confusion. The former empires of the Romanovs, Hapsburgs, and Hohenzollerns promised to break up into a large number of independent states, with new governments and a new distribution of population. The problems for solution by the peace conference included, therefore, not only the necessary arrangements for indemnities in money and territory to be paid by the Central Powers and the disposition of Germany's colonial possessions, but also the creation of a number of new sovereign countries with boundaries satisfying all legitimate national aspirations. The World War was to be followed by a World Settlement.

Situation at the end of 1918

Studies

1. Summarize in essay form (about five hundred words) what seem to you to have been the fundamental causes of the World War. 2. Define the following: ultimatum, mobilization, reservists, blockade, contraband of war, and salient. 3. Enumerate the more important countries that remained entirely neutral during the World War. 4. Compare the World War, as to its epoch-making character, with (*a*) the Thirty Years' War; (*b*) the Seven Years' War; and (*c*) the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars. 5. Show that the assassination of the Austrian crown prince furnished an excuse rather than a reason for war. 6. What were the "strategical grounds" for the German invasion of Belgium? 7. Is it likely that Great Britain would have become a belligerent if Belgian neutrality had not been violated? 8. What made the capture of Paris seem so vitally important to the Germans at the outset of the war? 9. The battle of the Marne has been called "one more decisive battle of the world." Comment on this statement. 10. How did the Austro-German victories on the eastern and Balkan fronts contribute to the realization of "Middle Europe"? 11. Did Japan have sufficient reason for declaring war against Germany? 12. On what grounds did President Wilson adopt a policy of neutrality? 13. Show that the United States, as a neutral, could not properly place an embargo on the exports of arms and munitions to the Allies. 14. Compare the German policy of unrestricted submarine warfare with Napoleon's Continental System. 15. Enumerate the principal reasons for the entrance of the United States in the war against Germany and Austria-Hungary. 16. Why did not the United States declare war on Bulgaria and Turkey? 17. How did the revolution in Russia lead to the disintegration of the country? Contrast its results in this respect with the French Revolution. 18. What gave special significance to President Wilson's "Fourteen Points" as a statement of Allied war aims? 19. On an outline map indicate the territory surrendered by Russia according to the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. 20. Account for the rapid collapse of the Central Powers in the latter part of 1918. 21. On the basis of the statements in the text, give some account of the origin, character, and extinction of the Hapsburg, Hohenzollern, and Romanov dynasties.

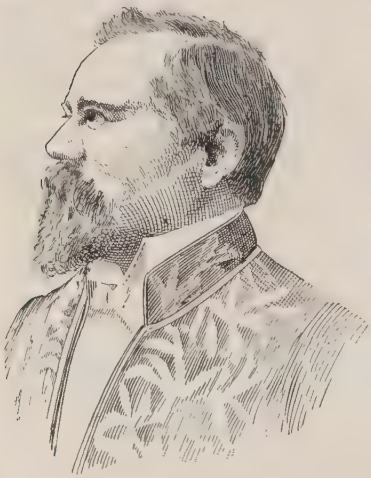
CHAPTER XXI

THE WORLD SETTLEMENT, 1919-1920

189. The Peace Conference

On January 18, 1919, forty-eight years to a day from the proclamation of the German Empire in the palace of Louis XIV at Versailles, the Peace Conference assembled at Paris. It was a gathering which dwarfed into insignificance the Congress at Vienna or those still earlier congresses of Utrecht and Westphalia. They met to settle the affairs of Europe; this one met to settle the affairs of the world.

Meeting



Raymond Poincaré

The seventy official delegates to the conference represented all the Allied and Associated countries (except San Marino, Montenegro, Costa Rica, and Russia) and those which had severed diplomatic relations with the Central Powers (except Santo Domingo). Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, and Hejaz, three states which had been formed during the war and had been recognized by the Allies, also sent delegates to Versailles. Neutral states were admitted to the conference only when matters affecting their particular interests came up for discussion. Enemy states were altogether excluded. Premier Clemenceau of France was unanimously chosen chairman of the conference.

Membership

VIEW OF PARIS FROM AN AIRPLANE

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THE PEACE CONFERENCE

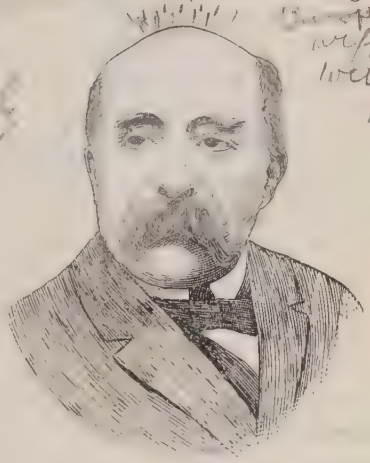
After a painting by Jacquelin, the official artist. The Peace Conference took place at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the Quai d'Orsay, overlooking the Seine. The sessions were held in the handsome chamber known as the Salle de l'Horloge (Hall of the Clock).

The direction of affairs naturally fell to the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan. The two ranking delegates from each of these five powers constituted a Supreme Council to discuss and formulate the business of the conference. As time went on, the difficulty of reconciling the many diverse interests and of reaching a settlement satisfactory to all made it necessary to reduce the original council of ten members to one of five. Finally, both Japan and Italy dropped from the inner circle, and the "Big Three," namely, premiers Clemenceau and Lloyd George, and President Wilson, decided among themselves the most important questions.

The Supreme Council

The drafting of the peace treaty with Germany proceeded steadily. Early in May it was delivered to the German delegates, who had been summoned to Versailles for the occasion. They tried to secure radical modification of its terms, but the Supreme Council refused to make any important concessions. Germany was given the choice between immediate acceptance of the treaty without reservations and renewal of the war. Germany chose to accept it, and her decision brought a relief to tense nerves everywhere. The historic ceremony of signing occurred on June 28 in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles.

Signing of the treaty, June 28, 1919



GEORGES CLEMENCEAU

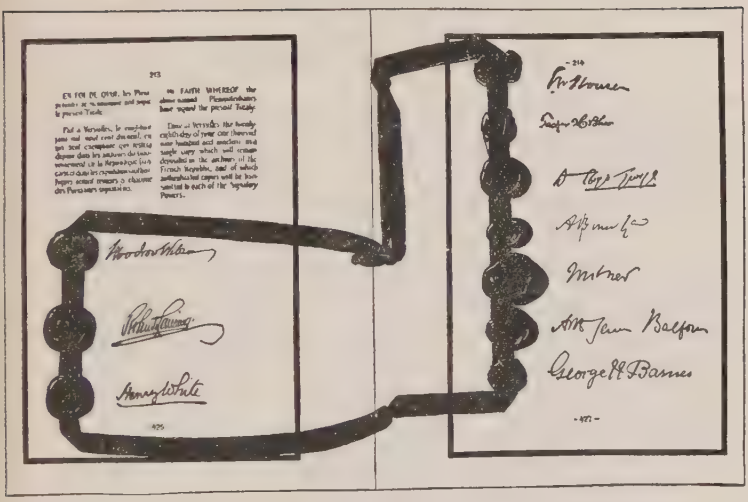
The last article of the treaty provided that it should become effective when ratified by Germany on the one hand and by three of the principal Allied and Associated powers on the other hand. Germany ratified it early in July, and similar action was taken during the following months of 1919 by Great Britain, France,

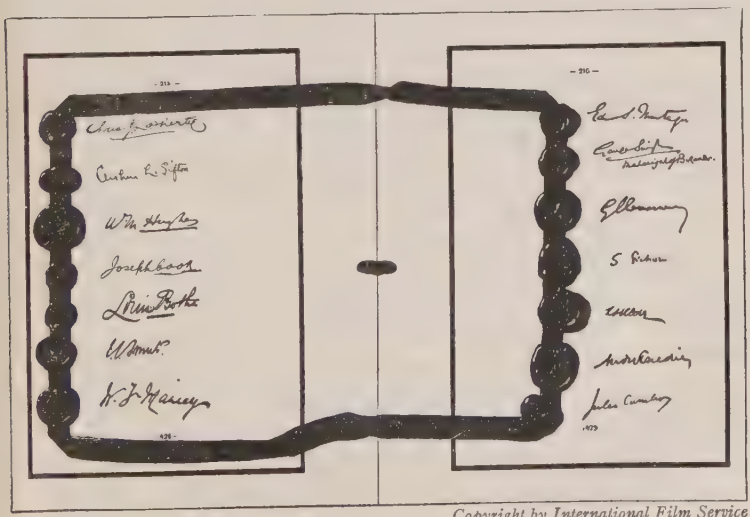
Exchange of ratifications, January 10, 1920

and Italy. The exchange of ratifications took place on January 10, 1920, in the Clock Hall of the French Foreign Ministry at Paris. From this day, therefore, the Allied powers and Germany were once more at peace.

The United States and the treaty

An Associated power still remained technically at war with Germany. The United States had not ratified the treaty owing to opposition in the Senate, which, according to the Constitution, must concur by a two-thirds vote in all treaties made by the President. Senatorial criticism was especially directed against certain features of the League of Nations, as inserted in the treaty. The chief stumbling-block was Article X of the covenant, which reads as follows: "The members of the league undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the league. In case of any such aggression, or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression, the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled." Many senators believed that this article, by putting the military and naval forces of the United States at the disposal of the league, impaired the constitutional right of Congress to declare war, and might also result in foreign entanglements which it has always been the American policy to avoid. Attempts were made to amend the treaty by writing into it various reservations indicative of the precise obligations which the United States was willing to accept under it. On both occasions (November, 1919, and March, 1920) when the amended treaty came to a vote in the Senate, it failed to pass by the necessary two-thirds majority. The rejection of the treaty made the League of Nations in its existing form the chief issue in the presidential campaign of 1920. The Republicans opposed the league and the Democrats upheld it. The Republican victory, resulting in the election of Senator Harding, was followed in the summer of 1921 by the passage of a congressional resolution which declared the war of the United States with Germany at an end. This resolution was promptly signed by the President. Treaties of peace negotiated by the administration, not only with Germany, but also with





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SIGNATURES ON THE PEACE TREATY WITH GERMANY

Austria and Hungary, were subsequently ratified by the Senate.

190. Peace with Germany

The Versailles treaty made the following modifications of Germany's western frontier. First of all, she gave back Alsace and Lorraine to France. German misgovernment of these two provinces since 1871 and the evident desire of most of their people to be reunited to France furnish sufficient justification for the action of the Peace Conference. The possession of Alsace-Lorraine, practically uninjured by the ravages of war, helps to compensate France for the destruction wrought in her northern provinces. It also restores the Rhine, to a great extent, as the frontier-line between France and Germany. Second, Germany ceded to France absolutely the coal mines in the Saar Basin (north of Lorraine).[1] This area, which was taken from France in 1815, is to be governed by the League of Nations until a plebiscite is held at the end of fifteen years to determine whether the inhabitants prefer French or German sovereignty. Third, Germany agreed that northern Schleswig should return to Denmark in case a majority of the inhabitants voted for the change.[2] By this action the Allies sought to repair the injury done by Prussia to Denmark in 1864. Fourth, Germany relinquished certain small districts on her western frontier to Belgium.

Germany's western frontier

The restoration of Poland to a place among the nations necessitated sweeping changes in the eastern frontier of Germany. She gave up the Polish districts in Prussia, namely, Posen, most of West Prussia, and a part of Upper, or Southern, Silesia. She renounced all rights over Danzig, which, with its environs, became a free city under the protection of the League of Nations. Poland enjoys special commercial rights in Danzig and thus secures uninterrupted access to the Baltic down the valley of the Vistula River.

Germany's eastern frontier

[1] See the map on page 465.

[2] The results of the two plebiscites taken in the spring of 1920 gave a large part of northern Schleswig to Denmark.

The narrow strip of territory, or "corridor," which connects Danzig with Poland, also serves to separate East Prussia from the rest of Germany. Finally, Germany lost Memel in East Prussia, an important outlet on the Baltic that was subsequently acquired by Lithuania. These territorial losses in the east were borne by the Prussian kingdom, which, in consequence, will no longer so completely overshadow the other German states. The Peace Conference thus undid much of Frederick the Great's work for the exaltation of Prussia.

Germany's name on a far-flung empire was blotted from the map. All her possessions overseas were taken from her. German East Africa went to Great Britain. German Southwest Africa went to the Union of South Africa. Togo and the Cameroons were divided between France and Great Britain. These territories are to be administered under mandates from the League of Nations. The mandate for the German Pacific islands north of the equator[1] is held by Japan, and that for the islands south of the equator,[2] by Australia. New Zealand, however, received the mandate for German Samoa. Germany also renounced, in favor of Japan, all her rights in Kiauchau and the Chinese province of Shantung.

The German colonies

Responsibility for all damages done to Allied civilians, both on the land and at sea, was assumed by Germany and her associates in the war. Germany therefore agreed to make good in money and in materials and in labor the injuries done by her armies in the countries overrun by them. She undertook to replace ton by ton the merchant vessels lost or damaged by her cruisers and submarines. She promised, furthermore, to bear the cost of the Allied armies of occupation in the Rhinelands.

Reparation

The amount of reparation to be collected in money and commodities was not fixed at first, owing to the difficulty of reckoning the claims against Germany and also because of disturbed financial conditions in that country. The Allies set up a Reparation Commission, with

Amount of reparation

[1] Pelew, Caroline, Ladrone, and Marshall Islands.

[2] German New Guinea, Bismarck Archipelago, and northern Solomon Islands.

power to inquire into Germany's resources and to fix the time and manner of her contributions. The German government in 1921 agreed to pay over a series of years the equivalent of 132,000,000,000 gold marks (about $33,000,000,000), plus the amount of the Belgian debt to the Allies, but less sums already paid on the reparation account or subsequently to be credited to it. The failure of Germany to make regular payments under this arrangement led to the seizure by French and Belgian troops of the rich industrial district of the Ruhr. Matters thus stood at a deadlock for a time: the Germans declared themselves practically bankrupt and unable to pay the colossal sum levied against them; the French and Belgians declared that they would continue their armed occupation of German territory until their demands for compensation had been satisfied.

The "Dawes Plan"

The deadlock was broken in 1924, when the Reparation Commission appointed a committee of economic experts (headed by General Charles G. Dawes, the former Director of the Budget of the United States), to devise some plan for the financial rehabilitation of Germany. The "Dawes Plan," as it came to be called, was promptly accepted by the French, British, and German governments. It provides for an international loan to Germany of $200,000,000 to establish a new German state bank, stabilize the fluctuating and depreciating currency, and make the first reparation payments. All subsequent payments are to be made through this bank, from a mortgage on the railroads and industries of Germany and from the proceeds of special taxes levied for the purpose. If Germany fails to pay, the Allies may keep the tax money collected in the country. In short, Germany agrees to pawn her principal resources so that she may discharge at least a part of her indebtedness to the Allies. Military evacuation of the Ruhr, by France and Belgium, will follow as soon as Germany gives evidence of her intention faithfully to abide by the "Dawes Plan."

The military, naval, and air clauses of the treaty were intended to make Germany innocuous. They include the aboli-

tion of conscription, the reduction of the German army to 100,000 men, including officers, and the destruction of the fortifications west of the Rhine, those in a thirty-mile zone on the east bank of the Rhine, those controlling the Baltic, and those on Helgoland. All importation, exportation, and nearly all production of war material was prohibited. The German fleet was reduced to a few ships without submarines. Airplanes, seaplanes, and dirigible balloons are not to be maintained for purposes of war. Germany also surrendered her submarine cables. These drastic requirements should pave the way for a general limitation of armaments by all nations.

Reduction of armaments

191. Peace with Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria

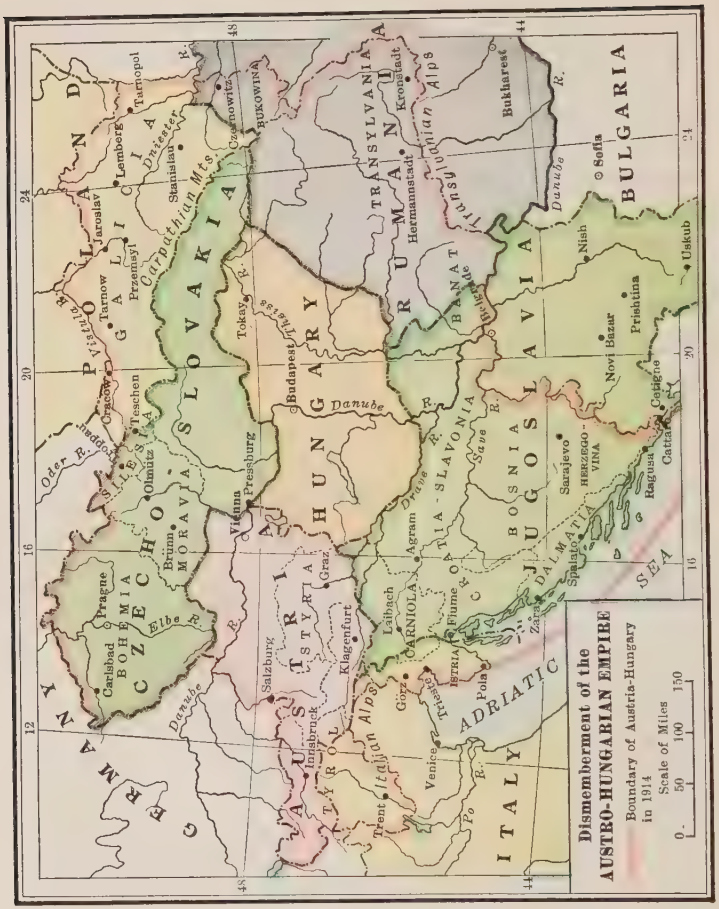
The treaty with Austria was signed in September, 1919, at St.-Germain, near Paris. The St.-Germain Treaty did little more than record an accomplished fact, namely, the disintegration of the Dual Monarchy. Austria ceded territory to Czecho-Slovakia and Jugoslavia and recognized their independence. Other parts of the former Austrian Empire were transferred to Italy (South Tyrol, the Trentino, the city of Trieste, and most of the peninsula of Istria), to Poland (Galicia), and to Rumania (Bukowina).[1] The treaty also embodied stringent provisions relating to reparation and disarmament.

Treaty of St.-Germain

Austria is a republic. It came into being immediately after the downfall of the Hapsburg monarchy, at the close of the war. The new Austria is a small, inland state, German in culture and chiefly German in population. The Allies, however, have refused to allow the Austrians to unite with their great Teutonic neighbor. Such a union, quite apart from the increase of German man-power, would produce an enlarged Germany extending from the Alps to the Baltic and thus would cut off western from central Europe.

Republic of Austria

[1] Rumania has also acquired Transylvania from Hungary and Bessarabia from Russia, thus becoming the largest of the Balkan states.



The treaty with Hungary was signed in June, 1920, at the Trianon, Versailles. It reduced Hungary to another small state inhabited almost entirely by Magyars. Czecho-Slovakia secured that part of northern Hungary containing a predominantly Slovak population; Rumania, the Rumanian district of Transylvania; and Jugo-slavia, the Slovenian and Croatian territories of Hungary. The demands made upon Hungary for reparation and disarmament

The Trianon Treaty

were substantially identical with those of the treaty with Austria.

A republic was established in Hungary shortly after the signing of the armistice. It lasted only a few months and then gave way to a Bolshevist régime, which was equally short-lived. A national parliament in 1920 chose as regent of the country Admiral von Horthy, a member of an old and distinguished Magyar family. The former emperor, Charles I, who made two unsuccessful efforts to regain his crown, was finally exiled by the Allies to the Madeira Islands, where he died in 1922. Hungary is now a monarchy in name, but the throne is unoccupied. The Allies will not permit the restoration of the Hapsburg dynasty.

Kingdom of Hungary

The treaty with Bulgaria, as signed in November, 1919, at Neuilly, slightly rectified the western frontier of that state in favor of Jugoslavia. The frontier with Rumania remains as before the war. The most important boundary change is on the south, where Bulgaria relinquished part of Thrace to Greece. Bulgaria thus lost an outlet on the Ægean. She was also obliged to limit her army to 20,000 men, to surrender all warships and aircraft, and to pay a total indemnity of $445,000,000.

Treaty of Neuilly

192. Peace with Turkey

The disposition of the decrepit Ottoman Empire presented one of the thorniest problems before the Peace Conference. A treaty with Turkey was signed at Sèvres, near Paris, in August, 1920, but it was never ratified, owing to the opposition of a new and vigorous Turkish government that had been set up at Angora in Asia Minor. The Nationalists, as the patriotic Turks called themselves, would not accept a treaty which, besides depriving them of the territories overrun by the Allies in the war, also gave to Greece a further slice of Turkey in Europe (Eastern Thrace) and the city of Smyrna and its environs in Asia Minor. This part of Asia Minor had belonged to ancient Hellas and still contained a considerable Greek population.

Treaty of Sèvres

The Nationalists found an able leader in Mustapha Kemal, a Turkish officer who had won distinction in the Gallipoli campaign. He organized a strong army, drove the Greeks out of Smyrna, and took possession of Constantinople and Eastern Thrace. The Allies, confronted with this *fait accompli*, which their disagreements and bickerings with one another did so much to make possible, had to consent to a new treaty far more favorable to Turkey than the one originally framed. The Treaty of Lausanne was signed in July, 1923. It allowed the Turks to retain both Eastern Thrace and Smyrna and also recognized Turkish sovereignty over the waterways leading from the Mediterranean to the Black Sea. The treaty further provided for the compulsory exchange of Greeks living in Asia Minor for Turks living in Greece, so that each country might henceforth be freed from the alien element in its population.

Treaty of Lausanne

Having triumphed over the Allies, the Nationalists proceeded to remake the Turkish government. They deposed the sultan, because he had consented to the humiliating Treaty of Sèvres, expelled him and his family from the country, and declared the sultanate abolished. They also did away with the caliphate, or spiritual authority which the Turkish rulers had asserted over the Moslem world. A National Assembly in 1923 declared Turkey a republic. The first president is Mustapha Kemal. The capital is Angora (ancient Ancyra) in Asia Minor. Constantinople remains, however, the cultural center of the republic. As their name indicates, the Nationalists are ardent patriots. Their policy of "Turkey for the Turks" has resulted in a wholesale withdrawal of Christians and Jews from Asia Minor. The Nationalists have also got rid of the so-called "Capitulations," or rights formerly enjoyed by foreigners in Turkey to be subject to the laws of their respective countries and not to Turkish laws. The new republican government aims to develop the economic resources of the country by building railroads and fostering agriculture, to promote education along Western lines, and, in general, to place Turkey among progressive nations.

Republic of Turkey

In spite of their diplomatic victory at Lausanne, the Turks paid heavily for allying themselves with the Central Powers. They surrendered all claim to the non-Turkish provinces of Kurdistan, Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, and Arabia, thus losing about a third of the population and about half of the area included in the Ottoman Empire of 1914.

Countries freed from Turkey

The French hold Syria under a mandate from the Supreme Council of the Allies. Syria now comprises all the territory between Turkey on the north, Mesopotamia on the east, Arabia (Transjordania) and Palestine on the south, and the Mediterranean on the west. The bulk of the population is of Arabic origin, Arabic is the prevailing language, and Islam is the leading religion. The interests of France in this part of the Levant are chiefly commercial, though there is a sentimental tradition dating back to Napoleon and even to the crusades. French schools and missions are also very numerous in the country.

Syria

The British received the mandate for Palestine. They are pledged to develop the Holy Land as a national home for the Jews — a people without a country for nearly eighteen hundred years. A good many "Zionists," or Jewish nationalists, are now emigrating to Palestine, but Jews do not constitute as yet more than one-eighth of the total population. The inhabitants are mainly Arabs.

Palestine

Great Britain, having been made the mandatary for Mesopotamia, placed the country under an Arab king subject to British control. Iraq, as the new kingdom is called, is naturally one of the most favored regions in the world. British administration ought to redeem it from the long blight to which it has been subjected for centuries by Turkish misgovernment. With scientific agriculture and irrigation Iraq should soon become such a granary of the Near East as Babylonia was in ancient times.

Iraq

The Arab kingdom of Hejaz testifies to a new birth of Islam. The Young Turks, in their efforts to "Ottomanize" all the peoples of the Ottoman Empire, only succeeded in alienating

the Arabs, who have never forgotten that from their land came the Prophet, that in it are the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, and that Arabic is the sacred language of the Koran. An Arab revolt against Turkey broke out in 1916, under the leadership of Husein, a descendant of Mohammed and official head (*sherif*) of Mecca. He was promptly recognized as king of Hejaz, or western Arabia, by the Entente Powers. Husein in 1924 had to abdicate, in consequence of a revolt of the Wahabis, a militant sect of Moslem Arabs. The political situation in Hejaz and Arabia generally promises to be unsettled for a long time to come.

Hejaz

The slaughter of the Christian Armenians by the Turks is the blackest deed in all the record of the war. The victorious Allies proposed to group the Armenians who survived into a new and independent state, protected by the League of Nations. The plan was never carried into effect, owing to the revival of Turkish power under the Nationalists and the opposition of the Bolsheviki. Turkey recovered some of the Armenian districts. The remainder now form a small republic in the Caucasus, in alliance with and subject to Soviet Russia.

Armenia

193. The New Nations in Central and Eastern Europe

The victorious struggle against the Central Powers led to the establishment of many new nations in central and eastern Europe. The proper delimitation of their frontiers was a difficult task. The Peace Conference gave much attention to nationality as a guide to a just settlement. Plebiscites, or popular votes, were held in various disputed areas, in order to determine what were the real wishes of the inhabitants. The need of respecting historic rights likewise required consideration, together with the necessity of securing strategic frontiers and access to the sea for the new states about to be created. Racial, historical, geographical, and economic factors thus combined to complicate the boundary problems before the conference.

Boundary problems

One of these problems concerned the Serbo-Croats and

Slovenes, who form the group of South Slavs, or Jugoslavs. In 1914 the Serbo-Croats were distributed chiefly in the independent states of Serbia and Montenegro and in the following provinces of Austria-Hungary: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Dalmatia, and Croatia-Slavonia. The Slovenes were found in the province of Carniola.

The Jugoslavs

The state of Jugoslavia represents a voluntary union of all these peoples. In order to establish it, both Serbia and Montenegro gave up their separate governments and united with the former Jugoslav provinces of Austria-Hungary. The first ruler of the kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes — to use the official title — is Alexander I, former crown prince of Serbia. Belgrade is the capital.

Jugoslavia

The formation of the new kingdom led to a long and bitter dispute between the Jugoslavs and the Italians. Not satisfied with the extension of Italy into the Tyrol, the Trentino, and around Trieste, Italian nationalists pressed for the annexation of the important port of Fiume, which is predominantly Italian in population. The Jugoslavs, on the other hand, felt that Fiume should belong to them, as an outlet for their new state. The dispute was finally settled by making Fiume a free city (like Danzig), but closely attached to Italy. Jugoslavia, however, obtained the Dalmatian coast, to which Italy had set up a claim during the war.

Italy and Jugoslavia

The Albanian principality created by the European powers in 1913 disappeared completely soon after the opening of the World War. Albania now forms an independent republic. The country is still very backward, lacking good highways, railroads, newspapers, and post offices, while the antipathy between its Christian and Moslem inhabitants makes for dissension.

Albania

How unwillingly the Czechs and the Slovaks fought for the Dual Monarchy in the war is a matter of common knowledge. More than one hundred thousand Czecho-Slovaks surrendered to the Russians, and many of them promptly enlisted in the tsar's armies. After the Russian Revolution it was the Czecho-Slovaks in Siberia who held that

The Czecho-Slovaks

vast country for the Allies against the Bolsheviki. Czecho-Slovaks from Great Britain, France, Italy, and the United States also volunteered in large numbers for service on the western front. There are few finer episodes in history than this spontaneous uprising of a whole nation.

The collapse of the Dual Monarchy was followed almost immediately by the setting-up of a Czecho-Slovak state. It embraces Bohemia, Moravia, and Austrian Silesia, which together formed an independent kingdom until its annexation by Austria in 1526, and also Slovakia. The latter country, once a part of Moravia, had been a Magyar dependency for centuries. Czecho-Slovakia is a republic with a constitution patterned after that of France, but with suffrage for both men and women. The new state occupies a central position between the Baltic and the Adriatic. It is rich in natural resources, is advanced in agriculture, trade, and manufacturing, and is well provided with common schools. Czecho-Slovakia has every assurance of a prosperous and happy future. The first president is T. G. Masaryk, formerly a university professor. The capital is Prague.

Czecho-Slovakia

Powder Gate, Prague

One of the finest Gothic towers in Central Europe. Begun in 1475 and completed in 1506.

Hard, indeed, was the fate of the Poles during the World War. Those in Russian Poland had to fight against their brothers in Galicia, Posen, and West Prussia. Much of their country formed a fiercely contested battle-ground, and destruction, famine, and death followed

The Poles

everywhere in the wake of the contending armies. In 1914 the tsar, Nicholas II, promised autonomy to all the Poles, both those in Russia and those to be liberated from Austrian and German rule. Germany also proposed to set up a Polish state under German tutelage. It was reserved for the Peace Conference, however, to create the free and independent Poland of 1919.

Poland

Restored Poland includes much of the territory taken from that country by Austria and Prussia in the partitions of the eighteenth century. Disputes with Soviet Russia about the eastern boundary of Poland led to hard fighting between the Poles and the Bolsheviki during 1920. As the outcome of negotiations with the Soviet government, Poland finally acquired considerably more territory than had been allotted to her by the Peace Conference. Like her Czecho-Slovak neighbor, Poland is a republic with universal suffrage. She has bound herself by a special treaty with the Allies to maintain free institutions, under the ægis of the League of Nations. The first president of Poland is General Pilsudski. The capital of the country is Warsaw.

Lithuania

The grand duchy of Lithuania, which united with Poland in 1569, became a part of the Russian Empire after the partitions of Poland in the eighteenth century. The tsar's government made every effort to "Russify" the inhabitants, extinguish their sense of nationality, and force upon them the Orthodox Church. Such was the situation when the World War broke out. The Germans overran Lithuania during their great offensive of 1915, only to evacuate it three years later after the signing of the armistice. Lithuania then proclaimed its independence as a republic.

Latvia

The Letts, who call themselves Latvis, dwell for the most part in the former Russian provinces of Courland and Livonia, around the Gulf of Riga. They too had to fight for freedom against both German armies and the Bolsheviki. Latvia is a small but progressive republic.

The provisional government of Russia in 1917 granted Esthonia a parliament, or Diet, to be elected by universal

suffrage. After the triumph of the Bolsheviki in Russia, the Diet proclaimed Esthonian independence. The Germans subsequently occupied the country, but their dream of annexing it went the way of the other Pan-German schemes. The republic of Esthonia has signed a peace treaty with the Soviet government, by which Russia abdicates all rights over her former Baltic possession.

Esthonia

The Swedes conquered Finland in the twelfth century and retained it until 1809. Finland, with the Åland Islands, then entered the Russian Empire as a semi-independent grand duchy. The Finnish parliament in 1917 declared for complete separation from Russia. The Finns had to contend with both the Bolsheviki and the Germans, but Germany's collapse gave them their liberty. Finland was soon recognized as a republic by the principal Allied powers.

Finland

194. Socialist Germany

Socialists assumed the leadership of the revolutionary and republican movements in many European countries. There are two types of socialism, however. Moderate socialists rely on the ballot to abolish capitalism and introduce state ownership of the means of production: they are democrats in their political thinking and accept the democratic principle of majority rule. Radical or extreme socialists advocate a violent revolution to overthrow the capitalistic middle class, the hated *bourgeoisie*, and bring in a dictatorship of the urban proletariat. These socialists, therefore, preach "class conflict"; they would employ "direct action" as the only effective method of reconstructing society. The contrast between the two socialistic parties is well marked in Germany, where the principles of Karl Marx and his followers first became popular among workingmen.

The socialistic upheaval

The moderate socialists (Social Democrats) before the war were the chief opponents of militarism and autocracy in Germany, and even in 1914 a bold minority of them resisted the war fever then sweeping over the country. The events of 1918 strengthened their hands; both

The German Republic

the army and the navy became saturated with the revolutionary spirit; and a few days before the signing of the armistice in November the uprising occurred which sent the Hohenzollerns into exile and established a socialistic government, with Friedrich Ebert, once a saddler, at its head.

The Social Democrats immediately encountered the opposition of the radicals, who planned to deprive the *bourgeoisie* of all power and to set up a proletarian régime. The Spartacans,[1] as they called themselves, were well supplied with arms and munitions. There were bitter conflicts between them and the republican troops. Law and order finally triumphed, after much bloodshed. The republicans also foiled several attempts by reactionary monarchists to restore the old government.

The Spartacans and monarchists

Ebert and his associates convoked a national assembly, which met at Weimar in 1919 and drafted a constitution. This was speedily ratified by a popular vote. The new Germany is essentially a federative republic, though still described by the old name *Reich*, or Empire. Foreign affairs, colonies, immigration and emigration, military organization, coinage, tariffs, and posts, telegraphs, and telephones are reserved to the nation as a whole. The eighteen confederated states may legislate on many other matters, subject, however, to the prior right of legislation by the nation. Every state must have a republican form of government.

Constitution of the German Republic

President Ebert

The constitution retains certain time-honored forms and

[1] Spartacus was a celebrated gladiator, who in 73 B.C. organized a formidable revolt of slaves, outlaws, and starving peasants against the Roman Republic.

features of the old government.[1] The Imperial Council (Reichsrat), which replaces the Bundesrat, consists of delegates from the confederated states. Each state has at least one vote, and in the case of the larger states one vote is accorded to every million inhabitants. No state, however, may have more than two-fifths of all the votes in the Reichsrat. This clause of the constitution should prevent the control of the council by Prussia.

The Reichsrat

Long impotent under the old imperial régime, the Reichstag now becomes the supreme law-making body. The Reichsrat may, indeed, refuse assent to a measure passed by the Reichstag, but its veto can be overridden by a two-thirds vote of the latter assembly. Members of the Reichstag hold office for four years.

The Reichstag

The president of Germany is elected by the entire people for a term of seven years. He is eligible to reëlection. The president makes treaties, selects public officials, commands the military forces, and appoints and dismisses the chancellor, together with other members of the ministry. The constitutional provision requiring that the chancellor and his associates shall hold office only as long as they retain the confidence of the Reichstag gives to Germany substantially cabinet government.

President and chancellor

The Weimar Assembly of 1919, more successful than the Frankfort Assembly of 1849,[2] made Germany a genuinely democratic state. All Germans are declared equal before the law. All privileges, whether of birth, class, or creed, are abolished. The right of suffrage is bestowed on all citizens, both men and women. The republic enjoys the support, not only of the moderate socialists, but also of the more liberal and progressive elements throughout Germany.

German democracy

195. Soviet Russia

The Brest-Litovsk Treaty, which the Bolsheviki concluded with Germany early in 1918, did not long endure. The victorious Allies compelled Germany to repu-

Russia a national state

[1] See pages 513–515. [2] See page 438.

diate it, thus making possible the creation of the republics of Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland, out of territories that had been forcibly incorporated in the Russian

Empire. The Bolsheviki recognized the independence of these countries in accordance with the principle of self-determination of nationalities. They also acquiesced, reluctantly, in the transfer of Bessarabia to Rumania. Russia thus lost most of its subject and alien peoples in Europe and became a national

state, inhabited almost entirely by Russians. The capital now went back from Petrograd [1] to Moscow.

The Soviet federation

The Bolsheviki reorganized the territories under their control. They created a great federation, known as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The largest and most important state in the federation is Soviet Russia, or, as the Bolsheviki prefer to call it, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic. This includes all the area occupied by Great Russians in Europe, together with the former Asiatic provinces of the tsar's empire. The second member of the federation is White Russia. The third is Ukrainia, which comprises those areas where Little Russians predominate. The federation also contains three small republics in the Caucasus, namely, Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia. Soviet Russia grants to the other states in this union some degree of independence in local concerns, but requires them to maintain a Bolshevist government and controls their foreign relations. The new federation is declared to be a decisive step toward the "union of the toilers of all countries into one world Soviet Socialist Republic."

Anti-Bolshevism in Russia

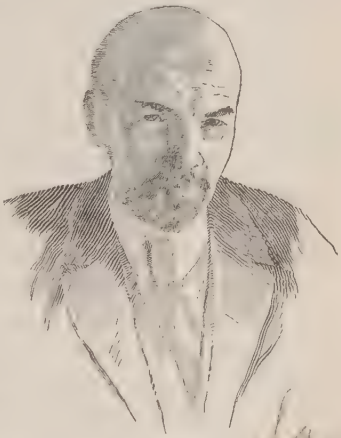
The Bolsheviki for a time encountered serious opposition on the part of Russian liberals and Russian reactionaries, who joined forces to overthrow the Soviet government. Their hostile attitude was natural enough, since the Bolshevist program provided for the elimination of the aristocracy and the *bourgeoisie*. A civil war, waged with great ferocity on both sides, continued for several years. The decisive victories of the "Red" armies in 1919–1920 firmly established Bolshevist rule over all the territories of Russian race and language. The triumph of the Bolsheviki seems to be due chiefly to the fact that their opponents repeated the mistake of the *émigrés* during the French Revolution and called in foreign assistance from Great Britain, France, Japan, and the United States. This action had the effect of arousing the patriotic sentiment of the Russian people, who were now ready

[1] Called Leningrad, after the death of Lenin in 1924.

to support Lenin and Trotsky in repelling the invaders of their country.

Russia possesses a so-called constitution, framed in 1918 by the Congress of Soviets, which takes the place of a national parliament. The constitution grants the franchise to men and women over eighteen years of age, if they are "productive" laborers. This means, in practice, that all business men, professional men, merchants, and bankers, as well as peasants who employ other peasants on their farms, cannot vote or hold any public office or serve in the army. They are not citizens, according to the Bolshevist definition of citizenship. Clergymen and monks are also excluded from political rights. The Bolsheviki have disestablished the Orthodox Church and have deprived it of state support.

Constitution of Russia



LENIN

Lenin, Trotsky, and the other Bolshevist leaders were radical socialists. They abolished private property in land and allowed the peasants to take over and divide up the great estates, without compensation to the former owners. They "nationalized" railways, banks, forests, and mines. They seized the factories, which were to be operated henceforth by the workingmen and for the workingmen. They conscripted laborers from the hated middle and upper classes, drove them to work like chattel slaves, and even had them executed for "industrial desertion." These things were done by a small party of communists or socialists, whose numbers, according to official figures, never exceeded half a million. In short, the Bolshevist régime was — and still is — not a dictatorship of the proletariat, but a dictatorship over the great mass of the Russian people. It was — and still is — sup-

The Bolshevist régime

ported by terrorism, by exiling, imprisoning, or killing all who oppose it, just as the old tsarist government disposed of its enemies. Individual liberty is non-existent in Soviet Russia.

The "Third International"

Not satisfied with their efforts in Russia, the Bolsheviki spread socialistic propaganda in foreign countries. Their flag is the red flag; their war cry is "Workers of the World unite!"; their ultimate aim is a revolution by the proletariat everywhere. Accordingly, they have organized the "Third International," as a successor to two other international organizations of socialists which had been founded by the followers of Karl Marx in the nineteenth century. This organization, though centering in Moscow, has its agents and adherents in various European capitals and also in the United States.

The Russian situation

Closed factories, disorganized railroads, and starving cities were some of the immediate results of the social experimentation of Lenin and his associates. The whole system of production and transport broke down, and, coupled with serious failure of crops, brought famine and death to many Russians. Under these circumstances the Bolsheviki began to compromise between socialism and capitalism, so far as to permit private business enterprise and private property in land. Russia, in fact, appears to be reverting gradually to the economic system of the rest of the civilized world. The Allies have now adopted a policy of non-intervention in Russian affairs. Diplomatic intercourse is being reëstablished between them and the Soviet government, and commercial relations are also being resumed. Russia, whose life was so disrupted by the war, by the subsequent Allied blockade, and by the activities of the Bolsheviki, requires western capital to revive its drooping industries. The rest of Europe likewise needs to draw on the rich natural resources of Russia for economic reconstruction.

196. Contemporary European Politics

The treaties concluded by the Allies with Germany at Versailles, with Austria at St.-Germain, with Bulgaria at Neuilly, with Hungary at the Trianon, and with Turkey at Sèvres and

Lausanne, together with the diplomatic arrangements entered into between the Allies themselves, constitute the Peace of Paris. The territorial changes made by the peace affected directly or indirectly every Continental state except Spain and Portugal. A new map of Europe was drawn.

The new map of Europe

The new map is based, in large part, on the principle of self-determination, as applied to nationalities. It had received little or no consideration in the great treaties of Westphalia, Utrecht, and Vienna. Germany after her unification and Austria-Hungary and Turkey throughout the nineteenth century systematically opposed nationalism as a force disruptive of their empires. Russia upheld the same policy for the same reason. Each of these countries contained numerous "submerged nationalities," governed against their will by those whom they regarded as foreigners. The defeat of the Central Powers and the Russian Revolution offered, therefore, a unique opportunity to make over Europe in the name and in the interest of all its peoples great and small.

National self-determination

Germany, Turkey, and Russia, shorn of their alien elements, became essentially national states. Austria and Hungary arose as national states, each with a homogeneous population. New national states appeared in Jugoslavia, Albania, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Esthonia, and Finland. Other countries completed their national unification: France, by the acquisition of Alsace-Lorraine; Italy, by securing *Italia Irredenta;* and Rumania, by the incorporation of Bukowina, Transylvania, and Bessarabia. Whether or not all these territorial changes prove to be permanent, they certainly recognized the principle of self-determination.

National states

One obvious outcome of the war and the peace settlement was the lengthening of the zones of possible friction in Europe. Eight thousand miles of old boundary lines on the Continent were increased to ten thousand miles, a considerable part of this total representing newly located boundaries. Will the states whose resources and territory have been diminished be content with their new frontiers? Will the states that have secured an increase of

Zones of friction in Europe

resources and territory be satisfied with their gains? We may raise these questions, though we cannot now answer them. Germany, still outside the League of Nations and inspired with an intense hatred of France, may yet flame forth in a war of liberation or revenge. She cannot always be kept disarmed and impotent. Russia, losing her revolutionary ideals and reasserting her old imperialist aspirations, may sometime try to win back by force her former Baltic provinces and open once more that "window" on Europe which Peter the Great secured for her. Nor is the existing political situation in the Balkans and central Europe without elements of anxiety. The qualities of selfish ambition and envy are deep-seated, and as long as they exist they must complicate the relations of European peoples to one another.

When the World War began, two-thirds of Europe was under autocratic rule. Germany, which refused to accept either the principles or the practice of democracy, found natural support in reactionary Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey. Autocratic Russia, it is true, fought on the side of the Allies, but the Russian Revolution promised to enroll that country among liberal states. The triumph of the Central Powers would not only have dashed the hopes of the "submerged nationalities" in Europe; it would have imperiled the existence of democratic government everywhere. Germany and her satellites flung down a challenge to the liberties of mankind.

Autocracy versus democracy

All know how that challenge was met. Two emperors, those of Germany and Austria; two tsars, those of Russia and Bulgaria; six kings, those of Prussia, Saxony, Bavaria, Würtemberg, Hungary, and Greece; one sultan, and a crowd of princes, dukes, and grand dukes renounced their hereditary rights and sought refuge either in obscurity or in exile. More than a score of sovereigns dethroned represents part of the balance sheet of the war.

Sovereigns dethroned

With the emperors, kings, princes, dukes, and grand dukes went the whole theory of absolutism and divine right. Monarchy itself disappeared in most of central and eastern Eu-

rope, only Hungary and three Balkan states (Rumania, Bulgaria, and Jugoslavia), retaining a semblance of one-man rule.[1] The war revealed, clearly enough, what ruin might be caused by the vanity, selfishness, and ambition of a few persons. They had long menaced the peace and happiness of the world. At last, the world is done with them.

Absolutism and divine right discredited

The republics and democracies that have sprung up in so much of Europe bid fair to be permanent. Their stability has sometimes been threatened by the radical socialists, or communists, who form an appreciable element of the population in many states. In Germany, as has been noted, the communists started the Spartacan uprising, which was bloodily suppressed. An attempt by Bela Kun, a pupil of Lenin and Trotsky, to foment a communist revolution in Hungary likewise ended in failure. The efforts of the communists to duplicate in Italy the conditions prevailing in Bolshevist Russia led to the formation of the so-called Fascisti,[2] a party which opposed the physical violence of the communists with still greater violence. The Fascisti found a leader in Benito Mussolini, a former Italian soldier in the war. He became a sort of temporary dictator of Italy in 1923, controlling both parliament and king, and carried through many governmental reforms. The French communists have a considerable representation in the Chamber of Deputies. The Labor Party, which for a time in 1924 controlled the British government, consists chiefly of moderate socialists, but with a fringe of radicals who support the communist movement.

Democracy and communism

The spread of political democracy has resulted in the making of many new constitutions. These are generally liberal documents. They establish manhood suffrage and often woman suffrage as well. They separate Church and State, where the two had previously been united. They also provide for a system of common schools, so that the people

Liberal constitutions

[1] Turkey became a republic in 1923 and Greece in 1924.

[2] The *fasces* in Old Rome were a bundle of rods wrapped about an ax and carried before the highest magistrates as an emblem of authority.

Governments of the World

I. Federative Republics

United States
Mexico
Venezuela
Brazil
Argentina
Switzerland
Germany (Deutsches Reich)
Russia (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)

1. Soviet Russia
2. White Russia
3. Ukrainia
4. Georgia
5. Azerbaijan
6. Armenia

II. Centralized Republics

Cuba
Haiti
Santo Domingo
Guatemala
Honduras
Salvador
Nicaragua
Costa Rica
Panama
Colombia
Ecuador
Peru
Bolivia
Chile
Paraguay
Uruguay
France
Portugal
San Marino
Austria
Czecho-Slovakia
Poland
Lithuania
Latvia
Esthonia
Finland
Albania
Greece
Turkey
Liberia
China (with Manchuria, Tibet, Sinkiang, and Mongolia)

III. Constitutional Monarchies

Great Britain (and Irish Free State)
Belgium
Netherlands
Denmark (and Iceland)
Norway
Sweden
Spain
Italy
Japan
Hungary
Rumania
Bulgaria
Jugoslavia (Serb, Croat, and Slovene State)
Egypt
Iraq
Persia
Siam

IV. Despotic Monarchies

Abyssinia
Morocco
Hejaz
Oman
Nepal
Bhutan
Afghanistan

GOVERNMENTS OF THE WORLD
Federative Republics
Centralized Republics
Constitutional Monarchies
Despotic Monarchies
Colonies, Dominions and Protectorates in lighter color
ARCTIC OCEAN
ASIA
Alaska
ARCTIC CIRCLE
DOMINION OF CANADA
NORTH AMERICA
Labrador
Greenland
UNITED STATES
MEXICO
CENT AM
WEST INDIES
TROPIC OF CANCER
EQUATOR
TROPIC OF CAPRICORN
ANTARCTIC CIRCLE
NEW ZEALAND
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
SOUTH AMERICA
BRAZIL
PERU
BOLIVIA
GUIANA
COLOMBIA
ICELAND
BRITISH ISLES
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
FRANCE
SCANDINAVIA
RUSSIA
EUROPE
TURKEY
PERSIA
ARABIA
LIBYA
SAHARA
Sudan
AFRICA
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA
MADAGASCAR
NOVA ZEMBLA
Siberia
ASIA
CHINA
INDIA
SIAM
PHILIPPINES
BORNEO
SUMATRA
JAVA
NEW GUINEA
AUSTRALIA
TASMANIA
INDIAN OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
120 Longitude West 80 from Greenwich 40
40 Longitude East 80 from Greenwich 120

may understand and appreciate democratic institutions. Other noteworthy features of the constitutions are the insistence on ministerial responsibility to parliament — cabinet government — and the adoption of proportional representation, in order that small parties and minorities may secure representation in the legislature. The presidents of the new republics have far less authority and influence than the sovereigns whom they displaced. Their position rather resembles that of the head of the French Republic.

Break-up of the Triple Alliance

The World War and the Peace of Paris made an end of the political system that developed between 1871 and 1914. A Triple Alliance no longer confronted a Triple Entente. The proud dynasties of the Hohenzollerns, the Hapsburgs, and the Romanovs had disappeared, and with them their imposing empires. Germany, indeed, kept her unity and most of her territory, but the Allied requirements for disarmament and reparation reduced her, for a time at least, to the position of a second-rate power. Austria-Hungary was resolved into a congeries of states, each independent, each ambitious, each jealous of its liberties. Russia was now separated from the rest of Europe by Rumania, which had more than doubled in size, by a revived and powerful Poland, and by the new Baltic republics.

Great Britain, Italy, and France

There remained Great Britain, Italy, and France. The three countries after the war had neither the resources nor the desire to impose their will upon the rest of Europe. Great Britain, occupied with urgent problems of reconstruction and burdened with new responsibilities in Africa and Asia, avoided Continental entanglements. Italy centered her interests in southeastern Europe and the Mediterranean. France, on the other hand, once more found herself the leading state on the Continent. She kept up the largest and most efficient standing army, in order to enforce the terms of the peace settlement upon Germany, and she made an alliance with Poland so that the Polish republic might serve as a buffer between Germany and Russia. France thus recovered something of her former ascendancy under Louis XIV and Napoleon.

Coöperation of Great Britain, Italy, and France

The general control of all matters springing out of the treaties was vested, originally, in the "Principal Allied and Associated Powers." The failure of the United States to ratify the treaties and the abstention of Japan from European affairs reduced the group of powers practically to Great Britain, Italy, and France. They have coöperated, though not without friction, through councils of premiers and cabinet ministers from the different countries. Some important and difficult international questions have been referred by the three powers to the League of Nations for settlement. Their continued and friendly coöperation is essential, if Europe is to recover from the war and enjoy lasting peace.

Studies

1. Where are Iraq, Hejaz, Anatolia, Kurdistan, Albania, Saar Basin, Schleswig, Upper Silesia, Istria, Eastern Thrace, Fiume, Danzig, Memel, Smyrna, and Angora? 2. On the map between pages 730–731, locate the areas occupied by Lithuanians, Letts, Esthonians, Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Ruthenians (Little Russians), Slovenians, and Serbo-Croats (Serbs and Croatians). 3. Indicate on an outline map the new boundaries of Germany and of Russia in Europe. 4. Indicate on an outline map the boundaries of Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, and Jugoslavia. 5. Explain the use in this chapter of the expressions: secret diplomacy, self-determination, plebiscite, mandate, and free city. 6. Mention some instances of plebiscites, mandates, and free cities provided for by the peace treaties. 7. Explain briefly: Reparation Commission; "Dawes Plan"; "Third International"; Article X of the Covenant of the League of Nations. 8. Compare the Peace Conference at Paris with the Congress of Vienna as to membership, purpose, and accomplishment. 9. Indicate on the map between pages 636–637, the districts lost by Germany and Bulgaria, respectively. 10. On the same map indicate what territories have been "redeemed" by Italy and Rumania, respectively. 11. What independent states were set up by non-Russian peoples formerly in the Russian Empire? 12. Compare the boundaries of the new Poland with those of Poland before its partition (map on page 316). 13. Name and locate the principal colonial acquisitions of Great Britain and France at the expense of Germany. 14. Contrast the government of socialist Germany with that of the German Empire. 15. Contrast the government of Soviet Russia with that of the Russian Empire. 16. What did Mr. Lloyd George mean by saying, "This is a war of nationalities"? 17. What did President Wilson mean by saying, "The world must be made safe for democracy"? 18. Show how the World War and the Peace of Paris contributed to the realization of both nationalism and democracy in Europe. 19. What European states have a republican form of government? What ones are democratic monarchies? 20. How many independent countries were there in Europe in 1914? How many are there now? 21. Name and locate the capitals of the new European states.

CHAPTER XXII

THE WORLD TO-DAY[1]

197. The Cost of the World War

THE World War deserved its name. It cast a dark shadow over almost the entire globe. Nothing like it had ever happened before. Twenty-eight countries, with their colonial dependencies, took up arms, while five Latin-American countries severed diplomatic relations with Germany. Only sixteen countries (Spain, Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Abyssinia, Persia, Afghanistan, Mexico, Salvador, Colombia, Venezuela, Chile, Paraguay, and Argentina), with less than one-sixteenth of the world's population, remained neutral. Even neutrals, however, could not escape the dislocations resulting from a war of such magnitude. **A world war**

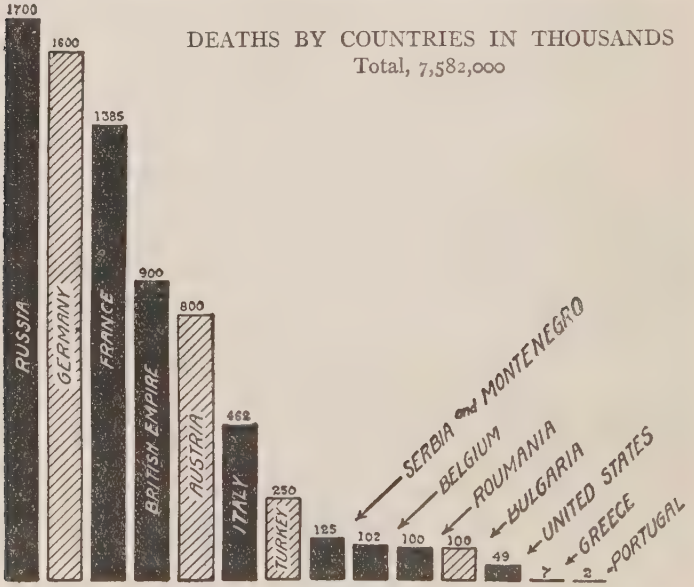
The Allies mobilized about forty million men and the Central Powers about twenty million men, making a grand total of sixty million combatants from beginning to end of the struggle. It is impossible to give an exact statement of the casualties. Probably ten million soldiers lost their lives in battle or as a result of wounds, accidents, and disease. Probably twenty million soldiers were wounded, perhaps a quarter of them being permanently disabled in body or in health. The death loss among non-combatants, as the result of pestilence, famine, and massacres, has been estimated at twenty millions. The total mortality directly traceable to the World War would thus amount to thirty millions. These appalling figures must be greatly increased if account is taken of the loss of population due to the decline of the normal birth-rate and the increase of the normal death-rate among European peoples. Not more than five million lives were lost **Blood cost**

[1] Webster, *Historical Source Book*, No. 20, "Holy Alliance, 1815"; No. 33, "Covenant of the League of Nations, 1919."

in battle in all the wars from the time of the French Revolution to 1914.

The war and the race

The ten million soldiers who fell in the war were mostly picked men. They had passed tests for physical and mental fitness; they were in the prime of life and health and strength; they should have been the virile fathers of the next generation. France, who lost altogether 1,750,000 soldiers, had sixty per cent of her young men killed in



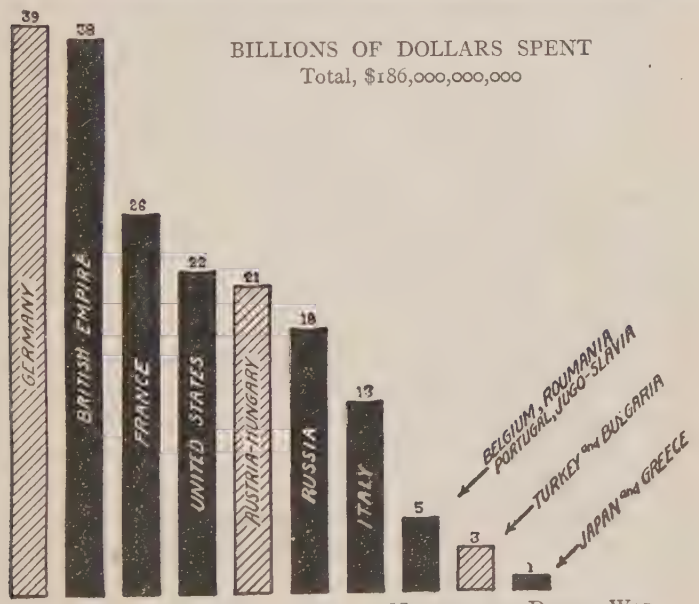
MEN KILLED IN ACTION OR BY WOUNDS

From "The War with Germany," published by U. S. War Department.

battle or as the result of battle. The mortality among the youth in the German, British, and other European armies doubtless reached almost as high a figure. This is necessarily the outcome of the system of selective conscription, where the fittest go to the slaughter and the weaklings remain at home. The war, therefore, injured the race fiber of the principal European nations. Its effects in this direction may make themselves felt for many decades, possibly for centuries.

A conservative estimate of the direct money cost of the war to the belligerent nations is $186,000,000,000. This sum, colossal as it is, does not take into account the indirect cost, including the destruction of property on land and sea, the depreciation of capital, the interruption of trade, the loss of production due to the employment of the

Money cost



MONEY COST TO THE COMBATANT NATIONS FOR DIRECT WAR EXPENSES, TO THE SPRING OF 1919

From "The War with Germany," published by U. S. War Department.

world's workers in military activities, the payments for war relief, and the expenditures of neutral nations. Such items, in the aggregate, would amount to many more billions. However, any estimate of either the direct or the indirect cost is more or less fallacious, unless it allows for the tremendous and rapid depreciation of the currencies in all European countries during the war period. Measured in dollars the total expenditure was one thing; measured in terms of labor and commodities it was another and lesser thing. The figure given above for the

direct cost must be halved, if it is to be adjusted to the purchasing power of currencies before the war began. But even $93,000,000,000 is a sum so great as almost to defy the imagination. It is a thousand dollars for every mile of the distance separating our earth from the sun. All the wars from the French Revolution to 1914 cost not more than $25,000,000,000.

War finance

The war was financed to some extent by increased taxation, especially in Great Britain and the United States, but chiefly by borrowing. The nations, in the first place, issued vast quantities of paper money. Such forced loans are easily made on the Continent, where the governments control the banks and possess a monopoly of note issue. The enormous sums thus put into circulation are a primary cause of the rise of prices abroad, increasing several times over the cost of labor and commodities as measured in terms of the money unit. One of the financial problems confronting Europe is the speedy withdrawal of a large part of these notes from circulation. In the second place, the nations sold their bonds, or promises to pay, to all who would buy them. The amounts raised were far greater than had been supposed possible. The people bought the bonds out of their savings, for the war taught lessons of thrift to almost every one and made it a patriotic duty for the citizen to save that his country might have more to spend. The bonds will be mostly funded into long-time obligations running many years before maturity.

Finance after the war

The end of the war left the whole financial world in chaos. All the belligerents had to impose heavy additional taxation, in order to meet the interest on their huge debts and repair the destruction caused by the struggle. Many of them found it difficult to avoid bankruptcy. Great Britain and the United States were the only important belligerents which from the start balanced their budgets and did not show a large gap between income and expenditure. Some of the countries, particularly Germany and Russia, indulged for a time in an orgy of paper-money inflation, with the result that both the mark and the ruble became practically worthless. Even the French franc depreciated to about a fourth of its pre-war value.

Note: Spitsbergen given to Norway.
ICELAND
Reykjavik
FAROE IS. (Danish)
SHETLAND IS.
ORKNEY IS.
HEBRIDES
BRITISH ISLES
SCOTLAND
Aberdeen
Glasgow
Edinburgh
Londonderry
Belfast
IRELAND
Dublin
Cork
Irish Sea
Newcastle
Manchester
Hull
Liverpool
ENGLAND
London
Bristol
Southampton
Plymouth
English Channel
NORTH SEA
Amsterdam
The Hague
Antwerp
Brussels
HELGOLAND
Kiel Canal
Elbe
Bremen
Hanover
Hamburg
Stettin
Berlin
Kiel
Copenhagen
Malmö
Göteborg
Kalmar
Stavanger
Christiansand
Skagerrack
Bergen
Christiania
Now Oslo
Trondhjem
Sundsvall
Narvik
Troms
Norway
Sweden
Finland
Helsingfors
Dresden
Leipzig
Cologne
Coblenz
Frankfort
Luxembourg
Mainz
Stuttgart
Munich
Vienna
Prague
Tesch
Graz
Klagenfurt
Trieste
Venice
Fiume
Zara
Florence
Rome
Naples
Brindisi
Messina
Palermo
Cagliari
Milan
Turin
Genoa
Nice
Leghorn
Marseilles
Barcelona
Toulouse
Lyons
St. Etienne
Orleans
Tours
Nantes
Brest
Havre
Paris
Lille
Strasbourg
Bordeaux
Bay of Biscay
S. Sebastian
Santander
Oporto
Vigo
Coruña
C. Ortegal
C. Finisterre
Lisbon
PORTUGAL
Valladolid
Ebro
Saragossa
Madrid
Toledo
Guadiana
Cordova
Valencia
Cadiz
Seville
Cartagena
Granada
Gibraltar (British)
SPAIN
FRANCE
Loire
Rhone
Bern
Basle
Geneva
SWITZ.
AUSTRIA
ITALY
CZECHO-SLOV.
GERMANY
ATLANTIC OCEAN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
ADRIATIC SEA
BALEARIC IS.
SARDINIA
CORSICA
Ajaccio
Str. of Bonifacio
MOROCCO
ALGERIA
Algiers
Tunis
TUNIS
MALTA (British)
AFRICA
Longitude East from Greenwich

EUROPE
after the Peace Conference at Paris,
1919-1920.
Boundaries Settled
Boundaries Unsettled
International Territory
Plebiscites
Principal Railroads
Ship Canals
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500
THE MATTHEWS-NORTHRUP WORKS, BUFFALO, N.Y.
North Cape
Murmansk
White Sea
Archangel
Petchora
Ob
SIBERIA
Tobolsk
Tiumen
Uleaborg
Dvina
Lake Onega
Lake Ladoga
Perm
Ekaterinburg
Vologda
Viatka
Petrograd (Leningrad)
Reval
Peipus L.
Yaroslav
Nizhni Novgorod
Kama
Ufa
Kazan
Pskov
Riga
Tver
Moscow
Samara
Orenburg
Dvinsk
Smolensk
Tula
Penza
Uralsk
Vitebsk
Vilna
Mohilev
Saratov
Volga
Minsk
WHITE RUSSIA
Dnieper
Kursk
Guriev
Kiev
Kharkov
Poltava
Lemberg
Czernowitz
UKRAINIA
Don
Astrakhan
Ekaterinoslav
Rostov
Nikolaev
Manich Depression
Jassy
Kherson
Sea of Azov
Odessa
CRIMEA
Kuban
Kertch
CAUCASIA
CASPIAN SEA
Derbent
Petrovsk
Baku
Galatz
Sevastopol
Constanza
BLACK SEA
Poti
GEORGIA
Tiflis
Batum
Kars
AZERBAIJAN
Kura
Trebizond
Erivan
Erzerum
Varna
BULGARIA
Constantinople
Scutari
Brusa
Salonica
Gallipoli
ASIA MINOR
Aegean Sea
Symrna
DODECANESE ISLANDS
CANDIA

THE ALLIES, WITH COLONIES AND DEPENDENCIES

Country	Date of Entrance	Population	Men Mobilized	Casualties among Combatants
Serbia	1914	4,550,000	707,000	450,000
Russia	1914	175,000,000	12,000,000	9,150,000
France	1914	87,500,000	7,500,000	4,506,000
Belgium	1914	22,500,000	267,000	90,000
British Empire	1914	440,000,000	7,500,000	3,089,000
Montenegro	1914	510,000	50,000	20,000
Japan	1915	74,000,000	800,000	1,000
Italy	1915	37,000,000	5,500,000	2,800,000
San Marino	1915	12,000		
Portugal	1916	15,000,000	100,000	10,000
Rumania	1916	7,500,000	750,000	400,000
United States	1917	113,000,000	4,272,000	274,000
Cuba	1917	2,500,000		
Panama	1917	427,000		
Greece	1917	5,000,000	230,000	100,000
Siam	1917	8,150,000		
Liberia	1917	1,800,000		
China	1917	320,000,000		
Brazil	1917	25,000,000		
Haiti	1918	2,000,000		
Guatemala	1918	2,500,000		
Nicaragua	1918	740,000		
Costa Rica	1918	455,000		
Honduras	1918	605,000		
		1,345,701,000	39,076,000	20,890,000

CENTRAL POWERS, WITH COLONIES AND DEPENDENCIES

Country	Date of Entrance	Population	Men Mobilized	Casualties among Combatants
Austria-Hungary	1914	50,000,000	6,500,000	5,211,000
Germany	1914	80,600,000	11,000,000	6,066,000
Turkey	1914	21,000,000	1,600,000	1,000,000
Bulgaria	1915	5,000,000	400,000	264,000
		156,600,000	19,500,000	12,541,000

The financial burden which our own and future generations must carry is shown by the gigantic national debts. These now total nearly ten times what they were before the war. The debt of Great Britain, at the peak in 1920, was $40,000,000,000; that of the United States, at the peak in 1919, was in excess of $26,000,000,000. Both these countries are now paying off their indebtedness — the United States doing so at the rapid rate of about a billion a year. During the war the Allies borrowed about $10,000,000,000 from the United States. Great Britain, Poland, and some of the smaller Continental states have begun to meet the interest charges on what they owe and to liquidate the principal. It is expected that the British debt to the United States will be completely extinguished in sixty years. Payments made by other European countries to the United States will likewise be spread over a long period of time. The Russian debt, both internal and external, which had reached a high figure at the time of the Revolution, was repudiated by the Bolsheviki. The Turkish Nationalists, by repudiating the indebtedness which the old Ottoman Empire contracted abroad, have taken the same short and easy, if dishonorable, step toward financial rehabilitation.

National debts

198. Lessons of the World War

No competent historian has ever held Austria-Hungary and Germany entirely responsible for the World War. Long before 1914 mighty forces making for war had been operative in the international world, forces that needed only to be released to precipitate a conflict. What these were we have already learned. First, there was extreme nationalism, a sentiment which had gained ground all through the nineteenth century. It bred ill-will between European peoples. It made difficult any real sympathy or understanding between them. Each people developed an exaggerated sense of "national honor" and, like a duellist, professed its readiness to fight "at the drop of the hat" on any occasion of the slightest insult to the government or even to

International responsibility for modern warfare

a single citizen. Second, there was economic imperialism, producing European expansion, annexations of foreign territory, and the struggle for markets, concessions, investments, and spheres of influence in new and undeveloped regions. Such advantages were often gained by sheer force or by diplomatic pressure backed by armies and navies. Third, there was secret diplomacy, and connected therewith, the whole system of entangling alliances. Enormous power was thus placed in the hands of ambassadors and foreign-office ministers. They often made the most serious and binding agreements without the knowledge of the people at large or even the knowledge of parliaments. Fourth, there was militarism, and the wasteful, fear-producing competition in armaments. Still other forces made for international hostility. The presence in Europe of so many "submerged nationalities," longing for independence and self-government, constituted a grave danger. The numerous territorial and boundary disputes, resulting from previous wars and ill-made peace treaties, also contributed to the general insecurity. Clearly enough, no one nation, or group of nations, could be wholly blamed for this international situation. Austria-Hungary and Germany did indeed hurl the flaming torch that kindled the great conflagration, but Europe was a powder house in 1914.

The World War involved Europe, the largest part of North America and South America, much of Africa, two-thirds of Asia, and most of Oceania. Improved methods of transportation and communication have brought all civilized peoples so close together that a shot fired in the Balkans soon provoked an international crisis and at length produced an international conflict. The nations, while remaining politically independent, are now economically and socially interdependent. Their isolation is forever ended. What concerns one concerns all. The fate of one becomes the fate of all. It was impossible to localize the last war; it will be equally impossible to localize the next war.

Modern warfare world-wide

Everything indicates that the next war, if on the scale of the last one, will be still more destructive of life and property.

Airplanes, submarines, battleships, and armament are being rapidly improved. We now have an automatic cannon which fires one hundred and twenty shells a minute, and a sixteen-inch gun which hurls a projectile weighing more than a ton for a distance of twenty-seven miles. "Tanks" are evolving into land battleships, equipped with field guns as well as machine guns. Poison gases of incredible malignity, powerful enough to disable or kill thousands of people at one time, have been discovered and perfected. Nor does the ghastly catalogue end here. Disease germs, capable of polluting the water supply of whole areas, blight to destroy crops, anthrax to slay horses and cattle, and plague to sweep away entire populations are being prepared in the chemical laboratories of more than one great country. There is even the possibility of the discovery of some lethal electric ray which can be projected into space with deadly effect. Modern warfare, by utilizing all the agencies of modern science, threatens to become a sort of collective suicide of the nations. Whole populations will take part in it, men, women, and children doing their utmost, and all exposed to the fury of the enemy. Every means to beat down the foe and enforce a decision will be employed. Mr. Lloyd George spoke soberly when he declared that another war will be against civilization. He might have added, it will destroy civilization.

Modern warfare suicidal

199. The Peace Movement

Christianity introduced into Europe an exalted conception of the sacredness of human life. It condemned homicide of any kind, and therefore regarded war as unlawful under any circumstances. Had not Christ declared that "all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword"?[1] The Christian Church formed, in fact, the first peace society and launched the first peace movement. This pacifist attitude could not be maintained, at a time when the Roman Empire was assailed on almost every side by barbarian

Early Christianity and warfare

[1] *Matthew*, xxvi, 52.

invaders. The Church had to accommodate her teaching about war to the practice of a warlike age. She began by admitting the legitimacy of defensive warfare, but erelong sanctioned aggressive warfare as well. After Christianity became the official religion of the Empire in the fourth century, the militarization of the Church proceeded apace. The use of the cross on the standards of the imperial army testified to the change that had come over the spirit of Christianity.

The Church in the Middle Ages, while by no means a pacifist organization, in general cast its influence on the side of peace. It deserves credit for establishing the Truce of God and for many efforts to stamp out private warfare between feudal nobles. The Church, however, encouraged public warfare against heretics and infidels. Medieval Christians believed that it was a religious duty to exterminate these enemies of God. The institution of chivalry and the military orders of monks, such as Templars and Hospitalers, illustrate the union between Christianity and militancy.

The medieval Church and warfare

The rise of Protestantism did not produce a change in the position of official Christianity toward war. Most of the Protestant churches were state churches, and their ministers, considering themselves as in the service of the state, usually supported whatever war their government undertook. Nevertheless, Christian sects arose which reprobated all war. The English Lollards in the fourteenth century taught that homicide in war is forbidden by the New Testament. The sixteenth-century Anabaptists, who had many adherents in Germany and other countries, believed that Christians should not bear arms or offer forcible resistance to wrongdoers or wield the sword. The Society of Friends (commonly called Quakers), likewise took an attitude of uncompromising pacifism.

Protestantism and warfare

Strong protests against war were voiced at various times by isolated reformers, for instance, by Erasmus, Voltaire, and Tolstoy. The nineteenth century saw the rise of peace societies, numbering several hundreds throughout the world. Their first international congress took

Peace agencies

place as early as 1843. These societies held regular meetings and maintained a permanent bureau at Bern, Switzerland. They helped to arouse public sentiment in favor of compulsory arbitration, the restriction of armaments, and the removal of the causes of war. Useful work for peace was also done by such unofficial bodies as the Institute of International Law and the Inter-Parliamentary Union. The Pan-American Union, founded in 1890, had for its purpose the furtherance of good relations among all the twenty-one republics of the New World. The peace movement was also promoted by private benefactors. Alfred Nobel, the Swedish inventor of dynamite and other explosives, who left his fortune for the establishment of international prizes, directed that one of these should be annually awarded to the person or society rendering the greatest service to the cause of human brotherhood. Andrew Carnegie gave ten million dollars as an endowment to hasten the abolition of international war, "the foulest blot on our civilization." The endowment was particularly intended to encourage studies in economics, history, and international law, so that the world's peoples might know one another better and so avoid many sources of friction between them.

International law

What is called international law arose as an attempt to frame rules acceptable to all nations and binding upon them in their relations with one another. These rules at first had most to do with the conduct of war. Hugo Grotius, the venerated founder of international law, lived during the Thirty Years' War and wrote his truly epoch-making treatise, *On the Law of War and Peace*, to lessen the horrors of that conflict. "I saw prevailing throughout the Christian world a license in making war of which even barbarous nations would have been ashamed. Recourse was had to arms for slight reasons or no reason; and when arms were once taken up, all reverence for divine and human law was thrown away, just as if men were henceforth authorized to commit all crimes without restraint." [1] After the time of Grotius, the field of international law steadily widened until not only the regulation of warfare,

[1] Grotius, *On the Law of War and Peace*, Prolegomena, 28.

but also the preservation of peace became the ideal of statesmen, publicists, and all lovers of mankind.

The catastrophe of 1914–1918 has given new strength to the peace movement. Thoughtful men are now impressed, as never before, by the horrors of past conflicts. They are apprehensive of fresh horrors to come. They are aware that no limits, except the habitable globe itself, can be set to the possible scope of another conflict. They realize that the roots of war sink deep into the soil of the past and that all countries are responsible, in greater or less degree, for its existence. They ask, therefore, if the time has not come to end forever armed conflict between the nations. Cannot it be abolished, as cannibalism, human sacrifice, blood revenge, witchcraft, slavery, and other anti-social practices have been abolished by the common sense of mankind? If this is to be done, we now perceive that it can only be done by international organization.

Abolition of war

200. International Organization

The idea of maintaining peace by international agreements is not new. Several great wars have been followed by projects for the prevention of future conflicts. After the religious struggles of the sixteenth century in France came the "Grand Design" of Henry IV, inspired, it is said, by his minister Sully. The development of this plan for a European Confederation or Christian Republic was frustrated by the assassination of the French king. Near the close of the seventeenth century, William Penn wrote a prophetic *Essay towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe* (1692). Penn argued that an international Diet or Parliament, obeying "the same rules of justice and peace by which parents and masters govern their families, magistrates their cities, estates their republics, and princes and kings their principalities and kingdoms," could abolish warfare between the nations. The French revolutionary wars produced Immanuel Kant's *Toward Perpetual Peace* (1795). In this work the great German philosopher declared that perpetual peace might be secured by an inter-

Early peace projects

national union of states and that such a union would become feasible when autocracies gave way to democracies.

The Holy Alliance

It was the autocrats, however, who made the first attempt at a League of Nations. In 1815, after Europe had been exhausted by the struggle against Napoleon, the tsar, Alexander I, joined with Francis I of Austria and Frederick William III of Prussia in a so-called Holy Alliance. The three rulers pledged themselves "in the name of the Most Holy and Indivisible Trinity" to take for their sole guide henceforth "the precepts of justice, Christian charity, and peace." They further promised to remain united "by the bonds of a true and indivisible fraternity," and "on all occasions and in all places" to lend each other aid and assistance. Several other European sovereigns later signed this pledge, conspicuous exceptions being the Pope, the Sultan, and George IV, the British Prince Regent. Though a praiseworthy attempt to apply much needed principles of morality to international relations, the Holy Alliance never had any real importance. Most statesmen agreed with Metternich's characterization of it as a "loud-sounding nothing." It soon faded into oblivion, being replaced by the far more practical Concert of Europe.

The European Concert

The five great powers, Great Britain, France, Prussia, Austria, and Russia, who formed the Concert, did not keep peace throughout the nineteenth century. Their conflicting interests and especially their nationalistic aspirations more than once led to hostilities between them. Nevertheless, the idea of a Concert persisted, and from time to time the great powers imposed their will upon the whole of Europe. They neutralized Switzerland in 1815 and Belgium in 1839. At the Congress of Paris in 1856, which concluded the Crimean War, they signed the Declaration of Paris, providing rules for the conduct of maritime warfare. By the Geneva Convention in 1864 they undertook to ameliorate warfare by land and organized the International Red Cross, with branches in every civilized country. In 1878 the great powers, now including Great Britain, France, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Russia, met in the Congress of Berlin for the settle-

ment of the Eastern Question. Nor was the Concert confined to Europe. It organized the Congo Free State under international guarantees, neutralized the Suez Canal, coöperated with Japan and the United States to suppress the Chinese "Boxers," and held the Algeciras Conference to deal with the Moroccan problem.

The nations also began to resort increasingly to arbitration as a means of adjusting differences between them. Great Britain and the United States, for instance, arbitrated the *Alabama* claims after the Civil War and in the same way ended a boundary dispute between British Guiana and Venezuela, which threatened for a time to involve the two great English-speaking peoples in fratricidal strife. Over two hundred awards were made by arbitral courts during the nineteenth century, and every one was executed. After 1900 many leading countries concluded treaties with each other, pledging themselves to submit to arbitration all controversies except those affecting national honor or vital interests (such as independence).

International arbitration

International arbitration received a great impetus at the two Hague conferences of 1899 and 1907. The assembled powers could not agree to limit armaments, but besides revising the laws of war they set up a court of arbitration, to which the nations might resort. Though without authority to enforce its decrees, the Hague Tribunal did settle a number of controversies which in earlier days might have led to war. It thus marked a distinct advance toward international peace.

The Hague conferences

Then came the World War. Austria-Hungary and Germany abruptly withdrew from the European Concert, rejected every proposal for arbitration or mediation, and, after hostilities began, proceeded to violate treaty obligations and the recognized usages of warfare, both by land and sea. The Allies, in consequence, became the defenders of international law, as well as the champions of nationality and democracy. Their enormous sacrifices during the struggle promised to be in vain, unless some means could be found to preserve the sanctity of treaties and prevent future

An international league

aggressive wars. An international league began to seem, not a utopian scheme, but rather a practical necessity for the peace and security of mankind. Such thoughts as these were repeatedly expressed by responsible statesmen among the Allies, especially by Mr. Lloyd George and President Wilson.

201. The League of Nations

Formation of the league

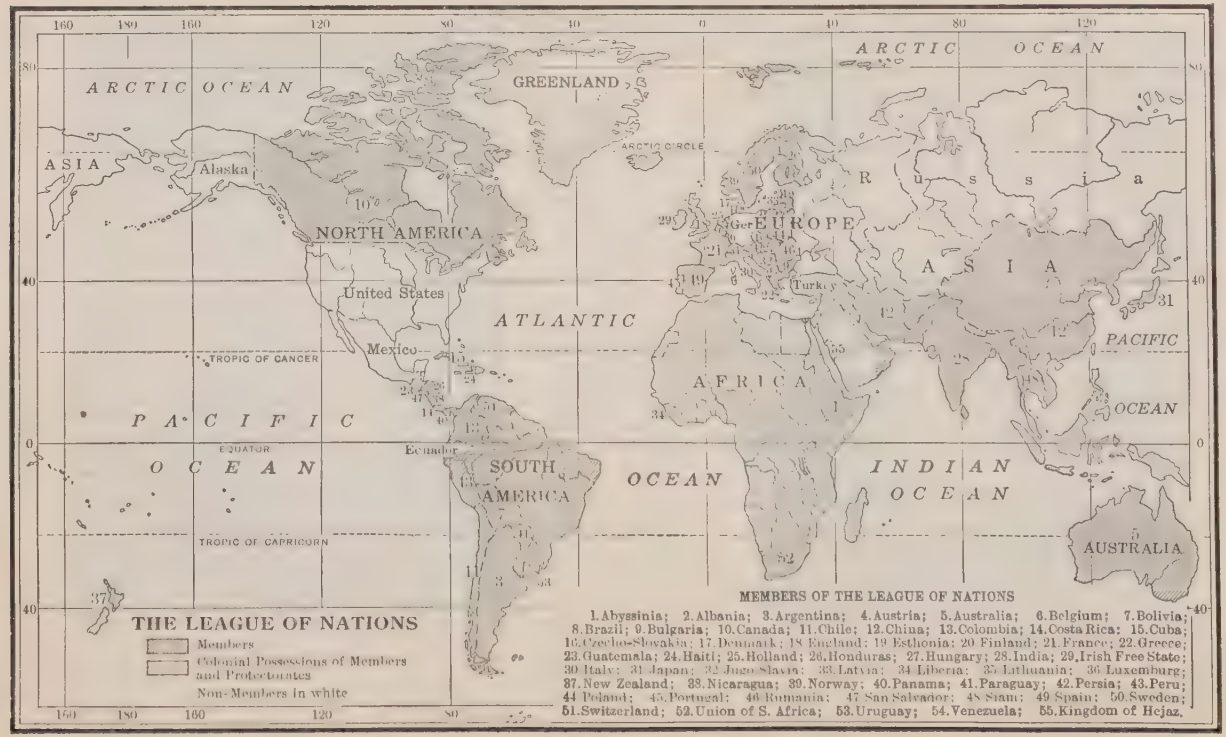
As soon as the Peace Conference opened at Paris, a committee representing the Allied and Associated governments began work on the various proposals which had been put forward from time to time for an international league. The committee presented the first draft of a constitution to the conference in February, 1919. Various modifications of it were made as the result of world-wide discussion, and the amended document was then inserted in the peace treaty with Germany. The signing of that treaty and its subsequent ratification set up the League of Nations in active operation.

Covenant of the league

The constitution, or Covenant, of the League of Nations was written in large part by President Wilson. It is a short, simple, and dignified document. The objects of the organization are thus stated in the preamble: "The High Contracting Parties, in order to promote international coöperation and to achieve international peace and security, by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war, by the prescription of open, just, and honorable relations between nations, by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among governments, and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another, agree to this Covenant of the League of Nations."

Organization

The League of Nations consists of an Assembly, in which each member has one vote and not more than three representatives; a Council, made up of representatives of Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan, together with representatives of six other members of the league; and a permanent Secretariat at Geneva, Switzerland. The Assembly


ARCTIC OCEAN
GREENLAND
ARCTIC CIRCLE
ASIA
Alaska
NORTH AMERICA
United States
Mexico
TROPIC OF CANCER
ATLANTIC
OCEAN
PACIFIC
OCEAN
EQUATOR
Ecuador
SOUTH AMERICA
TROPIC OF CAPRICORN
EUROPE
Ger
Turkey
AFRICA
R u s s i a
A S I A
PACIFIC
OCEAN
INDIAN
OCEAN
AUSTRALIA
THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS
Members
Colonial Possessions of Members and Protectorates
Non-Members in white
MEMBERS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS
1. Abyssinia; 2. Albania; 3. Argentina; 4. Austria; 5. Australia; 6. Belgium; 7. Bolivia; 8. Brazil; 9. Bulgaria; 10. Canada; 11. Chile; 12. China; 13. Colombia; 14. Costa Rica; 15. Cuba; 16. Czecho-Slovakia; 17. Denmark; 18 England; 19 Esthonia; 20 Finland; 21. France; 22. Greece; 23. Guatemala; 24. Haiti; 25. Holland; 26. Honduras; 27. Hungary; 28. India; 29. Irish Free State; 30 Italy; 31 Japan; 32 Jugo-Slavia; 33. Latvia; 34 Liberia; 35 Lithuania; 36 Luxemburg; 37. New Zealand; 38. Nicaragua; 39. Norway; 40. Panama; 41. Paraguay; 42. Persia; 43. Peru; 44 Poland; 45. Portugal; 46 Rumania; 47 San Salvador; 48 Siam; 49 Spain; 50. Sweden; 51. Switzerland; 52. Union of S. Africa; 53. Uruguay; 54. Venezuela; 55. Kingdom of Hejaz.

holds a meeting once a year at Geneva, for the admission of new members and for the discussion of matters of international interest. Such power as the league possesses is in the hands of the ten members of the Council, who meet every few months and decide on action to be taken in the name of the league. All important decisions of the Council require a unanimous vote.

Membership

Forty-one nations[1] were represented by delegates at the first meeting of the Assembly of the league in 1920. Accessions to the league were made at subsequent meetings, until in 1924 its membership included fifty-five nations. For the future, any self-governing state, dominion, or colony may be enrolled by a two-thirds vote of the members. Any member may, after two years' notice, withdraw from the league, if at the time of withdrawal it has fulfilled all its international obligations.

Non-members

The only important countries remaining outside the league are Germany, Turkey, Russia, Mexico, and the United States. The Central Powers were excluded at first as having been so recently enemy states. Russia and Mexico were not invited to join because they had not set up stable governments. The reasons why the United States refused membership in the league have been mentioned in the preceding chapter. The abstention of these great and powerful countries seriously limits the authority of the league. It cannot function with entire efficiency in European affairs until Germany and Russia are admitted and assigned seats on the Council. Nor can it become in the fullest sense a world organization as long as the United States continues to be a non-member.

Duties

Some important duties arising out of the Peace of Paris were intrusted to the league. It administers the internationalized areas, including the Saar Valley, Danzig, and Fiume. It also supervises the government of mandated territories, comprising the former colonies of Germany and the countries in the Near East liberated from Turkey.

[1] Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, and India are each represented in the Assembly of the league, as well as the United Kingdom. The Irish Free State is also a member of the league.

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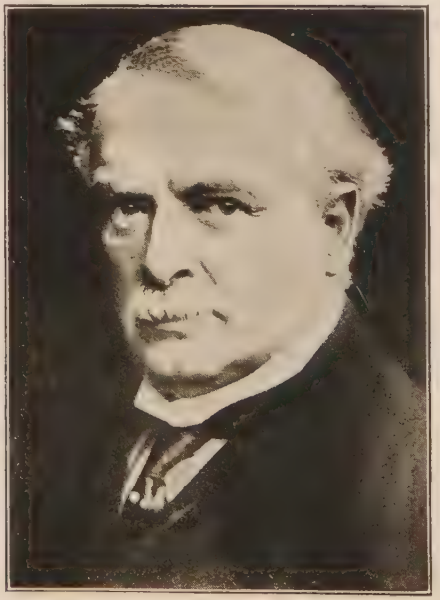
WOODROW WILSON



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DAVID LLOYD GEORGE

The mandatory system represents a praiseworthy departure from the usual method of disposing of enemy territories conquered in war. These territories, instead of being annexed, will be governed by the conquerors as trustees, at their own expense and without any definite benefit to themselves. They must submit an annual report to the league, which has final authority to pass judgment on the discharge of their trusteeship. The mandatory system rests on the principle that backward and undeveloped countries, unable as yet to achieve or preserve independence, ought to be treated as international responsibilities, not as opportunities for national profit and aggrandizement. Such countries should be governed in the interest of the inhabitants and for the common advantage of the world. If these good intentions are realized, a step will have been taken in getting rid of some of the evils of "imperialism."

The league serves as a convenient agency for dealing with matters that concern all its members, such as the prevention and control of disease, the regulation of the traffic in dangerous drugs, and, in conjunction with the Red Cross, the mitigation of suffering throughout the world. In the first eight months of 1924 there were no less than seventy-six of these international gatherings at Geneva. A very important department of the league, the International Labor Office, is concerned with the betterment of industrial conditions in the various countries.[1] One of the provisions of the Covenant requires that any treaty or international engagement concluded by league members shall be registered with the Secretariat and published. Unless so registered it shall not be binding. This regulation, if faithfully observed, should do away with the old "secret diplomacy."

The league and international coöperation

The Covenant, in its present form, declares that a war or even a threat of war is a matter of concern to the whole league. The members promise to submit any dispute likely to result in a rupture either to arbitration or to inquiry by the Council. If the dispute is submitted to arbitration, they pledge themselves to carry out in good faith

The league and international peace

[1] See page 614.

any award that may be rendered and not to resort to war. If the dispute is submitted to inquiry by the Council and the report of that body is unanimously agreed to by all the members (except those that are parties to the dispute), they also pledge themselves not to resort to war. In case the Council's report is not unanimous, they agree not to go to war until three months after the report has been made. Should a member take up arms, in disregard of these agreements, it will be considered as having committed an act of aggression toward all other members. They must then sever trade and financial relations with it, thus subjecting it to economic ostracism — a sort of international boycott. The Council of the league may further recommend (but not require) that the members contribute military, naval, or air forces for use against the recalcitrant state. No occasion for the use of such measures to protect the Covenant has yet arisen. The obligations of league members are further defined by the famous Article X,[1] which declares that they will respect and preserve "as against external aggression" by non-member states the territory and independence of one another.

Accomplishments of the league

The league was five years old in 1925. Up to that time it had headed off or snuffed out at least six wars between European countries. These would have been minor wars at the start, but no one can tell how great they might have become before they ended. The league settled a serious dispute between Sweden and Finland as to the ownership of the Åland Islands; it gave the islands to Finland, and Sweden acquiesced in the decision. The very troublesome question of the division of Upper Silesia between Germany and Poland was referred to the league for solution; its award, drawing a new frontier line, was accepted by both countries. The league has aided in the rehabilitation of Austria and Hungary by means of international loans to these almost bankrupt countries and by the supervision of their finances. The humanitarian activities of the league are numerous. It has returned to their homes about three hundred thousand prisoners of war in Russia and other countries. It has checked an epidemic of typhus and

[1] See page 708.

bubonic plague in eastern Europe that might easily have spread over the entire Continent. It is engaged in efforts to stamp out the traffic in opium, a drug which has become such a curse in Oriental countries. It has provided for the holding in 1925 of a conference of the principal nations to frame a convention with respect to the international trade in arms, munitions, and implements of war. The treaties signed by various nations of central Europe, to remove discrimination against racial and linguistic minorities within their borders, form still another accomplishment of the league.

The league is by no means perfect. The Council probably has too much authority and the Assembly too little authority. The great states have undue influence in it; the smaller but more numerous states deserve more recognition than they have yet received. The league, in other words, needs to be made more democratic. Its gravest weakness, however, is due to the fact that several major countries do not belong to it. Rejected by the United States, scorned by Soviet Russia, distrusted by Germany, and not always trusted by the Allied governments themselves, the league still lacks both power and resources to deal finally with the larger political issues confronting Europe. The league, nevertheless, has justified its existence, if only because of its functions in regard to internationalized areas and mandated territories. Its services as a clearing-house for the whole world, in matters economic and humanitarian, are likewise of great importance. Finally, by its labors in the cause of peace, the league is gradually accustoming the nations to accept some measure of supervision over their foreign relations.

The league to-day

As long as the nations considered themselves entirely sovereign, able to fight when and how and whom they pleased, there was nothing to prevent a strong country from attacking and perhaps conquering a weak country. This is "international anarchy," the taproot of all modern warfare. The league has begun to deal with these anarchical conditions, not only through the provisions of the Covenant, but also by the establishment of a "World Court" and by an agreement, or Protocol, for the outlawry of war.

202. The World Court and the Geneva Protocol

The Covenant of the league provided for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice to facilitate the peaceful settlement of disputes between the nations. Such a "World Court" was set up at The Hague, Holland, in 1922. It consists of eleven eminent judges chosen by the Council and the Assembly of the league and representing diverse races, languages, nationalities, and legal codes. All of the major countries, except Germany, Russia, and the United States, and most of the minor countries, have signified their adherence to this organization. The United States seems likely to join at an early date. The Republican platform of 1924, besides pledging American coöperation with the league in humanitarian matters, approved the court and promised American membership therein. The "World Court" is, indeed, as essential an accompaniment of international union as is the Supreme Court of our union of states.

A supreme court of the nations

The Hague Tribunal[1] is not a court in the proper sense of the word, being merely a panel of names from which arbitrators may be selected when desired by various governments. The "World Court," on the contrary, is a body of permanent judges holding regular sessions in a definite place and at definite times. It may hear and determine any justiciable question (one relating to the interpretation of a treaty or to a matter of international law), which is submitted to it by the parties concerned. It does not have compulsory jurisdiction, however, unless the parties agree in advance to accept such jurisdiction. In this respect the "World Court" resembles the Hague Tribunal. The court also acts as a legal adviser to the League of Nations, being empowered to give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the Council or by the Assembly.

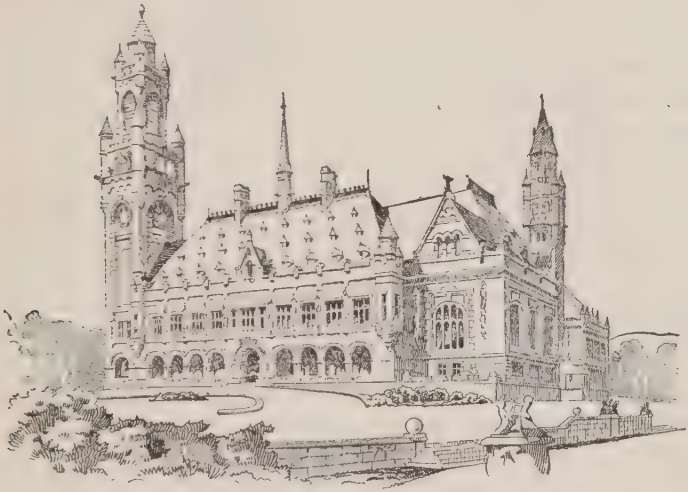
The court and the Hague Tribunal

The "World Court" can act only according to international law, and there are many subjects in regard to which no such law is at present applicable. Some of the great jurists of the world

[1] See page 749.

are now engaged in the preparation of an enlarged and improved international code. When completed, it will probably be submitted to the different governments, and, if approved by them, it will then become the basis of decisions by the court. This new code promises to carry forward the work of Grotius and his successors on the "Law of War and Peace."

The court and international law



THE PEACE PALACE AT THE HAGUE

A gift of Andrew Carnegie for the use of the Hague Tribunal and for international conferences. It is also the seat of the new "World Court."

The Hague Tribunal of 1899, the League of Nations of 1920, and the "World Court" of 1922 have arisen in response to the longing of the civilized world for peace. These institutions make it more difficult than ever before for nations to fight one another, but they still recognize the right of nations to appeal to the sword. They do not outlaw war. Action in this direction was taken, for the first time in history, when the Fifth Assembly of the League of Nations adopted at Geneva in October, 1924, a Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes. The Protocol is intended to supplement, not supersede, the Covenant of the league. Assert-

The Geneva Protocol

ing that a war of aggression constitutes "an international crime," it proceeds to define more exactly what is aggressive war and to state more definitely the obligation of the signatory nations to coerce a nation that has begun such a war. Under the terms of the Protocol any nation refusing to accept arbitration or to comply with an arbitral award becomes an aggressor. The other nations are then to bring pressure — economic, social, or military — to compel the aggressor to submit to arbitration. War, in short, is to be permitted henceforth only for the purpose of maintaining international peace. This Protocol was laid before the Council in December, 1924, for approval, modification, or rejection.

203. Disarmament

All lovers of peace realize that the setting up of such agencies as the League of Nations and the "World Court" must be accompanied by partial or complete disarmament of the nations, if war is to be forever abolished from the civilized world. The United States became the pioneer in this movement by organizing a Conference on the Limitation of Armament. In response to President Harding's invitation, delegates of nine nations (the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, Holland, Portugal, Japan, and China) met at Washington in November, 1921, to deal with limitation of naval armament and, as connected therewith, the policy of the powers in the Far East. The conference continued in session until February, 1922. Its deliberations were so successful that the assembled powers agreed to a similar meeting eight years later, and also to frequent consultation, through commissions and other international bodies, on matters affecting their common interests. The chief results of the conference may be summarized as follows.

The Washington Conference

The delegates adopted the proposal of Secretary Hughes for a limitation of navies. The five principal naval powers agreed to scrap or convert to peaceful uses sixty-eight capital ships, and so to limit future construction that after a ten-year building holiday Great Britain and the

Limitation of navies

United States shall each have 525,000 tons, Japan 60 per cent of this tonnage, and France and Italy a still smaller per cent. The size of capital ships is also restricted, together with that of their guns. This agreement puts an end, at least for a decade, to much expensive and war-breeding competition in naval armaments. It further means that Great Britain surrenders the mastery of the seas. She gives up maritime supremacy, not by compulsion, but voluntarily, in the interest of a new order now dawning on the world.

The naval treaty contains an article by which the powers pledge themselves not to strengthen or enlarge the fortifications of their possessions in the Pacific. The Hawaiian Islands and the Japanese Archipelago — Japan proper — do not fall within the provisions of this article.

Fortifications, "status quo"

The five powers signing the naval treaty are also signatories to a treaty by which they agree not to use submarines as commerce destroyers, in all cases to observe the ordinary rules of visit and search of merchantmen, and to treat as a pirate any submarine commander who violates existing international law on the high seas. As between themselves, the five powers further outlaw the use of poison gas altogether.

Submarines and poison gas

A very important outcome of the conference was the Four-Power Treaty, arranged between the United States, Japan, Great Britain, and France. It replaces the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, which expired in 1921. The powers agree to respect one another's rights relating to their insular possessions in the Pacific. Article II provides that if the said rights are threatened by the aggressive action of any other power, the signatories "shall communicate with one another fully and frankly, in order to arrive at an understanding as to the most efficient measures to be taken, jointly or severally, to meet the exigencies of the particular situation." The period of the treaty is limited to ten years, but it will remain in force thereafter, subject to the right of any of the contracting parties to terminate it upon twelve months' notice. The principal islands of Japan are not included within the scope of the treaty,

Four-Power Treaty

but it does apply to Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, and the Hawaiian Islands. Taken in connection with the agreements respecting naval armaments and Pacific fortifications, the Four-Power Treaty should materially lessen the danger of future conflicts in the Far East.

Far Eastern agreements

All the powers at the conference signed a Far Eastern Treaty, binding each one to respect the territorial integrity and sovereign rights of China in all future dealings with that country. Japan made a separate treaty with China by which Shantung[1] was restored to Chinese control. Japan's action was supplemented by the promise of Great Britain to give up Weihaiwei,[2] thus completing the restoration to China of her ancient province. These and other agreements were intended to end the exploitation of Chinese territory and resources for the benefit of outsiders. They signify, in short, the adoption by foreign nations of a policy of "China for the Chinese."

The Geneva Conference

The Washington Conference did not secure any limitation of naval armament in the shape of cruisers and submarines, nor did it deal at all with the problem presented by the huge land and air forces of the principal countries. The Geneva Protocol attempts to meet this situation. It provides for an International Conference for the Reduction of Armaments, which is scheduled to meet at Geneva in June, 1925. All the states of the world, whether members of the League of Nations or not, will be invited to the conference.

204. Contemporary International Politics

Imperialist powers of Europe

One obvious outcome of the war and the peace settlement was a reduction in the number of the great imperialist powers of Europe. There were six in 1914, but only three in 1924. Austria-Hungary no longer exists as a political entity. Germany, having lost navy, merchant marine, and all overseas possessions, does not at present rank as a factor in world politics. Russia has turned, at least temporarily, from the path of imperialism. On the other

[1] See page 702. [2] See page 558 and note 1.

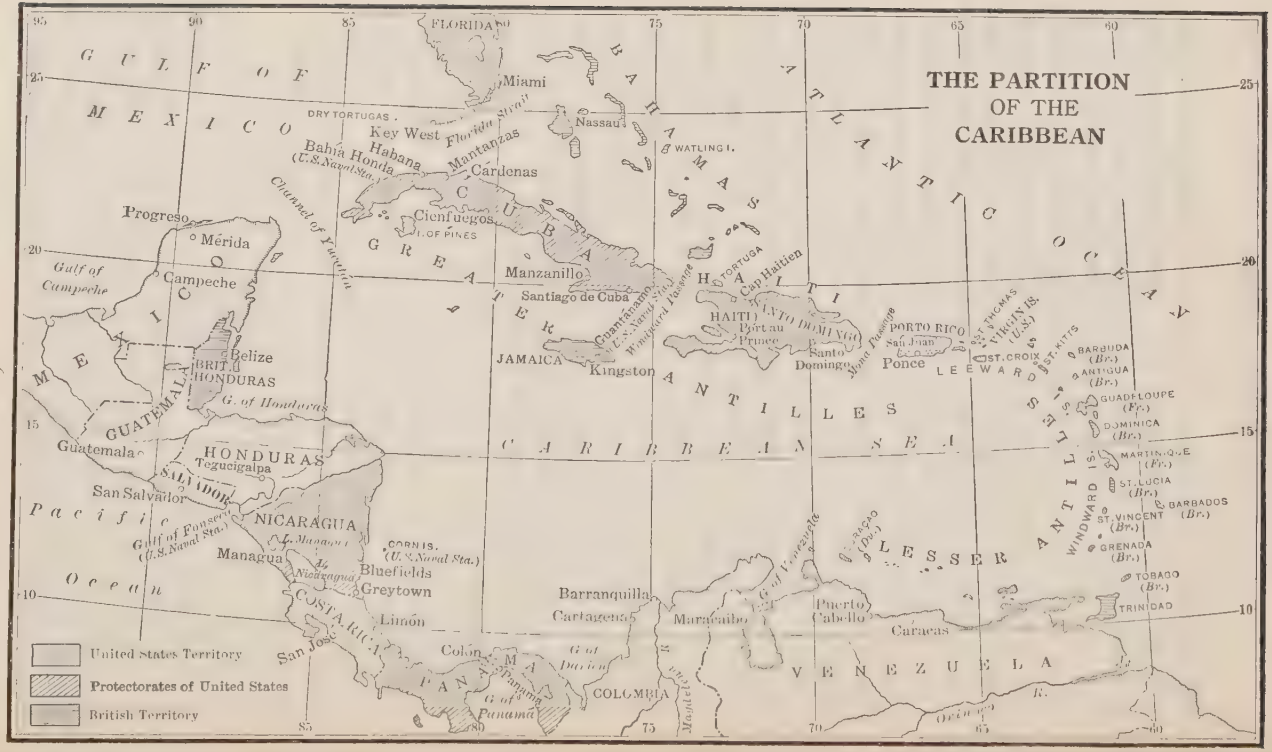
hand, Great Britain, France, and Italy all emerged from the war with additional foreign territories. Great Britain obtained the bulk of the German colonies and assumed the government of Palestine and Iraq (Mesopotamia). She confirmed her sovereignty over the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, established a veiled protectorate over the new Arab state of Hejaz, and enlarged her sphere of influence in Persia and Afghanistan. France secured part of the German colonies in Africa, together with the former Turkish province of Syria, and now ranks next to Great Britain as an imperialist power. The gains of Italy abroad were less considerable, though she increased somewhat her three African colonies.

The war gave Japan almost a free hand in the Far East, for her allies were busy elsewhere and China was vexed with internal disorders. Japan used the opportunity thus presented to strengthen her position in southern Manchuria and eastern Mongolia. Both of these territories nominally belong to China. Korea, shortly before the war, had been annexed to the Japanese Empire under the name of Chosen. Japan is now a continental power, with extensive and valuable holdings on the mainland of Asia. Her insular possessions have also been increased as the result of her mandate over the former German colonies north of the equator.

Japan as an imperialist power

The United States gained no new territory as a result of the war. Nevertheless, the war marked her coming of age as a world power. The Peace Conference incorporated in the Covenant of the League of Nations a statement that nothing in the Covenant should be deemed to affect the validity of "regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine," thus giving formal international recognition of the doctrine. At the Washington Conference the United States likewise secured recognition of her special interests in the Pacific and the Far East, because of her possession of the Hawaiian Islands and the Philippines. It was during the war period that the United States purchased the Danish West Indies and set up protectorates over Nicaragua,

The United States as an imperialist power


THE PARTITION OF THE CARIBBEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
CARIBBEAN SEA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Pacific Ocean
FLORIDA
Miami
DRY TORTUGAS
Key West
Florida Strait
Nassau
BAHAMAS
WATLING I.
Bahía Honda (U.S. Naval Sta.)
Habana
Matanzas
Cárdenas
Channel of Yucatan
CUBA
Cienfuegos
I. OF PINES
GREATER ANTILLES
Progreso
Mérida
Gulf of Campeche
Campeche
YUCATAN
Manzanillo
Santiago de Cuba
Guantanamo (U.S. Naval Sta.)
Windward Passage
HAITI
TORTUGA
Cap Haitien
Port au Prince
SANTO DOMINGO
Mona Passage
PORTO RICO
San Juan
Santo Domingo
Ponce
JAMAICA
Kingston
ST. THOMAS
VIRGIN IS. (U.S.)
ST. CROIX
ST. KITTS
LEEWARD ANTILLES
BARBUDA (Br.)
ANTIGUA (Br.)
GUADELOUPE (Fr.)
DOMINICA (Br.)
MARTINIQUE (Fr.)
ST. LUCIA (Br.)
BARBADOS (Br.)
ST. VINCENT (Br.)
GRENADA (Br.)
TOBAGO (Br.)
TRINIDAD
WINDWARD IS.
LESSER ANTILLES
BRIT. HONDURAS
G. of Honduras
GUATEMALA
Guatemala
HONDURAS
Tegucigalpa
SALVADOR
San Salvador
NICARAGUA
L. Managua
Managua
L. Nicaragua
Gulf of Fonseca (U.S. Naval Sta.)
CORN IS. (U.S. Naval Sta.)
Bluefields
Greytown
COSTA RICA
San José
Limón
Colón
Gulf of Darien
PANAMA
Panama
Gulf of Panama
COLOMBIA
Barranquilla
Cartagena
Maracaibo
Gulf of Venezuela
Puerto Cabello
Caracas
VENEZUELA
Orinoco R.
Magdalena R.
United States Territory
Protectorates of United States
British Territory

Haiti, and Santo Domingo. These developments, in connection with the earlier acquisition of the Panama Canal Zone and Porto Rico and the practical protectorate over Cuba, show clearly that the United States has become dominant in the Caribbean.

The imperialistic policies of European nations have in recent times caused many wars. Leading instances are the South African War (1899–1902), the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905), and the Turko-Italian War (1911–1912). These policies, if persisted in, may cause other wars. We delude ourselves if we suppose that all elements of anxiety have been eliminated from the international situation. There are still danger spots outside of Europe — in North Africa, where Spain, France, and Italy are rivals, in Egypt and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, in Central Asia, and in China. Meanwhile, the southward expansion of the United States continues to excite apprehension in Latin America. The United States is sometimes represented by Latin Americans as a giant nation destined to absorb during the next century whatever of Mexico, Central America, and the West Indies she has not taken within the last one hundred years. These and other problems presented by modern imperialism are not insoluble. They can be solved if only there is international comity and good will to do so, if, in the words of the late President Harding, the "torches of understanding" can be made "to glow and encircle the globe."

Imperialism and war

The war and the peace treaties enabled the European map to be redrawn on the basis of national self-determination. Old states were reduced or enlarged, new states were formed, and oppressed or subject peoples received their freedom according to this principle. It could not be recognized in Europe without evoking demands for its recognition outside of Europe. The imperialist powers are now confronted with a nationalist movement in one dependency after another, among black and yellow races, as well as the white race, and among Moslems, Brahmanists, and Buddhists, as well as Christians. Great Britain, so far, has done most to comply with the demands of the nationalists. She ter-

National self-determination in the Orient

minated her protectorate over Egypt in 1922 and proclaimed that country a sovereign state. Iraq, which she supervises under a mandate, has been made a kingdom under an Arab ruler and with a liberal constitution. The Government of India Act, passed by the British Parliament in 1919, accords India representative institutions. It does not completely satisfy the extreme nationalists, led by Mahatma Gandhi and other agitators, who dream of complete Indian independence. The nationalist movement is also penetrating into French Indo-China, into Korea, and into the Philippines.

Radical socialism, or Bolshevism, has not only triumphed in Russia since the war, but has also spread widely in the Orient.

Bolshevism in the Orient

The Soviet government started out by promising the former Asiatic subjects of Russia complete freedom to set up states of their own. This liberal policy did not last long. It was soon modified by the requirement that the new states accept Bolshevism and affiliate closely with the government at Moscow. The result is seen to-day in the existence throughout the Caucasus, Siberia, and Central Asia of a large number of sovietized provinces and so-called "republics." These are as much under Russian domination as they were in the days of the tsars. The Bolshevist propaganda of communism and atheism, which seeks to undermine the foundations of European civilization, also commends itself to the anti-European elements in such countries as Persia, Afghanistan, India, China, and the East Indies. Like the nationalist movement, with which it is often associated, Bolshevism promises to complicate the future relations of Occident and Orient.

As far as European expansion has been truly an ethnic conquest, it must be permanent. The intrusive whites in South

Future of imperialism

Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and the two Americas have either exterminated the aboriginal inhabitants or else have imposed on them their languages, laws, customs, and religion, together with (in Latin America) a considerable strain of their blood. European expansion in the tropical parts of Africa, Asia, and Oceania means merely political

conquest, which has no necessary permanence. In the long run — how long a run no one can say — dependent countries not peopled by savage or barbarous tribes seem likely to secure home rule and, ultimately, complete freedom. The World War, which so effectively disposed of the colonial ambitions of both Germany and Russia, the establishment of the League of Nations, with its system of mandates for the government of the former German possessions and Turkish provinces, and the agreements between the great powers at the Washington Conference may result in a wiser and more considerate attitude on the part of imperialist states toward their dependencies.

The relations between Europeans and non-Europeans seem likely to be influenced more and more by the factor of religion. We sometimes forget that Christianity has as yet made little impression on the civilized world outside of Europe and America. We do not always realize how numerous are the Moslems of Africa, Asia, and Oceania, the Brahmanists (or Hinduists) in India, and the Buddhists in China, Japan, and other Oriental countries.[1]

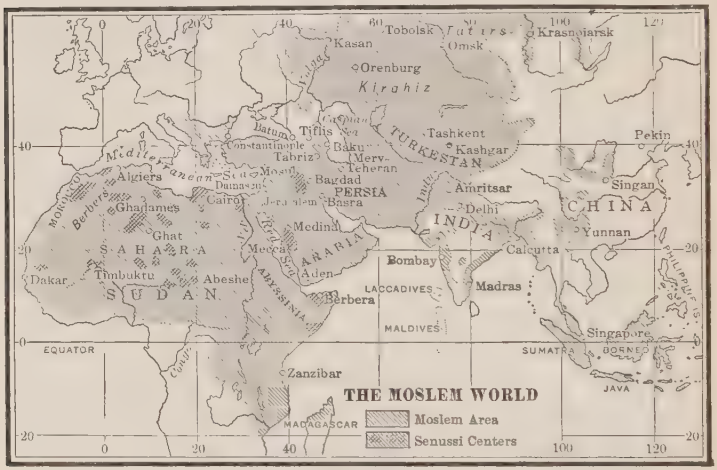
The factor of religion

Religion, through its use by ambitious rulers or peoples, may assume political importance. Islam has always been feared in this respect, because Moslems are required to convert unbelievers by force, as well as by peaceful persuasion. It is a fanatical, aggressive religion, which gains every year millions of new followers, not only among the crowded populations of Asia, but also among the negroes of Central Africa. Both yellow men and black men respond to its teachings. Its power is persistent, for no people, once converted to Islam, has ever accepted another faith. The World War produced an immense stirring among Moslems. Spain had trouble in Morocco, France in Syria, and Great Britain in Egypt and India, while all the European powers have been faced by a revived and truculent Turkey. There has even been a movement to unite all the Moslem world, at present divided into many hostile sects, through a program of political solidarity called Pan-Islamism. The movement has not gone far enough

Pan-Islamism

[1] See page 640.

to make it likely that Christendom will have to meet some day another combined attack by the followers of the Prophet, such as Arabs and Turks launched in earlier centuries. Pan-Islamism is not a menace to the peace of the world, but the imperialist states will find it increasingly necessary to adjust their colonial policy to the wishes, and perhaps also the prejudices, of their Moslem subjects.



The relations between Europeans and non-Europeans are further affected by the factor of color. Classified by races, the world's population may be roughly estimated as 800,000,000 for the Caucasian or White race; 600,000,000 for the Mongoloid or Yellow race; and 200,000,000 for the Negroid or Black race. While these figures are only approximate, they do show that the yellows and the blacks together equal and possibly outnumber the whites.[1]

The factor of color

The World War, in which both yellow men and black men participated, has heightened their racial consciousness. It has made them less ready than before to acquiesce in the white man's claim to superiority on the ground of color. Religious hatreds and Bolshevist propaganda have

Racial consciousness

[1] See the map on page 19.

contributed to the same result, all along the great borderland of the Occident and Orient from northern Africa to the interior of Asia and still farther east in China and Japan.

Meanwhile, the assumed menace of the "Yellow Peril," as it is called, has led to various restrictions upon the entrance of Orientals into English-speaking countries. This attitude is defended on the general ground that yellow men do not readily assimilate with whites, and on the special ground that their lower standard of living enables them to displace whites in the labor market and thus reduces wages or creates unemployment. The United States excluded Chinese as early as 1882 and Japanese as recently as 1924. Legislation to limit or entirely prohibit Oriental immigration has also been adopted by Canada, the Union of South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand. In Latin America, where Chinese and Japanese are not numerous, the danger from the "Yellow Peril" has seemed too remote to produce a general exclusion movement. It may be noted that Japan herself excludes Chinese laborers, alleging that Chinese can live on less than Japanese and consequently can work for lower wages.

Exclusion acts

Peaceful intercourse between the Orient and that Occident to which America belongs as much as Europe, depends more than ever before on racial concord. If the League of Nations or some similar organization is to be successful, white men, yellow men, and black men must coöperate in the task of making a better world. Not the popular refrain "East is East and West is West," but the Golden Rule and the saying attributed to the Chinese Confucius, "All men between the four seas are brothers," express the true spirit of modern internationalism.

Racial concord

Studies

1. Explain: Pan-American Union, Holy Alliance, Concert of Europe, Hague Tribunal, Covenant of the League of Nations, "World Court," and Geneva Protocol. 2. Mention four leading causes of European wars during the last century. What other causes might be mentioned? 3. Trace the attitude of official Christianity toward war from the first Christian centuries to the present time. 4. What did Lord Bryce mean by saying, "If we do not destroy war, war will destroy us"? 5. What were some of the historical antecedents of the League of Nations? 6. Explain the present organization and functions of the league. 7. Why did not the

United States join the league? What other important countries are non-members? 8. How does the Covenant of the league attempt to prevent war between league members? 9. What do you understand by international law? How does it differ from ordinary law? 10. Compare the abolition of private warfare toward the close of the Middle Ages with recent movements to abolish public warfare. 11. How far did the Washington Conference limit armaments? 12. Name the five great imperialist powers of to-day. 13. Discuss briefly some of the problems of contemporary imperialism. 14. How have Oriental countries been affected by nationalist movements and Bolshevist agitation? 15. Comment on the significance in contemporary international politics of the factor of religion and the color factor.

TABLE OF EVENTS AND DATES

B. C.

776 **First recorded celebration of the Olympian games.** Greek chronology begins to be precise from this date.

753 (?) **Rome founded.** Traditional date.

606 **Destruction of Nineveh.** End of the Assyrian Empire, which had long dominated the Near East.

586-539 **Captivity of the Hebrews in Babylonia.**

568 (?)-488 (?) **Gautama Buddha.**

551 (?)-478 **Confucius.**

509 (?) **Roman Republic established.** Traditional date.

490 **Marathon, 480 Salamis, and 479 Platæa and Mycale.** The four battles which preserved Greece from Persian domination and European culture from submergence in that of Asia.

451-450 **Laws of the Twelve Tables published.** The basis of all later Roman law.

390 (?) **Rome captured by the Gauls.**

338 **Battle of Chæronea.** The triumph of the Macedonian Kingdom over the disunited city-states of Greece.

333 **Issus and 331 Arbela.** The two battles which overthrew the Persian Empire and established Macedonian supremacy throughout the Near East.

214 **Great Wall of China begun.**

202 **Battle of Zama.** Ended the Second Punic War and left Rome without a rival in the western Mediterranean.

146 **Carthage and Corinth destroyed by the Romans.**

58-50 **Conquest of Gaul by Julius Cæsar.** Opened up much of western Europe to Græco-Roman civilization.

31 **Battle of Actium.** Ended civil war between Antony and Octavian, leaving the latter supreme in the Roman state.

4 (?) **Birth of Christ.**

70 A. D. **Jerusalem captured and destroyed by the Romans.**

135 **Dispersion of the Jews.**

212 **Edict of Caracalla.** Extended Roman citizenship to all free-born men in the Roman Empire.

284 **Reorganization of the Roman Empire by Diocletian.** The imperial system henceforth became an undisguised absolutism of the Oriental type.

313 **Edict of Milan.** Granted general religious toleration and placed Christianity on a legal equality with the other religions of the Roman world.

325 **Council of Nicæa.** Framed the Nicene Creed, which is still the accepted summary of Christian doctrine in Roman Catholic, Greek, and most Protestant churches.

330 **Constantinople (New Rome) made the capital of the Roman Empire.**

451 **Battle of Chalons.** Saved western Europe from being conquered by the still barbarous Huns.

476 **Deposition of Romulus Augustulus.** Extinction of the line of Roman emperors in the West.

496 **Clovis adopted Catholic Christianity.** Paved the way for intimate relations between the Franks and the Papacy.

529 (?) **Rule of St. Benedict.** Established the form of monasticism which ultimately prevailed everywhere in western Europe.

529-534 **Codification of Roman law.** The *Corpus Juris Civilis* formed perhaps the most important contribution of Rome to civilization.

622 **The Hegira (Flight) of Mohammed from Mecca to Medina.** Marks the beginning of the Mohammedan era.

732 **Battle of Tours.** The victory of the Franks under Charles Martel stemmed the farther advance of the Moslems into western Europe.

800 **Charlemagne crowned Emperor of the Romans.** Formation of the so-called Holy Roman Empire.

843 **Treaty of Verdun and 870 Treaty of Mersen.** Marked important stages in the dissolution of Charlemagne's dominions.

962 **Otto I, the Great, crowned Roman Emperor.** Revival of the so-called Holy Roman Empire.

982 **Greenland discovered by the Northmen.**

988 **Christianity introduced into Russia.** The Russian Slavs henceforth came under the influence of the Greek Church and Byzantine civilization.

1054 **Final rupture of the Greek and Roman Churches.** Destroyed the religious unity of European Christendom.

1066 **Battle of Hastings.** Resulted in the Norman Conquest of England.

1095 **Council of Clermont.** Beginning of the crusades.

1122 **Concordat of Worms.** A compromise arrangement between the Papacy and the Holy Roman Empire.

1206-1227 **Conquests of Jenghiz Khan.** Brought a large part of Asia and eastern Europe under Mongol sway.

1215 **Magna Carta.** Defined the rights of Englishmen and inspired their later struggles for political liberty.

1271-1295 **Travels of Marco Polo.** Polo's narrative of his travels greatly increased the interest of Europeans in the Far East.

1275 **"Model Parliament" of Edward I.** A regularly elected Parliament which for the first time included representatives of all classes of the English people.

1309-1377 **"Babylonian Captivity" of the Papacy.** The removal of the popes to Avignon weakened their political authority.

1348-1349 **Black Death in Europe.** Hastened the decline of serfdom and the emancipation of the peasantry.

1378-1417 **The "Great Schism."** Weakened the spiritual supremacy of the popes over western Christendom.

1396 **Greek first taught at Florence, Italy.** The revival of Greek studies in western Europe formed an important aspect of the Renaissance movement.

1453 **Constantinople captured by the Ottoman Turks.** End of the Byzantine Empire and beginning of the Eastern Question.

1456 **First book printed at Gutenberg's press in Mainz, Germany.**

1487 **Cape of Good Hope rounded by Diaz.** The final step in the Portuguese exploration of the western coast of Africa.

1492 **Discovery of America by Columbus.**

1498 **India reached by Vasco da Gama.** The Portuguese thus opened up an ocean passage from Europe round Africa to the Far East.

1517 **Luther's Ninety-five Theses posted.** Beginning of the Protestant Reformation in Germany.

1519-1522 **Magellan's circumnavigation of the globe.**

1543 **Publication of Copernicus's treatise "On the Revolutions of Celestial Orbits."** Resulted in the adoption of an entirely new system of astronomy, by which man's outlook on the universe has been fundamentally changed.

1545 **Silver Mines of Potosí in Bolivia discovered.** The enormous output of silver from these mines greatly enlarged the supply of money in western Europe, thus stimulating industrial and commercial enterprise.

1545-1563 **Council of Trent.** An important agency in the Catholic Counter Reformation.

1577-1580 **Drake's voyage around the world.**

1588 **Defeat of the Spanish Armada.** Gave to England control of the sea and made possible English colonization of North America.

1598 **Edict of Nantes issued by Henry IV of France.** A noteworthy step in the direction of religious toleration.

1607 **Settlement of Jamestown.** The first permanent English colony in America.

1611 **Authorized Version of the Bible published.** The translation still in ordinary use among Protestants throughout the English-speaking world.

1648 **Peace of Westphalia.** Ended the religious wars.

1687 **Newton's "Principia" published.** One of the most important contributions ever made to physical science.

1688-1689 **The "Glorious Revolution."** Completed the work of the Puritan Revolution by overthrowing absolutism and divine right in England.

1704 **Battle of Blenheim.** Defeated the attempt of Louis XIV to make France supreme in western Europe.

1762 **Rousseau's "Social Contract" published.** Its democratic teachings were put into effect by the French revolutionists.

1763 **Peace of Paris.** Ended the Seven Years' War and gave to England a colonial empire in India and North America at the expense of France.

1768-1779 **Voyages of Captain James Cook.** Greatly increased geographical knowledge of the Pacific Ocean and its archipelagoes.

1769 **Arkwright's "water frame," 1770 Hargreaves's "spinning jenny," 1779 Crompton's "mule," and 1785 Cartwright's power loom.**

1781-1782 **Watt's steam engine patented.** The steam engine had previously served only for pumping; henceforth it could be applied to manufacturing and transportation.

1776 **Declaration of Independence.**

1783 **Peace of Paris and Versailles.** Ended the War of the American Revolution.

1787 **Constitution of the United States framed.**

1789 **Meeting of the Estates-General in France.** The first step toward the French Revolution.

1803 **Louisiana Purchase.** Made possible a greater United States.

1804 **The Code Napoléon promulgated.** The most lasting memorial of the Napoleonic era.

1807 **Fulton's steamboat, the "Clermont," in successful operation.**

1814-1815 **Congress of Vienna.** Remade the map of Europe after the revolutionary and Napoleonic era.

1815 **Battle of Waterloo.** Brought about the final overthrow of Napoleon Bonaparte.

1823 **Monroe Doctrine enunciated.** Has prevented European interference in the affairs of the New World.

1825 **Stockton and Darlington Railway opened.** The first line over which passengers and freight were carried by steam power.

1826 **Independence of the Spanish-American colonies recognized by Spain.**

1830-1831 **The "July Revolution" in Europe.** Overthrew absolutism and divine right in France and created modern Belgium.

1832 **Reform Act in Great Britain.** The first step in democratizing the British government.

1833 **Abolition by Great Britain of slavery in the British West Indies.**

1837 **Morse's first telegraph instrument exhibited.**

1838 **The Atlantic Ocean crossed by the "Great Western."** The first steamship to make the trip without using sails or recoaling on the way.

1839 **Lord Durham's Report.** Embodied liberal proposals for colonial self-government, which were subsequently adopted by Great Britain for Canada and other overseas possessions.

1848-1849 **The "February Revolution" in Europe.** Made France again a republic and led to revolutionary upheavals in Italy, Germany and the Austrian Empire.

1851 **Crystal Palace Exhibition at London.** The first of the great international expositions.

1854 **Treaty between Japan and the United States.** The first step in breaking down Japan's traditional isolation.

1858-1861 **Russian serfdom abolished by Alexander II.**

1859 **Darwin's "Origin of Species" published.** Presentation of the evolutionary theory.

1863 **Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation.**

1864 **International Red Cross Society founded.** Has become the greatest humanitarian organization in the world.

1866 **Atlantic Cable laid.** The first of the many cables which now electrically bridge all the oceans.

1869 **Suez Canal opened.**

1870 **Rome occupied by Italian troops.** Unification of Italy completed.

1871 **German Empire proclaimed at Versailles.**

1874 **International Postal Union established.** An important agency in internationalization.

1875 **First telephone patented by A. G. Bell.**

1899 **Meeting of the First Hague Peace Conference.**

1900 **Trans-Siberian Railway completed from Petrograd to Vladivostok.**

1903 **S. P. Langley's airplane and 1908 Wright Brothers' airplane.**

1909 **North Pole reached by Robert E. Peary and 1911 South Pole reached by R. Amundsen.**

1912 **China becomes a republic.**

1914 **Panama Canal opened.**

1914-1918 **World War.**

1917 **The Russian Revolution and establishment of Bolshevism in Russia.**

1919 **Peace Conference at Versailles.**

1920 **First meeting of the League of Nations.**

1921 **Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armament.**

1922 **"World Court" organized.**

INDEX AND PRONOUNCING VOCABULARY

NOTE. — The pronunciation of most proper names is indicated either by a simplified spelling or by their accentuation and division into syllables. The diacritical marks employed are those found in Webster's *New International Dictionary* and are the following:

ā as in āle.
å " " senåte.
â " " câre.
ă " " ăm.
ȧ " " ȧccount.
ä " " ärm.
å " " åsk.
ȧ " " sofȧ.
ē " " ēve.
ẹ " " ẹvent.
ĕ " " ĕnd.
ĕ " " recĕnt.
ē " " makēr.
ī " " īce.
ĭ " " ĭll.
ō as in ōld.
o͝ " " o͝bey.
ô " " ôrb.
ŏ " " ŏdd.
o͝ " " so͝ft.
o͝ " " co͝nnect.
ū " " ūse.
u͝ " " u͝nite.
û " " ûrn.
u͝ " " u͝p.
ŭ " " circŭs.
ü " " menü.
o͞o as in fo͞od.
o͝o " " fo͝ot.
ou " " out.
oi as in oil.
ch " " chair.
g " " go.
ng " " sing.
ŋ " " iŋk.
th " " then.
th " " thin.
tu " " nature.
d͡u " " verd͡ure.
ĸ for ch as in Ger. ich, ach.
ɴ as in Fr. bon.
y " " yet.
zh for z as in azure.

Abdul-Hamid (ăb-do͞o͝l-hȧ-mēd′), II, 537, 658 and note 1.
Absolutism, Oriental, 40, 41; Roman, 153, 154; European, 201, 281, 282, 283, 286, 290, 291, 293, 294, 296, 312, 347, 362, 415, 516, 517, 524, 525, 732, 733.
Abyssinia (ăb-ĭ-sĭn′ĭ-ȧ), 541, 546, 547.
Achæan (ȧ-kē′ăn) League, the, 109, 110.
A-crop′o-lis of Athens, the, 93.
Actium (ăk′shĭ-ŭm), naval battle of, 138.
Act of Settlement, the, 294, 468.
Act of Supremacy, the, 262.
Act of Union, the, 479, note 1.
Ægean (ē-jē′ăn) Sea, 69, 70.
Ægeans, the, 71–73.
Æ-to′li-an League, the, 109, 110.
Af-ghan-i-stan′, 104, 552, 553, 655.
Africa, geography and peoples of, 542; exploration of, 543–546; partitioned, 546–550.
"Agadir (ăg-ȧ-dēr′) incident," the, 657.
Agriculture, Oriental, 44; Roman, 118, 131, 144; medieval, 215, 216; modern, 605, 606.
Ahuramazda (ä-ho͞o-rȧ-mäz′dȧ), 54.
Airplane, the, 596.
Airship, the, 596, 597.
Aix-la-Chapelle (āks-lȧ-shȧ-pĕl′), Peace of, 313, 327.
Alabama claims, the, 749.
Åland Islands, 724, 754.
Alaska, 344, 573, 574, 577.
Albania, 539, 661, 685, 688, 721.
Albert I, king of Belgium, 674.
Alexander I, king of Jugoslavia, 721.
Alexander I, tsar of Russia, 396,

402, 413, 417, 429, 522, 525, 527, 531, 748; II, 462, 526–528, 608; III, 528.
Alexander VI, pope, 252.
Alexander the Great, 101–105, 126.
Al-ex-an'dri-a, 103, 106, 108, 109, 138, 141, 148, 189, 231, 339, 550.
Alfonso XIII, king of Spain, 508.
Algeciras (Span. pron. äl-hä-thē'-räs) Conference, the, 657, 749.
Algeria, 503, 504, 547, 657.
Allah (ål'ȧ), 180.
Alphabet, the, 25, 26 and note 1, 114, 305, 522.
Alsace (ål-säs'), 277, 297, 299, 407, 465, 466, 513, 516, 651, 688, 706, 712. *See also* Lorraine.
Amendments to the American Constitution, 341, 342, 631, 633, 638.
Am-en-ho'tep IV, Egyptian king, 53, 54.
America, the Northmen in, 167; discovered by Columbus, 252; Spanish explorations in, 254; the Spanish colonial empire, 254, 255; the Old World and the New, 255–257; Dutch settlements in, 323, 324, 328; English and French colonization of, 328–331; rivalry of France and England in, 331–334; revolt of the Thirteen Colonies, 334–341; formation of the United States, 341, 342; British North, 566–568; Latin, 568–573; the United States, 573–576.
American Revolution, the, 334–341, 407.
Amiens (ȧ-myăN'), Peace of, 391, 395.
Am-phic'ty-o-nies, 80.
Amsterdam, 255, 298.
Amundsen (ä'mŭn-sĕn), Captain Roald, 577, note 1, 578.
Amur (ä'mo͝or) Valley, 551, 558.
A-nam', 552.
Ancestor worship, Roman, 116, 117; Chinese, 557.
Anglicanism, 262, 263, 264, 265, 282, 283, 284, 288, 291, 293, 352, 485, 488, 635, 639.
Anglo-Russian Convention, the, 552, 655.
An'glo-Sax'ons, the, 160, 168, 238.
Angora, 717, 718.
Animals, domestication of, 14, 44; worship of, 52; cruelty to, 630, 631.
Anne, Queen, 293, 294, 300, 480.
Antarctic exploration, 578.
Anthony, Susan B., 633.
Antioch (ăn'tĭ-ŏk), 106, 231.
Antony, 138.
Antwerp, 255, 428.
Ap'en-nine Mountains, 112.
A-pol'lo, 76, 77, 80, 90.
Arabia, physical features of, 180.
Arabs, the, 22, 161, 180, 182, 184, 186, 689, 719, 720.
Aragon (ä-rä-gōn'), 200.
Ar-a-mæ'ans, the, 34.
Ar-be'la, battle of, 103.
Arbitration, international, 749, 756, 758.
Arch, the, 60, 114, 232, 233, 243.
Architecture, Oriental, 56, 57; Greek, 93; Byzantine, 178; Romanesque and Gothic, during the Middle Ages, 231–233; Renaissance, 243, 244, 246; modern, 648.
Arctic exploration, 577, 578.
Argentina, 508, 571.
Ar'gos, 79, 81.
Aristotle (ăr'ĭs-tŏt'l), 101, 247.
Arkwright, Richard, 585, 587, 589.
"Armada (är-mā'dȧ) Invincible," the, 273 and note 1, 328.
Armenia, 30, 139, 720, 728.
Armies, modern, 662, 663.
Armistice with Germany, 706.
Art, Palæolithic, 11; Oriental, 56–58; Ægean, 72; Greek, 93; Byzantine, 177, 178; Arab, 186; medieval, 231–233; Renaissance, 243, 244, 246; modern, 648, 649. *See also* Architecture, Painting, Sculpture.

Articles of Confederation, the, 341, 510.
Artisans, Oriental, 42; Athenian, 92; Roman, 144; medieval, 226–228; modern, 350, 582, 589, 591, 609–614.
Artois (är-twä′), 297.
Artois, Count of, 379 and note 2, 424.
Aryan (är′yăn) languages, 22, note 1.
Asia, divisions of, 29, 30; medieval explorations in, 248, 249; opening up and partition of, 550–553.
Asia Minor, 71, 74, 659, 717, 718.
Asquith, H. H., 488, 675.
Assignats (à-sē-nyà′), the, 377, 378.
As-syr′i-a, 36, 37.
Astrology, Babylonian, 53.
Astronomy, Oriental, 59; Renaissance, 247; eighteenth-century, 356; modern, 641, 644.
Athens, population of, 79 and note 1; political development of, 81, 82; in the Persian wars, 85, 87, 88, 89; ascendancy of, 89–93; Athenian culture, 93–97; rivalry of, with Sparta, 97; defeated by Philip II, 99, 100.
Athletics, Greek, 77, 78.
At-lan′tis, myth of, 251.
At′ti-ca, 79, note 1, 89, 92.
At′ti-la the Hun, 191, 192.
Augsburg (ouks′bo͝orĸ), Peace of, 269, 275, 636.
Au-gus′tus, Roman emperor, 138, 139, 140, 142, 147.
Ausgleich (ous′glīĸ), the Austro-Hungarian, 519, 520.
Austerlitz (ous′tēr-lĭts), battle of, 396, 397, 398, 444.
Australia, exploration of, 343; settlement of, 565, 566; the Australian Commonwealth, 566.
Austria, under Maria Theresa, 309, 310; under Joseph II, 363, 364; wars of, with France, during the revolutionary and Napoleonic era, 382, 385, 388, 389, 390, 391, 396, 398, 401, 403; territorial acquisitions of, by the Vienna settlement, 416; under Metternich, 419, 423, 427, 430, 431, 435; revolt of Bohemia and Hungary against, 436, 437; at war with Sardinia, 437, 452, 453; loss of Lombardy and Venetia by, 453, 456, 462; eliminated from German affairs, 463; union of, with Hungary, 519; new republic of, 715. *See also* Austria-Hungary.
Austria-Hungary, government of, 519, 520; nationalities in, 520; between 1871 and 1914, 536, 651, 652, 653, 659, 660, 661, 667; in the World War, 669–672, 676, 682, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 695, 705.
Austrian Succession, War of the, 313, 327, 332.
Austro-Prussian War, the, 456, 463, 651.
Austro-Sardinian War, the, 452, 453.
Azerbaijan (ä-zēr-bī-jän′), 728.
Azores (*à*-zōrz′) Islands, 252, 509.
Aztecs, the, 254.

Baber (bä′bēr), 325.
Bab′y-lon, 30, 34, 103, 104.
Bab-y-lo′ni-a, a seat of early civilization, 30; city-states of, 33, 34; under Nebuchadnezzar, 37; conquered by Persia, 38.
Bacon (Lord), 247.
Bagdad (bäg-däd′), 186, 187, 231, 659, 687, 703.
Balance of power, the, in Europe, 278, 418, 466, 650, 655.
Balboa (bäl-bō′ä), Vasco Nuñez de, 254.
Balkan peninsula, physical features, 529; peoples, 530.
Balkan Wars (1912–1913), the, 537, 660, 661, 671.
Baltic (Nordic) racial type, the, 66, 67, 73, 114, 158.

Banking, Oriental, 45, 46; modern, 602.
Ban'nock-burn, battle of, 197.
Baptists, the, 291, 352, 639.
Basel (bä'zĕl), Treaty of, 386.
Bastille (bäs-tēl'), the, capture of, 374, 375.
Batavian Republic, the, 386, 397.
Bavaria, 398, 418, 514.
Bazaine (bä-zĕn'), General, 464.
Bec-ca-ri'a, Marquis di, 629.
Bech-u-an'a-land, 549, 550.
Bed'ou-ins, the, 180, 182.
Beethoven (bā'tō-vĕn), Ludwig van, 647.
Behaim (bā'hīm), Martin, globe of, 250.
Belgian Congo, the, 510, 547, 749.
Belgium, 270, 279, 416, 426–428, 509, 510, 631, 633, 674, 675, 678, 681, 704, 712.
Bel-grade', 721.
Bell, Alexander G., 598.
Benedict XV, pope, 507, 700.
Benedictine Rule, the, 208–210.
Bengal (bĕn-gôl'), 327.
Berchtold, Count, 671.
Bering, Vitus, 344, 573.
Berlin, 314, 396.
Berlin Decree, 399; Treaty, 536, 651, 653, 660, 748, 749.
Berlin-to-Bagdad Railway, the, 659, 660.
Bes-sa-ra'bi-a, 417, 522, 531, 715, note 1, 727.
Bethmann-Hollweg (bāt'män-hôl'-vāĸ), Theobald von, 674, 675, 693.
Bible, the, 59, 109, 150, 245, 260, 261, 263, 264, 268.
Bill of Rights, the, 293, 294, 379, 468.
Biology, 357, 641, 643, 644.
Bismarck, Otto von, 460–466, 516, 517, 519, 536, 613, 619, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 658.
Black Death, the, 220.
Black Race, 17, 20, 21, 542, 766.
Black Sea, the, 83, 308, 718.
Blanc (blän), Louis, 618.
Blenheim (blĕn'ĭm), battle of, 300.
Blücher (blü'ĸĕr), 404, 405.
Bœotia (bē-ō'shĭ-ȧ), 89, 100.
Boers (bo͝ors), the, 323, 548, 549, 654, 688.
Bohemia, 431, 436, 519, 722.
Boleyn (bo͝ol'ĭn), Anne, 262, 263.
Bolívar (Span. pron. bō-lē'vär), Simón de, 569, 570.
Bolivia, 255, 569.
Bologna (bō-lōn'yä), university of, 235, 236.
Bol-she-vi-ki', the, in Russia, 699, 700, 726–730.
Book of Common Prayer, the, 262, 284, 285, 288, 291.
Book of the Dead, Egyptian, 49, 55.
Books, hand-written, 26; printed, 242, 243.
Booth, William, 631.
Bor'ne-o, 493, 564.
Bor-o-di'no, battle of, 402.
Bosnia, 536, 651, 660, 669, 721.
"Boston Tea Party," the, 537.
Boulogne (bo͝o-lôn'y), 395, 396.
Bourbon (bo͝or'bŭn), dynasty, the, 275, 404, 414, 425, note 1.
Bourgeoisie (bo͝or-zhwȧ-zē'), the, 222, 223, 346, 366, 381, 387, 472, 619, 725, 728, 729.
"Boxers," the, 559, 656, 749.
Boyne River, the, battle of, 485.
Braganza (brä-gän'zȧ) dynasty, the, 509.
Brahmanism, 554.
Brandenburg (brän'dĕn-bo͝orĸ), 277, 279, 302, 311, 312. *See also* Prussia.
Brazil, 252, note 1, 254, 400, 508, 509, 570, 571, 628, 638.
Bremen (brā'mĕn), city, 222; bishopric, 277.
Brest-Litovsk (brĕst'lyĕ-tôfsk'), Treaty of, 699, 700, 726, 727.
Britain, conquest and Romanization of, 139. *See also* England.
British Empire, the, 490, 492–494, 496, 540.

British Isles, the, 197.
Brittany, 196, 199.
Bronze, 15, 47, 71, 75, 114, 158.
Bruges (brūzh), 224, 231, 255.
Brusilov, General, 684, 686.
Budapest (bōō′dȧ-pĕst), 520.
Buddha (bōō′dȧ), Gautama, 554.
Buddhism, 554, 555, 557, 561, 640.
Bukharest (bōō-kȧ-rĕst′), Treaty of, 538, 539, 661.
Bukowina (bōō-kō-vē′nä), 684, 715.
Bulgaria, 192, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 685, 705, 717.
Bulgarians, the, 18, 179, 192, 530.
"Bulls," papal, 212 and note 2.
Bundesrat (bōōn′dĕs-rät), the, 513, 514, 515, 726.
Bur-gun′di-ans, the, 159, 160, 161, 199.
Burke, Edmund, 336, 496.
Burma, 249, 552, 554, 555, 558.
Byzantine Empire, the, 176–180.
Byzantium (bĭ-zăn′shĭ-*u*m), 83, 154. *See also* Constantinople.

Cabinet system, the, 342, 411, 412, 483, 484, 726, 735.
Cabot, John, 328.
Cadiz (kā′dĕz), 48, 255, 273.
Cæsar (sē′zȧr), Gaius Julius, 136–138, 198, 549.
Cairo (kī′rō), 31, 186, 189, 231, 550.
Calendar, the, 59.
Caliphate, the, 184, 186, 718.
Calvin, John, 261, 274, 282.
Calvinism, 261, 262, 265, 270, 274, 275, 276, 282.
Cam-by′ses, Persian king, 38, 84.
Cameroons, the, 547, 688, 713.
Cam-pa′ni-a, 114, 122.
Cam′po For′mi-o, Treaty of, 389, 391, 396, 457.
Canada, French settlement of, 330; acquired by England, 333; the "Tories" in, 338, 566; in the War of 1812–1814, 567; the Dominion of, 567, 568.
Can′næ, battle of, 126.
Canning, George, 423.
Ca-no′va, Antonio, 648.
Can-ton′, 558.
Cape Colony, 416, 546.
Cape Town, 323, 548, 549.
Cape-to-Cairo Railway, the, 549, 550.
Cape of Good Hope, 251, 323, 544, 548.
Capet (Fr. pron. kȧ-pĕ′), Hugh, 199, 237, 376.
Capetian (kȧ-pē′shăn) dynasty, the, 199.
Car-a-cal′la, Roman emperor, 140.
Car-bo-na′ri, the, 449.
Carnegie (kär-nĕg′ĭ), Andrew, 636, 746.
Car-ni-o′la, 721.
Carnot (kär-nō′), Lazare, 385, 388.
Car′thage, a Phœnician colony, 48, 123, 124; civilization of, 124; wars of, with Rome, 124–127; destroyed, 127.
Cartier (kär-tyā′), Jacques, 329.
Cartwright, Edmund, 587, 589.
Castes, Hindu, 555.
Castile (kăs-tēl′), kingdom of, 199, 200.
Castles, feudal, 172–174.
Cathedrals, medieval, 231–233.
Catherine of Aragon, 262.
Catherine II, tsarina of Russia, 307–309, 317, 318, 362, 363, 522, 525, 531.
Catholic Church. *See* Greek Church, Roman Church.
"Cavaliers," the, 286 and note 1, 292.
Cavour (kȧ-vōōr′), Camillo di, 451–455, 466, 507, 534.
Celtic languages, 196, 197, 198.
Censorship of the press, 272, 353, 368, 394, 408.
Central American Federation, the, 572.
Cervantes (sĕr-văn′tēz), 246.
Ceylon, 249, 253, 254, 416, 493, 555.
Chæronea (kĕr-ō-nē′*ȧ*), battle of, 100.

Châlons (shä-lôn′), battle of, 192.
Chamber of Deputies, French, 499, 501, 504, 514.
Champlain (shăm-plān′), Samuel de, 330.
Charity, Roman, 148; medieval, 206, 210; modern, 631, 632.
Charlemagne (shär′lē-mān), 161–164, 169, 269, 393, 398.
Charles I, emperor of Austria, 521, 717.
Charles I, king of England, 284–289, 328; II, 291, 292, 328, 329, 601.
Charles I, king of Rumania, 159.
Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor, 253, 259, 262, 263, 266, 269, 270; VI, 310.
Charles X, king of France, 424, 425.
Charles Albert, king of Sardinia, 437, 505.
Charles the Bald, 164.
Chartism, 473, 474.
Château-Thierry (shä-tō′-tyĕ-rē′), 704.
Chatham (chăt′ăm), Earl of. *See* William Pitt.
Chaucer, Geoffrey, 238.
Chemistry, 357, 641, 643.
Child labor, regulation of, 611, 612, 613.
Chile, 571.
China, in antiquity, 29; visited by the Polos, 248, 249; geography and people of, 555, 556; civilization of, 556, 557; during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, 557–560, 656, 760, 761.
Chino-Japanese War, the, 558, 562, 689.
Chivalry, 175, 176.
Christianity, rise and spread of, 149, 150; persecuted, 150, 151; triumph of, 151; influence of, on Roman society, 151, 153; adopted by the Germans, 159, 160, 161; separation of the Greek and Roman churches, 179; in western Europe, during the Middle Ages, 203–213; the Reformation, 257–265; the Catholic Counter Reformation, 266–269; the religious wars, 269–278; during the eighteenth century, 351–354; modern, 636, 638–641. *See also* Greek Church, Protestants, Roman Church.
Church and State, separation of, 638, 639.
Church of England. *See* Anglicanism.
Cicero (sĭs′ē-rō), Marcus Tullius, 137.
Cisalpine Republic, the, 389, 397.
Cities, Greek, 79; Hellenistic, 105, 106; Roman, 141, 142; medieval, 221–225.
Citizenship, in the Greek city-state, 79; at Athens, 92; Roman, 122, 129, 134, 135.
City-state, the, Oriental, 32, 33, 34; Greek, 79–82; Roman, 119–121.
Civilization, nature of, 1, 2; Oriental, 40–63; Ægean, 71–73, Athenian, 93–97; Hellenistic, 105–110; Arabian, 186; medieval, 203–239; modern, 625–649.
Clemenceau (klā-mäN-sō′), Georges, 702, 708, 709.
Cle-o-pa′tra, 138.
Clergy, medieval, 207, 211; in eighteenth-century Europe, 347, 348, 353.
Clive, Robert, 327, 553.
Clovis, king of the Franks, 161.
Cochin-China (kō′chĭn-chī′nà), 249, 552.
Code Napoléon, the, 391, 414, 448, 634.
Colombia, 569, 570, 576.
Colonial policy, Portuguese, 254; Spanish, 254, 255, 569; French, 331, 504; British, 334, 335, 340, 494, 567; Italian, 547; American, 564; Dutch, 565.
Colonies and dependencies, Portuguese, 253, 254, 509, 547; Span-

ish, 254, 255, 508, 509, 546, 547, 568–570; Dutch, 322–324, 564, 565, 572; British, 328, 329, 333–341, 492–494, 496, 540, 547–550, 552, 553, 565–568, 572; French, 329–333, 503, 504, 540, 547, 552, 565, 657; Italian, 507, 508, 547; Belgian, 510, 547; German, 547, 565, 656, 688, 689, 713.
Colonization, Phœnician, 48; Greek, 82–84, 114; European, 253–255, 320–324, 328–331, 540–566.
Columbus, Christopher, 251–252.
Combination Acts, the, 609.
Commerce, Oriental, 46–48; Ægean, 73; Athenian, 93; Hellenistic, 106, 108; Roman, 142, 143; Byzantine, 177; influence of the crusades on, 189, 190; medieval, 229–231; modern, 600.
Commercial routes, 46, 47, 143, 231, 255.
Common Law, the, 201, 292, 479, 485.
Commons, House of, 282, 284, 286, 288, 289, 290, 469–472, 477, 478, 481, 482–484, 514.
Commonwealth, the, in England, 289, 290.
Commune of Paris, the, 375, 383, 498, 499.
Companies, trading, 321, 322; chartered, 493.
Compass, mariner's, 249.
Comte (kôNt), Auguste, 645.
Concert of Europe, the, 420, 421, 424, 508, 509, 748, 749.
Concordat, the French, 392 and note 1, 414, 639.
Confederation of the Rhine, 398, 399.
Confucius (kŏn-fū′shĭ-ŭs), 557.
Congo Free State. *See* Belgian Congo.
Congregationalism, 265, note 1, 288 and note 2, 291.
Conscription, military, 385, 460, 662, 663.
Conservative Party, British, 473, 476, 477, 478, 485, 487, 653.
Constantine (kŏn′stăn-tīn) the Great, 151, 154.
Constantine I, king of Greece, 659, 686.
Constantinople, 154, 177–180, 184, 187, 194, 242, 397, 532, 534, 535, 685, 686, 705, 718.
Constitutions: American, 110, 294, 341, 342, 360, 379, 412, 710; French, 378, 379, 380, 383, 387, 390, 407, 412, 414, 424, 434, 499; Spanish, 414, 421, 508; German, 430, 513, 725, 726; Prussian, 439, 516; British, 479; Italian, 505; Portuguese, 509; Belgian, 509; Swiss, 510; Dutch, 511; Austro-Hungarian, 519; Turkish, 537; Japanese, 562; Czecho-Slovak, 722; Russian, 729.
Consulate, Napoleon's, 390–393.
Consuls, Roman, 119, 120, 121.
Continental Congress, First, 337; Second, 337, 338, 341.
Continental System, Napoleon's, 398–400, 402, 567.
Cook, Captain James, 343, 344, 565, 578.
Co-per′ni-cus, 247.
Cor′do-va, 186.
Corinth, 79, 81, 84, 100, 128.
Corn Laws, the, repeal of, 604, 605.
Cor′pus Ju′ris Ci-vi′lis, the, 145, 146.
Corsica, 124, 125, 367, 387.
Cortés (Span. pron. kôr-tās′), Hĕrnando, 254.
Corvée (kôr-vā′), the, 351.
Cossacks, the, 305, 403.
Cotton gin, Whitney's, 586, 587.
Councils, Church: Nicæa, 151; Trent, 267, 268; Vatican, 268, note 1.
Counter Reformation, the Catholic, 266–269.
Coup d'état (kōō-dā-tä′), Napoleon Bonaparte's, 390; Louis Napoleon's, 444, 445.

Courland, 688, 699, 723.
Covenanters, Scotch, 285.
Cranmer, Archbishop, 262, 263.
Crassus, 136, 137.
Cretans, the, 26, 62, 71–73.
Crete, 71, 72, 533.
Crimea, the, 308, 531, 534.
Crimean War, the, 447, 451, 526, 533, 534, 653, 748.
Crises, commercial, 603, 604, 664.
Croatia-Slavonia, 519, 721.
Crompton, Samuel, 585, 586, 589.
Cromwell, Oliver, 287–290, 485.
Crusades, the, 187–190, 230, 234.
Cuba, 508, 572.
Cu-ne'i-form writing, 25 and note 1, 26.
Curie (kü-rē'), Pierre and Marie, 643.
Cyprus (sī'prŭs), 15, 189, 492, 533, 536.
Cyrene (sī-rē'nē), 84, 124.
Cy'rus the Great, 38, 84.
Czecho-Slovakia, 722.
Czechs (chěks), the, 721.

Dacia (dā'shĭ-ȧ), 139.
Da Gama, Vasco, 251, 253.
Dal-ma'ti-ä, 687, 721.
Da-mas'cus, 34, 189, 231, 705.
Danes, the, 168, 238.
Dante Alighieri (dän'tā ä-l-ē gyâ'rē), 241.
Danton (däN-tôN'), Georges Jacques, 381, 383, 384, 385, 386, 635.
Danube River, 85, 535.
Danzig (dän'tsĭĸ), 712, 713, 752.
Dar-da-nelles', the, 685.
Da-ri'us I, the Great, 38, 39, 85, 86, 87, 162; III, 102, 103, 104.
"Dawes Plan," the, 714.
David, Hebrew king, 35.
Declaration of Independence, the, 337, 338, 340, 359, 581.
Declaration of Paris, the, 748.
Declaration of the Rights of Man, the, 378, 379, 638.
Deists, the, 358, 359.
Delhi (dĕl'ē), 553.
De'li-an League, the, 90, 92, 93.
De'los, 70, 80, 90.
Delphi (dĕl'fī), 77, 78, 80.
Delphic Amphictyony, the, 80.
Demarcation, papal line of, 252 and note 1.
Democracy, absence of, in the Orient, 40; Greek, 81; at Athens, 82, 90–92; the Roman Church and, 207; the Dutch as pioneers of, 272; modern, 410–412; disregard of, by the Congress of Vienna, 413, 414, 418; between 1815 and 1871, 419, 421, 424, 431, 432, 434, 435, 436, 439; between 1871 and 1914, 467, 479, 510, 511, 516, 525, 537; imperialism and, 542; the Industrial Revolution and, 581, 582; the World War and, 695, 732, 733, 735.
De-mos'the-nes, 100, 101.
Denmark, 166, 261, 265, 279, 398, 417, 462, 512, 513, 573, 628, 633, 712.
Diaz (dē'äts), Armando, 705.
Diaz (dē'äth), Porfirio, 572.
Dictator, the Roman, 119.
Diocletian (dī-ŏ-klē'shăn), 153, 154.
Directory, French, 387, 388, 389, 390.
Disarmament, movement for international, 664, 665, 758–760; of the Central Powers, after the World War, 714, 715, 716.
Disraeli (dĭz-rā'lĭ), Benjamin, 476, 477, 653.
Dissenters, the, 291 and note 1, 294, 353.
Divination, Babylonian, 53, 114.
Divine right of kings, the, 281, 282, 284, 292, 294, 311, 516, 517, 732, 733. *See also* Absolutism.
Divorce, 116, 147, 205, 633, 634.
Do-do'na, 77, 78.
Domestication of animals and plants, 14, 44.
Domestic system, the, 589.
Dominicans, the, 210, 211.

Dom Pedro II, 570.
Drake, Sir Francis, 272, 273, 343.
Drama, ancient Athenian, 94; modern, 646.
Dual Alliance, the, 653, 655.
Duma, the, 529, 697, 698, 699.
Dupleix (dü-plĕks′), 325–327.
Durazzo (dōō-rät′sō), 660.
Durham (dŭr′ăm), Lord, *Report* of, 567, 568.
Dushan, Stephen, 532.

Eastern Question, the, 309, 451–533, 534, 536, 539, 658, 749.
East India Company, Dutch, 323, 343, 565; French, 325; English, 325, 553.
Ebert (ā′bĕrt), Friedrich, 725.
Economics, science of, 354, 355.
Ecuador, 569, 570.
Edict of Milan, 151.
Edison, Thomas A., 589.
Education, Oriental, 60, 62; Greek, 95; under Charlemagne, 163; Byzantine, 178, 179; in western Europe, during the Middle Ages, 233–236; humanism and, 242; Jesuit, 267; modern, 353, 354, 634–636.
Edward I, king of England, 197; VI, 262; VII, 480.
Egypt, a seat of early civilization, 31; prehistoric era in, 32; history of, in antiquity, 32, 33, 38, 102, 103, 105, 138; Napoleon in, 389; under British sway, 549; becomes independent, 764.
Einstein, Albert, 642.
Elba, Napoleon at, 404, 413.
Electricity, 595, 641, 643.
Elizabeth, queen of England, 263, 765, 272, 274, 282, 283, 325, 328, 485.
Émigrés (ā-mē-grā′), the, 379, 380, 386, 392, 728.
Ems (Ger. pron. āms) dispatch, the, 464.
Encyclopedists, the, 361, 362, 369.
England, conquered by Teutonic peoples, 168; expansion of, during the Middle Ages, 197; the Reformation in, 262, 263; war between Spain and, 272–274; under James I and Charles I, 283–289; the Commonwealth and the Protectorate, 289, 290; the Restoration and the "Glorious Revolution," 291–295; at war with Louis XIV, 298, 299, 300, 302; in the War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War, 313, 314; rivalry of, with France, in India and North America, 325–328, 331–333; loss of the Thirteen Colonies by, 334–340; at war with revolutionary and Napoleonic France, 385, 388, 389, 390, 391, 395, 396, 398, 399, 400, 401, 404, 405; territorial acquisitions of, by the Vienna settlement, 416; between 1815 and 1871, 420, 423, 424, 428, 430, 452, 526, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536; movement for parliamentary reform in, 468–479; government of, 479–485; the Irish Question, 485–490; the British Empire, 490–496; the Industrial Revolution in, 582, 583, 591; between 1871 and 1914, 653–655, 657, 658, 659, 663, 664; in the World War, 670, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 680, 685, 688, 689, 690, 702, 703, 704; territorial acquisitions of, by the Versailles settlement, 712, 713.
English language, the, 147, 238, 626, 627.
"Enlightened despots," the, 362–364, 415.
Entente cordiale (ɑN-tänt′ kôr-dyàl′), the, 654, 655.
E-pi′rus, 77, 533.
Equal Franchise Act, the, 478, 633.
E-ras′mus, Des-i-de′ri-us, 245, 745.
Eric the Red, 166, 167.
Ericsson, Leif (ĕr′ĭk-sŭn, lif), 167.

Eritrea (ā-rē-trē′ä), 507, 547.
Estates-General, French, 370–373.
Es-tho′ni-a, 699, 723, 724.
Esthonians, the, 18, 68.
E-tru′ri-a, 113, 122.
E-trus′cans, the, 113, 114, 115, 116, 121.
Eugène (û-zhĕn′), Prince, 300.
Eugénie (û-zhā-nē′), Empress, 446 and note 1, 498.
Euphrates (û-frā′tēz) River, 30, 33.
Europe, in the Ice Age, 4–5, 12; geography of, 65, 66; racial types of, 66, 67; languages spoken in, 67, 68.
Exclusion acts, 767, 768.
Excommunication, 205, 206.
Exploration, ancient, 47, 48, 109, note; medieval, 248, 249; modern, 251–254, 330, 342–344, 544–546, 577–580.
Expositions, universal, 446, 627.

Factory Acts, British, 611, 612.
Factory system, the, 589, 591, 611.
Fairs, medieval, 229.
"Fall of Rome," the, 155, 156.
Family, the, 12, 49, 76, 116, 117, 634.
Fascisti (fä-shē′stē), the, 733.
"February Revolution," the, 432–435, 618.
Ferdinand of Aragon, 200, 252, 269.
Ferdinand I, Austrian emperor, 431, 436.
Ferdinand I, Holy Roman Emperor, 269.
Ferdinand I, tsar of Bulgaria, 536, 537, 659, 705.
Ferdinand VII, king of Spain, 400, 421, 508, 569.
Feudalism, rise of, 169; extent of, in Europe, 170; as a system of local government, 170–172; feudal warfare, 172, 174, 175; knighthood and chivalry, 175, 176; royalty and, 200, 201; the cities and, 222; Polish, 315, 316; abolition of, in revolutionary France, 375, 376; Japanese, 561, 562.
Field, Cyrus W., 598.
Filipinos, the, 564, 640.
Finland, 167, 279, 396, 417, 522, 631, 632, 724, 754.
Finns, the, 18, 68, 167.
Fiume (fyōō′mā), 721, 752.
Flanders, 231, 297, 298, 704.
Flemings, the, 426, 509.
Florence, 241, 244.
Florida, 254, 329, 333, 340, 573.
Frankfort Assembly, the, 438, 726.
Foch (fŏsh) Ferdinand, 677, 703, 704.
Formosa, 558, 562.
Four-Power Treaty, the, 759, 760.
"Fourteen Points," Wilson's, 700, 702, 706.
Fox, George, 352.
France, physical, 197; racial, 197–199; unification of, during the Middle Ages, 199; the Reformation in, 274, 275; under Louis XIV, 295–302; in the War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War, 313, 314; rivalry of, with England, in India and North America, 325–328, 331–333; alliance of, with the Thirteen Colonies, 338, 339; the French Revolution, 366–390; the Napoleonic era, 390–408; restoration of Louis XVIII, 414; the "July Revolution," 424–426; the "February Revolution" and the Second French Republic, 432–435; under Napoleon III, 442–447; acquires Savoy and Nice, 452, 453; takes part in the Crimean War, 526, 534; the Franco-German War, 463–466; between 1871 and 1914, 498, 499, 501–504, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 657; in the World War, 670, 672, 673, 674, 676, 677, 678, 680, 681, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706; territorial

acquisitions of, by the Versailles settlement, 712, 713.
Franche-Comté (frănxsh-kôn-tā'), 299, 667.
Francis I, emperor of Austria, 413, 419.
Francis Ferdinand, assassination of, 669.
Francis Joseph I, emperor of Austria, 436, 439, 452, 453, 463, 519, 520, 521, 526, 574, 651, 706.
Fran-cis'cans, the, 210, 211.
Franco-German War, the, 456, 463–466, 650, 651.
Frankfort, Treaty of, 465, 498, 651.
Franklin, Benjamin, 341, 356, 367.
Franks, the, 160, 161.
Frederick II, the Great, king of Prussia, 312–314, 317, 318, 363, 364, 460, 636, 638, 666, 713; III, 517.
Frederick William III, king of Prussia, 413, 748; IV, 431, 438, 439, 459, 516.
Free trade, adoption of, by Great Britain, 604.
French language, the, 237, 297, 626.
French Revolution, the, 366–390, 407, 408.
Friars, orders of, 210, 211.
Friedland (frēt'länt), battle of, 396, 397.
Frob'ish-er, Sir Martin, 273, 328.
Fry, Mrs. Elizabeth, 629.
Fulton, Robert, 593, 597.
Future life, the, Oriental and Greek ideas of, 55, 76.

Galicia (gȧ-lĭsh'ĭ-ȧ), 317, 416, 429, 519, 682, 684, 688, 715.
Galileo (găl-ĭ-lē'ō), 247.
Gal-lip'o-li, 685.
Gallo-Romans, the, 199, 237.
Gambetta (Fr. pron. gäN-bė-tȧ'), Léon, 498, 499.
Garibaldi (gä-rē-bäl'dē), Giuseppe, 453–455, 505.
Gaul (gôl), conquest and Romanization of, 137.
Gauls, the, 121, 125, 198, 199.
Geneva, 261, 632, 752, 753, 757, 760.
Geneva Convention, the, 748.
Geneva Protocol, the, 757, 758.
Genoa, 240, 255, 279, 389, 397, 415, 450, note 1. *See also* Ligurian Republic.
George, David Lloyd, 489, 639, 700, 702, 709, 744, 750.
George I, king of England, 294, 468; II, 329, 468; III, 325, 337, 344, 468, 471; IV, 468, 748; V, 479, 480.
Georgia, American state, 329, 337.
Georgia, Caucasian republic, 728.
German East Africa, 549, 688, 713.
German Revolution, the, 706, 724, 725.
German Southwest Africa, 547, 549, 688, 713.
Germanic Confederation, the, 418, 428, 458, 461, 463, 513.
Germans, the, early culture of, 158, 159; their invasions of the Roman world, 159, 160; fusion of, with the Romans, 160.
Germany, physical features of, 158; political condition of, during the Middle Ages, 165, 166; the Reformation in, 258–261, 269, 275–277; disunion of, 279; during the revolutionary and Napoleonic era, 386, 389, 396, 398, 403; after the Vienna settlement, 418; revolutionary movements of 1830 and 1848 in, 430, 431, 437–439; unification of, 456–467; government of, 513–516, 725, 726; between 1871 and 1914, 516–518, 650–668; in the World War, 669–707; peace treaty with, 712–715; the German Republic, 724–726.
Gi-bral'tar, 301, 302, 492.
Girondists (jĭ-rŏn'dĭsts), the, 384, 386.

Gladstone, W. E., 476, 477, 478, 487, 488, 604, 639.
"Glorious Revolution," the, 293, 294, 336, 366, 407, 485.
Goethe (gû'tē), 646.
Golden Horde, the, 193.
Gothic architecture, 232, 233, 243.
Gracchus (grăk'ŭs), Tiberius, 133; Gaius, 133, 134.
Gra-na'da, 200.
Grand Alliance, the, 300, 302.
"Grand Design" of Henry IV, 726.
Grand Duchy of Warsaw, the, 398, 417.
Great Britain. *See* England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales.
Greece, physical features of, 70, 71.
Greek Church, the, 179, 351.
Greek language, the, 78, 106, 242.
Greeks, the, prehistoric migrations of, 73, 74; during the Homeric Age, 75, 76; religion and religious institutions of, 76–78; their city-states, 79–82; colonial expansion of, 82–84; the Persian wars, 84–89; ascendency of Athens, 89–93; conflicts between, 97; become subject to Macedonia, 98–101; form Ætolian and Achæan leagues, 109, 110; become subject to Rome, 128; conquered by the Ottoman Turks, 532; during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, 533, 536, 537, 539, 686, 717, 718, 733, note 1.
Greenland, 166, 167, 578.
Grey, Earl, 471, 472.
Grey, Sir Edward, 670, 673.
Grotius (grō'shĭ-ŭs), Hugo, 277, 278, 746.
Guam (gwäm), 565, 574.
Guiana, 324, 416, 493, 749.
Guilds, medieval, 225-228, 235, 350, 591, 609.
Guizot (gē-zō'), F. P. G., 434.
Gus-ta'vus A-dol'phus, 276, 278, 329.
Habeas Corpus Act, the, 291, 292, 468.
Hague Peace Conferences, the, 665, 672, 749.
Hague Tribunal, the, 749, 756.
Haig (hāg), Sir Douglas, 680, 704.
Haiti (hā'tĭ), 572.
Hamitic languages and peoples, 22, 542.
Hammurabi (hăm-o͝o-rä'bē), Babylonian king, 34, 41, 60; code of, 50, 51.
Hampden, John, 285, 286, 287.
Han'ni-bal, 126, 127.
Hanno, exploring voyage of, 47, 48, 109, note.
Han'o-ver, 294, 418, 430, 457 ar note 1, 462, 463.
Hanoverian dynasty, the, 294, 295 and note 1.
Hapsburg (häps'bo͝orĸ) dynasty, the, 279, 309 and note 1, 521, note 1, 706, 717.
Harding, Warren G., 710, 758.
Hargreaves, James, 585, 587.
Hastings, battle of, 168.
Hawaiian (hä-wī'yăn) Islands, 344, 565, 574, 759, 760.
Hebrews, the, 35, 36.
Hegira (hĕ-jī'rȧ), the, 182 and note 2.
Hejaz (hĕj-äz'), kingdom of, 689, 719, 720, 761.
Helgoland (hĕl'gō-länt), 416, 663, note 2, 715.
Hel-le-nis'tic Age, the, 105–110.
Henry IV, king of France, 274, 275, 747.
Henry VIII, king of England, 262, 265, 276, 282, 283, 485.
Hermits, early Christian, 208.
He-rod'o-tus, 90, 95.
Herzegovina (hĕr-tsĕ-gō-vē'nä), 536, 651, 660, 669, 721.
Hesse (hĕs), 463, note 1.
Hindenburg (hĭn'dĕn-bo͝orĸ), Paul von, 682, 684, 703.
Hindus, the, 553, 554.
History, definition and scope of, 1;

beginnings of, 27; subdivisions of, 28; modern study of, 645.
Hit'tites, the, 62, 63.
Ho-hen-lin'den, battle of, 390.
Hohenzollern (hō'ĕn-tsōl-ērn) dynasty, the, 302, 310, 311, 517, 706.
Holland, separates from Spain, 270–272; independence of, recognized, 277, 279; wars of, with Louis XIV, 298, 299, 300, 324; acquires a colonial empire, 322–324; at war with Great Britain, 338, 340; during the revolutionary and Napoleonic era, 385, 386, 397; the Austrian Netherlands united with, 416; loses the Austrian Netherlands, 426–428; government of, 511, 512.
Holstein (hōl'shtīn), 457, 458, 462, 463. *See also* Schleswig.
Holy Alliance, the, 748.
Holy Roman Empire, the, 164, 165, 277, 398, 457, 458.
Homer, 75, 76, 78.
Homeric Age, the, 75, 76.
Home Rule, Irish, 488–490.
Hong-kong', 492, 558.
Hoover, H. C., 681, 697.
Horthy, Admiral von, 717.
Hos'pi-tal-ers, the, order of, 189.
Hudson Bay Company, the, 568.
Hudson, Henry, 323.
Huguenots (hū'gĕ-nŏts), the, 274, 275, 329, 353, 636.
Humanism, 242 and note 2.
Humbert I, 505.
Humboldt, Alexander von, 577.
Hungarians. *See* Magyars.
Hungary, 191, 192, 308, 431, 436, 437, 519, 520, 521, 716, 717. *See also* Austria-Hungary.
Huns, the, 191, 192.
Husein (hŏŏ-sān'), king of Hejaz, 720.
Huss (hŭs), John, 258.
Hyksos (hĭk'sōs), the, 32.

Iceland, 166, 513.
Il-lyr'i-an Provinces, the, 397, 416.
Imperialism, modern, 492, 540–542, 656, 760–768.
Incas, the, 254.
Inclosures in Great Britain, 606, 607.
Indemnity, French, 465, 651; German, 713, 714.
Independents, the, 288 and note 2, 290, 291.
"Index of Prohibited Books," the, 268.
India, in antiquity, 29, 38, 104; rivalry of France and England in, 325–328; a part of the British Empire, 493, 553, 764; peoples of, 553, 554; civilization of, 554, 555.
Indians, American, 255.
Indies, East, 249, 253, 254, 323; West, 252, 254, 324, 493, 513, 572, 573, 574, 628.
Indo-China, 503, 552, 553, 556, 558.
Indo-European languages, 22, 23, 73, 113, 114.
Indulgences, 258, 259.
Industrial Revolution, the, 581–623.
Industry, Oriental, 44, 45; at Athens, 92; Roman, 143, 144; in medieval cities, 225–228; the Industrial Revolution, 581–592; government regulation of, 610–614.
Initiative, the, in Switzerland, 511.
Inquisition, the, 268, 269, 270.
Instrument of Government, the, 290, 412.
Internationalism, ancient, 110, 148; medieval, 204; modern, 625–627, 650, 747–750.
International law, 277, 278, 746, 747, 756, 757, 758.
International Postal Union, the, 599, 627.
International Red Cross, the, 627, 632, 748, 753.
Invention, significance of, 583; development of, 583, 584.

Ionian Islands, the, 416, 531, 533.
Ionian Revolt, the, 85, 86.
Iran (ē-rän′), plateau of, 29, 30, 104.
Iraq. *See* Mesopotamia.
Ireland, conquered by England, 197, 279, 485; the Irish Question, 485–489; Irish Free State, 489, 490.
Iron, introduction of, 15–17; use of, in modern industry, 587, 588.
Isabella of Castile, 200, 252, 253, 269.
Islam (ĭs′lȧm), beliefs and practices of, 182–184.
Israel (ĭz′rā-ĕl), kingdom of, 35, 36.
Issus, battle of, 102, 103.
Italia Irredenta, 456, 687, 731.
Italians, ancient, 114, 115.
Italy, geography of, 112, 113; early peoples of, 113–115; under Roman rule, 121–123; political condition of, throughout the Middle Ages, 165, 166; the Renaissance in, 240–245; disunion of, 279; during the Napoleonic era, 388, 389, 390, 393, 397, 408; after the Vienna settlement, 417, 418; revolutionary movements of 1830 and 1848 in, 430, 437; unification of, 447–456; between 1871 and 1914, 505, 507, 508, 651, 661; in the World War, 686–688, 705; acquires Austrian and Turkish territory, 715, 721.
Ivan (ē-vän′) III, the Great, tsar, 304.

Jacobins (jăk′ō-bĭns), the, 381, 383, 384, 387, 388.
James I, king of England, 283 and note 1, 284, 294, 328, 485; II, 292, 293, 329, 331, 479, 485.
Jamestown, settlement of, 328.
Japan, geography and people of, 560, 561; civilization of, 561; during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, 562, 563, 655, 657, 689, 713, 758, 759, 760, 761.
Je-ho′vah, 51, 54.
Jena (yā′nä), battle of, 396, 397.
Jenghiz Khan (jĕn′gĭz кän′), 192, 193.
Jerusalem, 35, 37, 150, 189, 689.
Jesus, 149 and note 1, 183.
Jews, the, 22, 149, 150, 203, 294, 353, 528, 640, 719. *See also* Hebrews.
Joffre (zhŏff), Joseph, 677, 703.
John, king of England, 201.
John VI, king of Portugal, 421.
Joseph II, Holy Roman Emperor, 363, 364.
Joseph Bonaparte, 397, 400, 508, 569.
Joséphine, Empress, 397, note 1, 401.
Ju-de′a, kingdom of, 35, 36, 37.
Jugoslavia (yo͞o′gō släv-ĭ-ä), 721.
Jugoslavs, the, 179, 530, 669, 720, 721.
"July Revolution," the, 424–426.
Junkers (yo͞on′kĕrs), Prussian, 311, 460, 516, 667.
Jus-tin′i-an, 145.
"Just price," the, medieval idea of, 228.
Jutland, battle of, 689, 690.

Kaaba (kä′ȧ-bȧ), the, 180, 181, 182.
Kant (känt), Immanuel, 645, 747.
Ker′en-sky, Alexander, 699.
Khartum (кär-to͞om′), 31, 550.
Kiauchau (kyou-chou′), 558, note 1, 689, 713.
Kiel Canal, 663, 668.
Kiev (kē′yĕf), 193, 522.
Kitchener, Herbert, 549.
Knighthood, 175.
Königgrätz (kû-nĭк-grĕts′), battle of, 463.
Koran (kō-rän′), the, 183, 184.
Korea, 556, 558, 562 and note 2, 563, 577.
Kosciuszko (Polish pron. kōsh-chyo͞osh′kō), Tadeusz, 318.
Kossovo (kôs′ō-vō), battle of, 532.

Kossuth (kŏsh′o͞ot), Louis, 436, 437, 519.
Kruger, Paul, 548.
Kublai Khan (ko͞o′blī кän′), 248.
Kun (kūn), Bela, 733.
Kurdistan, 719.

Labor legislation, 611–614.
Labor movement, the, 609, 610.
Lafayette (lä-fā-yĕt′), Marquis de, 367, 373, 375, 425.
Land tenure, ancient, 41, 42, 131, 144; medieval, 170, 171; modern, 485–487, 606–608.
Langley, S. P., 596.
Languages of man, the, 21–23, 626, 627.
Laplace (lä-plās′), Marquis de, 356.
La Salle (lä säl′), Robert de, 330, 573.
Latin colonies, the, 123, 126, 134.
Latin language, the, 146, 147, 236, 237, 245, 626.
Latin League, the, 115, 121.
Latium (lā′shĭ-ŭm), 115, 122.
Latvia, 723.
Laud, Archbishop, 285.
Lausanne (lō-zän′), Treaty of, 718.
Lavoisier (lä-vwä-zyā′), 357.
Law, Oriental, 49–52; Roman, 120, 145, 146; modern, 201, 277, 278, 292, 391.
League of Nations, the, 710, 712, 723, 750–758, 768.
Leipzig (līp′sĭк), battle of, 403.
Lenin (lyĕ′nĕn), Nicholas, 699, 729, 730.
Leo XIII, pope, 507.
León (lā-ōn′), kingdom of, 199, 200.
León, Ponce de, 254.
Leonardo da Vinci (lā-ō-när′dō dä vēn′chē), 244.
Le-on′i-das, Spartan king, 88.
Leopold II, king of Belgium, 510.
Lepanto (lā-pän′tō), battle of, 308.
Lesseps (lĕ-sĕps′), Ferdinand de, 556, 576.
Lettres de cachet (lĕt′r dē kȧ-shĕ′), 369, 374.
Letts, the, 723.
Liberal Party, British, 473, 476, 477, 478, 485.
Liberation, war of, 403, 457, 663.
Liberia, 546, 695.
"Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," 361, 397, 407, 408.
Lib′y-a, 508, 547.
Ligny (lēn-yē′), battle of, 404.
Ligurian Republic, the, 389, 397.
Lincoln, Abraham, 648 and note 1.
Lin-næ′us, 357.
Liquor traffic, the, abolition of, 631.
Lisbon, 251, 254, 255, 322, 400.
Literature, Oriental, 55, 56; Greek, 75, 94–96; Renaissance, 241, 242, 245, 246; modern, 644–646.
Lithuania, 279, 315, 688, 699, 713, 723.
Lith-u-a′ni-ans, the, 311, 315.
Livingstone, David, 545, 546.
Livonia, 699, 723.
Locke, John, 358, 359, 367.
Lom′bards, the, 159, 160, 162.
Lom′bar-dy, 416, 417, 437, 452, 453.
London, 224, 226, 255.
Long Parliament, the, 286, 287.
Lords, House of, 282, 469, 480, 482.
Lorraine (lŏ-rān′), 277, 297, 299, 367, 407, 465, 466, 513, 516, 651, 667 and note 1, 706, 712. *See also* Alsace.
Lothair (lō-thâr′), 164.
Louis XIV, king of France, 295–302, 324, 325, 330, 331, 349, 350, 353, 359, 394, 395, 403, 547, 675, 676, 735; XV, 302, note 1, 318, 331, 350, 367, 368; XVI, 369, 370, 372, 373, 375, 376, 378, 380, 381, 382, 384, 386; XVIII, 404 and note 1, 414, 420, 424.
Louis Napoleon. *See* Napoleon III.
Louis Philippe (lo͞o-ē′ fē-lēp′), king of France, 425, 426, 430, 432, 434, 540.
Louisiana, 330, 333, 573.
Louvain (lo͞o-vaN′), 681.

Loyola (lō-yō′lä), St. Ignatius, 266, 267.
Lublin, Union of, 315.
Lucca, 279, 417, 453, note 1.
Lu′den-dorff, Eric von, 703.
Lu-si-ta′ni-a, the, 692, 693.
Luther, Martin, 258–260.
Lutheranism, 261, 264, 265, 269, 270, 275, 276, 352, 636.
Lux′em-burg, 428 and note 1, 458, 673, 676.
Lyd′i-a, 38, 45, 63, 84.
Lyell (lī′ĕl), Sir Charles, 642.

Macedonia (măs-ē-dō′nĭ-*ȧ*), conquered by Persia, 85, 86; inhabitants of, 97, 98; under Philip II, 98–100; under Alexander the Great, 101; after Alexander, 105; conquered by Rome, 128; during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, 533, 536, 537, 539, 661.
Machinery, introduction of, 584–588, 589, 591, 623.
MacMahon (măk-mȧ-ôN′), Marshal, 464, 499.
Madagascar, 503, 540, 547.
Ma-gel′lan, Ferdinand, 253, 254, note 1, 343, 564.
Magenta (m*ȧ*-jĕn′t*ȧ*), battle of, 452.
Mag′na Car′ta, 201, 284, 291, 292, 293.
Mag′na Græ′ci-a, 83, 122, 132.
Magyars (mŏd′yŏrs), the, 18, 68, 192, 519, 520.
Main (Ger. pron. mīn) River, 463.
Malta, 416, 492.
Man-chu′ri-a, 556, 558, 562, 563.
Mandatory system, the, 713, 719, 753.
Manor, the medieval, 214, 219.
Manufacturing, inventions in, 584–587.
Mar′a-thon, battle of, 87.
Mar-co′ni, Guglielmo, 598, 600.
Mar-do′ni-us, 86, 89.
Ma-ren′go, battle of, 390.
Maria Theresa (tĕ-rē′s*ȧ*), 310, 312, 313, 314, 317, 318, 363.
Marie Antoinette (ăN-twȧ-nĕt′), 370, 380, 382, 386.
Ma′ri-us, Gai′us, 134, 135, 137.
Marlborough, Duke of, 300.
Marne (märn), the, battle of, 677, 678, 703.
Marriage, 146, 147, 205, 353, 633, 634.
Marx, Karl, 618, 619, 724.
Mary (wife of William III), 293 and note 2.
Mary Stuart, queen of Scots, 283, note 1.
Mary Tudor, queen of England, 262, 263.
Ma′sa-ryk, T. G., 722.
Massachusetts, 328, 337.
Mathematics, Oriental, 58, 59; medieval, 233; modern, 355, 356.
Maximilian, emperor of Mexico, 520, 574.
Mazurian Lakes, the, battle of, 682.
Mazzini (mät-sē′nē), Giuseppe, 437, 449, 450, 505.
Mecca, 180, 181, 182, 183, 659, 720.
Me′di-a, 37.
Medicine and surgery, 60, 109, 178, 186, 236, 247, 643, 644.
Medina (mȧ-dē′nä), 182, 659, 689, 720.
Mediterranean basin, the, 68–71.
Mediterranean racial type, the, 67, 71, 114.
Memel (mā′mĕl), 713.
Memphis (mĕm′fĭs), 32, 102.
Menes (mē′nēz), 32.
Mercantile system, the, 320, 321, 354.
Mes-o-po-ta′mi-a, 659, 689, 719, 764.
Metals, introduction and use of, 15–17.
Methodists, the, 352, 639.
Metternich (mĕt′ẽr-nĭK), Prince, 413, 418, 419, 421, 423, 424, 426,

429, 430, 431, 435, 439, 521, 525, 527, 532, 574, 748.
Metternichismus, 419, 423, 431.
Metz, 277, 297, 464, 465.
Meuse (mûz) River, 322.
Mexico, 254, 255, 572, 574, 638, 693, 752.
Michael Romanov, 304.
Michelangelo (Ital. pron. mē-kĕl-än′jä-lō), 244.
Middle Ages, the, 157, 158.
"Middle Europe," 655, 659, 661.
Milan (mĭl′ăn), 240, 279, 302, 437, 452.
Milan Decree, the, 399.
Militarism, modern, 661–665, 743, 744.
Mil-ti′a-des, 87.
Mi-nor′ca, 302, 340.
Mir, the Russian, 608.
Mirabeau (mē-rȧ-bō′), Count, 371, 373, 377, 378, 380, 381.
Missions and missionaries, Christian, 267, 330, 546, 640, 641.
Modena (mô′dȧ-nä), 279, 417, 430, 437, 453.
Mo-guls′, the, 325.
Mo-ham′med, prophet, 180, 182, 183.
Mohammed II, sultan, 193, 194.
Mohammedanism. *See* Islam.
Moldavia, 535.
Moltke, Helmuth von, 460, 461, 463, 464.
Monarchists, the, in France, 502.
Monasticism, medieval, 208–210.
Money, Oriental, 45; Roman, 118; increased supply of, after the discovery of America, 256.
Mongolia, 192, 557.
Mongols, the, conquests of, 192, 193.
Monroe Doctrine, the, 423, 424, 574, 575, 657, 761.
Montcalm (môn-kȧlm′), Marquis de, 333.
Mon-te-ne′gro, 308, 531, 532, 536, 537, 539, 660, 661, 671, 684, 685, 721.
Montesquieu (môn-tĕs-kē-ū′), 359, 360, 361, 362, 367.
Moors, the, 199 and note 1.
Mo-ra′vi-a, 519, 722.
Mo-re′a, the, 529, 532.
Morocco, 503, 547, 657.
Morse, Samuel F. B., 597.
Mosaic code, the, 51, 52.
Moscow (mŏs′kō), 193, 402, 522.
Moses, Hebrew lawgiver, 51, 183.
Mus′co-vy, principality of, 522.
Museum, Alexandrian, 108, 109.
Music, Renaissance, 244, 245; modern, 646–648.
Mussolini (mûs-sō-lē′nē), Benito, 733.
Mustapha Kemal (mūs′tä-fä kē-mäl′), 718.
Mut-su-hi′to, emperor of Japan, 562 and note 1.
Myc′a-le, battle of, 89.
Mycenæ (mī-sē′nē), 71, note 1, 75.

Nansen, Fridtjof, 577, 578.
Nantes (nänt), Edict of, 275, 353, 636.
Naples, 83, 302, 397, 421, 423.
Napoleon I, Bonaparte, 387–408, 441, 442, 448, 451, 569, 573, 628, 663, 675, 676, 735; III, 435, 437, 442, 444–447, 452, 453, 455, 456, 462, 464, 466, 499, 520, 534, 574.
Napoleonic legend, the, 405, 435.
Naseby (nāz′bĭ), battle of, 287.
National Assembly, French, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 383, 609.
National Convention, French, 383, 384, 385, 387, 388, 391, 392.
Nationalism, spirit of, 201; disregard of, by the Congress of Vienna, 415, 418; between 1815 and 1848, 426, 430, 431, 436, 437; modern, 440–442; between 1848 and 1871, 447–450, 452, 456–459, 466, 467, 650; in the Balkans, 531, 537; imperialism and, 541, 656; the Industrial

Revolution and, 582; the World War and, 731, 763, 764.
Nationalists, Turkish, 717, 718.
Na-va-ri'no, battle of, 532.
Navarre (nȧ-vär'), kingdom of, 199.
Navies, modern, 654, 663, 664.
Navigation Acts, the, 334, 335, 605.
Ne-ar'chus, voyage of, 104.
Neb-u-chad-nez'zar, 37, 41.
Nebular hypothesis, the, 356.
Nelson, Horatio, 389, 396.
Netherlands, Spanish, 270, 279, 298, 302; Austrian, 302, 384, 389, 416.
Neuilly (nû-yē'), Treaty of, 717.
Neutrality, Swiss, 417, 748; Belgian, 428, 674, 675, 748.
New England, 329, 354, 634, 635.
Newfoundland, 331, 333, 567, 568.
New France, 330, 333.
New Guinea, 564, 578.
New Mexico, 254.
New Netherland, 324, 328.
New Orleans, 330 and note 1.
New South Wales, 566.
New Zealand, 343, 565, 566.
Newspapers, 599, 600.
Newton, Sir Isaac, 356.
Nicæa (nī-sē'ȧ), Council of, 151.
Nice (nēs), 388, 415, 452, 453.
Nicene Creed, the, 151.
Nicholas, Grand Duke, 682.
Nicholas I, tsar of Russia, 430, 437, 526, 532, 533; II, 528, 529, 664, 697, 698, 723.
Nightingale, Florence, 534.
Nihilism, Russian, 528.
Nile (nīl) River, 31, 544.
Nineveh (nĭn'ē-vĕ), 36, 37, 103.
Nobel (nō-bĕl'), Alfred, 746.
Nobility, Oriental, 41, 42; feudal, 169–176, 200, 201, 348; British, 348; French, 348, 349.
Nor'man-dy, 168, 199.
Normans, the, 168 and note 1, 188, 238.
North, Lord, 468.
North German Confederation, the, 463, 466.
Northmen, the, inroads of, 166; in Iceland, Greenland, and North America, 166, 167; in Sweden and Russia, 167; in France, England, Italy, and Sicily, 167–169.
North Pole, the, discovery of, 577, 578.
North Sea barrage, the, 693, 694.
Northwest Passage, the, 577 and note 1.
Norway, 166, 261, 265, 279, 398, 417, 512, 513, 631.
Novara (nō-vä'rä), battle of, 437.
Nova Scotia, 331, 567, 568.
Novgorod (nôv'gō-rŏt), 304.

Oceania, opening up and partition of, 563–565.
O'Connell, Daniel, 488.
Old Régime, the, 346–364.
Olympian games, the, 77, 78, 151.
Ontario, 567, 568.
"Open field" system, the, 215, 216, 605.
Oracles, Greek, 77, 151.
Orange, House of, 416, 511.
Orange Free State, the, 548.
Orders in Council, British, 399, 567.
Orlando, Vittorio, 702.
Orleans (ôr-lā-äN'), 199, 236; Duke of, 386.
Orthodox (Russian) Church, the, 307, 362, 522, 528, 639, 729
Os'tro-goths, the, 159, 160, 161, 162.
Oth'man, 193.
Otto I, the Great, 164, 165, 192, 398.
Ottoman Empire, the, extent of, in 1648, 279, 280; between 1648 and 1815, 308, 309, 531; between 1815 and 1914, 531–539, 658–661; in the World War, 685, 689, 695, 705, 717–720.
Ot'to-man Turks, the, 18, 193, 194, 200, 530.
Owen, Robert, 617.

Pacific Ocean, discovery and exploration of, 253, 254, 342–344; partition of, 565, 712.
Paganism, decline of, 149; prohibition of, 151.
Painting, Palæolithic, 11; Oriental, 57, 58; Renaissance, 244, 246; modern, 649.
Palestine, 35, 102, 136, 150, 689, 719.
Panama Canal, the, 492, 576.
Pan-Americanism, 575, 576.
Pan-Germanism, 665–668.
Pan-Hellenism, 533.
Pan-Islamism, 765, 766.
Papacy. *See* Roman Church.
Papal Guarantees, Law of, 507.
Papal infallibility, dogma of, 268, note 1.
Papal States. *See* States of the Church.
Paris, 199, 234, 236, 373, 375, 392, 465, 676, 677, 704, 708.
Paris, Peace of (1763), 314, 328, 333, 367; (1783), 338, 339; (1856), 447, 452, 534, 535, 748; (1898), 508; (1919–1923), 708, 730, 731.
Parliament, British, during the Middle Ages, 201, 411; under the Tudors and the Stuarts, 282–294; reform of, during the nineteenth century, 469–479.
Parliament Act of 1911, the, 482.
Parma, 279, 417, 430, 437, 453.
Parnell, C. S., 488.
Par'thi-ans, the, 139, 153.
Pasteur (pȧs-tûr'), Louis, 644.
Patricians (pȧ-trĭsh'ȧns), the, at Rome, 119, 120.
Paul III, pope, 266, 267.
Peace Conference, the, 708–710.
Peace movement, the, 664, 665, 744–747.
Peary, Robert E., 577, 578.
Peasants, Oriental, 42; Athenian, 92; Roman, 118, 131, 144; medieval, 216, 217, 219, 220; modern, 350, 351, 607, 608.
Peel, Sir Robert, 604.
Peking (pē-kĭng'), 248, 559.
Peloponnesian War, the, 97.
Pel-o-pon-ne'sus, the, 81, 529.
Penal code, the, reform of, 628–630.
Peninsular War, the, 401.
Penn, William, 638, 747.
Per'i-cles, 96.
Perry, Commodore M. C., 561.
Persecution, religious, 150, 151, 203, 257, 263, 265, 268, 269, 270, 274, 275, 277, 285, 291, 294, 352, 353, 636, 638.
Pershing, General J. J., 703.
Persia, empire of, 37–39; wars of, with the Greeks, 84–89; conquered by Alexander the Great, 102–104; conflicts of, with Rome, 153, 154; modern, 552, 553, 655.
Peru, 254, 255, 569, 570.
Peter I, king of Serbia, 660.
Peter the Great, tsar of Russia, 304–307, 344, 347, 732.
Petition of Right, the, 284, 285, 291, 293, 468.
Petrarch (pē'trärk), 241, 242.
Phid'i-as, 93.
Philip II, king of Macedonia, 98–100.
Philip II, king of Spain, 263, 269, 270, 272, 274, 322, 395, 675.
Philippine Islands, 253, 254, note 1, 508, 541, 564, 574.
Philistines (fĭ-lĭs'tĭns), the, 35.
Philosophy, Athenian, 96; modern, 644, 645.
Phœnicia (fē-nĭsh'ĭ-ȧ), 34.
Phœnicians, the, 25, 34, 35, 47, 48, 62.
Physiocrats, the, 354, 355, 369.
Piedmont, 415, 423, 450 and note 1.
Pitt, William (Earl of Chatham), 336, 398.
Pitt, William (the Younger), 396 and note 1, 468, 604.
Pius IX, pope, 437, 450, 507; X, 507.
Pizarro (Span. pron. pē-thär'ō), Francisco, 254.

Plassey, battle of, 327.
Pla-tæ'a, battle of, 89.
Pla'to, 96, 251.
Plebeians (plē-bē'yănns), 119, 120.
Plebiscites, 293, 407, 445, 456, 512, 712, 720.
Plevna, 535.
Plymouth, settlement of, 328.
Po, river, 112, 113, 121, 122, 125.
Poland, union of, with Lithuania, 279, 315; condition of, in the eighteenth century, 315, 316; partitioned, 317, 318; the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, 398, 399, 417; after the Vienna settlement, 417; revolts in, 429, 430; in the World War, 684, 688, 699, 722, 723; republic of, 723, 727, 735.
Poles, the, 314, 315.
Polo, Marco, 248, 249, 343.
Polynesia, 563.
Pom-e-ra'ni-a, 277, 416, 417, 457.
Pompey (pŏm'pĭ), 135, 136, 137.
Pon-di-cher'ry, 325.
Pope, the, 211, 212, 213.
Population, statistics of, 620, 621, 766.
Port Arthur, 551, 558, 563, 689.
Porto Rico, 509, 573, 574.
Portsmouth, Treaty of, 563.
Portugal, 253, 254, 274 and note 1, 279, 300, 322, 323, 400, 401, 421, 509.
Posen, 416, 429, 516, 712.
Potosí (pō-tō-sē'), silver mines of, 255.
Pragmatic Sanction, the, 310.
Prague (präg), Treaty of, 463.
Prehistoric times, 1–28.
Presbyterianism, 265, note 1, 288, 291, 352.
Printing, invention of, 242, 243.
Proletariat, the, 350 and note 1, 381, 383, 385, 431, 445, 618, 619, 725, 729.
Protectorate, the, in England, 290.
Protestantism, characteristics of, 263; sects of, 264, 265, 352, 639.
Protocol of Troppau, the, 421, 525, 526.
Provence (prŏ-väns'), Count of, 379 and note 1.
Provincial system, Persian, 39; Roman, 129, 130, 134, 140.
Prussia, East, 279, 311, 314, 315, 516, 682, 713; West, 311, 318, 516, 712.
Prussia, rise of, 311, 312; under Frederick the Great, 312–314, 318; wars of, with France, during the revolutionary and Napoleonic era, 382, 385, 386, 396, 398, 403, 404, 405; territorial acquisitions of, by the Vienna settlement, 416, 417; revolutionary movement of 1848 in, 438, 439; as the unifier of Germany, 458, 459; under William I, 459–461; wars of, with Denmark and Austria, 462, 463; forms North German Confederation, 463; at war with France, 464–466; heads new German Empire, 466, 513, 515; government of, 516.
Ptolemies (tŏl'ĕ-mĭz), the, 105, note 2, 110.
Ptolemy, Greek scientist, 109, note, 247, 251, 343.
Public debts, statistics of, 740, 742.
Public ownership, 614, 615.
Public school system, the, 272, 353, 354, 363, 634–636.
Pu'nic Wars: First, 124, 125; Second, 126, 127; Third, 127.
Puritan Revolution, the, 286–290, 366, 407.
Puritans, the, 283, 284, 285, 288.
Pym, John, 286, 287.
Pyth'e-as, exploring voyage of, 109, note.

Quakers, the, 291, 352, 639, 745.
Quebec, city, 329, 330, 333; province, 568.
Queensland, 566.

Races of man, the, 17–21.
Racial types, European, 66, 67.
Railroads, development of, 594, 595; ownership of, 615.
Raleigh (rô'lĭ), Sir Walter, 273, 328.
Rameses (răm'ē-sēz) II, king of Egypt, 33, 41.
Raphael (răf'ā-ĕl), 244.
Referendum, the, in Switzerland, 511.
Reform Acts: First, 471, 472; Second, 477, 635; Third, 477, 478.
Reformation, the, 257–265.
Reichsrat (rīĸs'rät), the, 726.
Reichstag (rīĸs'täĸ), the, 514, 515, 726.
Reign of Terror, the, 386, 387, 471, 499.
Reims (rēmz), 681.
"Reinsurance compact," the, 652.
"Reliefs," feudal, 171.
Religion, Palæolithic, 11; Oriental, 52–55; Greek, 76–78; Roman, 116–118; in India, China, and Japan, 554, 555, 557, 561; statistics of world religions, 639, 640. *See also* Brahmanism, Buddhism, Christianity, Islam.
Renaissance (rē-nā'săns), the, 240–248.
Representative system, absence of, at Athens and Rome, 92, 130; development of, 411; reform of, in Great Britain, during the nineteenth century, 469–479.
Revolutionary War, American, 334–341, 367, 370.
Rhinelands, the, 297, 299, 706, 714.
Rhodes, Cecil, 493, 548, 549, 550.
Rhodesia, 493, 549, 550.
Richelieu (rē-shē-lyŭ'), Cardinal, 276.
Risorgimento (rē-zôr-jē-měn'tō), the, 448.
Robespierre (rō-bĕs-pyâr'), 381, 382, 384, 385, 386, 387.
Rockefeller, John D., 636.
Rollo, 167, 168.
Romagna (rō-män'yä), 453 and note 2.
Romance (rō-măns') languages, the, 146, 147, 237.
Roman Church, the, characteristics of, 203, 204; doctrines and worship of, 204, 205; jurisdiction of, 205, 206; social and economic aspects of, 206, 207; the clergy, 207–211; the medieval Papacy, 211–213; the Protestant Reformation, 257–263; the Catholic Counter Reformation, 266–269; during the eighteenth century, 351; in France, during the revolutionary and Napoleonic era, 377, 380, 392; loss of temporal power by, 507; disestablishment of, in Europe, 639.
Romanov (rō-mä'nôf) dynasty, the, 304, 307, 698.
Roman Republic, Mazzini's, 437, 450, 454.
Romans, the, early culture of, 116–119; their city-state, 119–121; rule of, over Italy, 122, 123; provincial system under the republic, 129, 130; effects of foreign conquests on, 130–132; the world under Roman rule, 144–148; converted to Christianity, 149–151; influence of Christianity on, 151, 153.
Rome, founding of, 115; early history of, 116; contest between plebeians and patricians, 119, 120; burned by the Gauls, 121; becomes supreme in Italy, 121, 122; becomes supreme in the Mediterranean, 123–129; the Gracchi, 133, 134; Marius and Sulla, 134–135; Pompey and Cæsar, 135–138; Antony and Octavian, 138; the Early Empire, 138–144; the Later Empire, 153–156; as the capital of the Papacy, 213; becomes the Italian capital, 456.

Rom'u-lus, first king of Rome, 116.
Romulus Augustulus, 154, 155, 163, 176.
Roon, Albrecht von, 460, 461, 463, 464.
Roosevelt (rō'zĕ-vĕlt), Theodore, 563, 656.
Rousseau (rōō-sō'), J. J., 360, 361, 367, 378, 388.
Rudolf of Hapsburg, Count, 309.
Rumania, 535, 536, 537, 538, 651, 684, 686, 688, 715 and note 1, 735.
Rumanians, the, 179, 530.
Rump Parliament, the, 288, 289, 290.
Ruric, 167, 304.
Russia, the Northmen in, 167; Mongol conquest of, 193; under Peter the Great, 302–307; under Catherine II, 307–309; in the Seven Years' War, 313, 314; during the Napoleonic period, 389, 390, 396, 397, 402, 403, 404; territorial acquisitions of, by the Vienna settlement, 417; between 1815 and 1914, 429, 430, 437, 447, 452, 462, 523–529, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 651, 652, 653, 655, 660; expansion of, in Asia, 551, 552, 558, 562, 563; in the World War, 670, 672, 676, 682, 684; the Russian Revolution, 697–700; under the Bolsheviki, 726–730.
Russians, the, 179, 302–304, 521, 522.
Russo-Japanese War, the, 562, 563.
Russo-Turkish War, the, 535, 660.

Saar (zär) Basin, 712, 752.
Sabbath, Hebrew, 51.
St. Benedict, 208.
St. Dom'i-nic, 210.
St. Francis, 210.
St.-Germain (zhär-măn'), Treaty of, 715.
St. Helena, Napoleon at, 405.
St. Lawrence River, 330.
St.-Mihiel (mē-yĕl'), 704.
St. Paul, 149, 150; cathedral of, 495.
St. Peter, 211; church of, at Rome, 163, 213, 244.
St. Petersburg, 306 and note 1. *See also* Petrograd.
Sal'a-mis, naval battle of, 89.
Salisbury (sôlz'bĕr-ĭ), Lord, 653 and note 1.
Sa-lo-ni'ka, 686.
Sam'nites, the, 115, 122.
Samoa, 565, 574.
San Marino (mä-rē'nō), 222.
Sans'krit, 23.
San Stefano (stā'fä-nō), Treaty of, 535, 536.
Santo Domingo, 572.
Sarajevo (sä'rä-yä-vô), 669.
Sardinia, 122, 124, 125, 302, 385, 388, 415, 417, 437, 450, 451, 452, 453, 455, 526, 534.
Sardis, 39, 85, 88.
Sargon I, 34.
Saul, Hebrew king, 35.
Savoy (sȧ-voi'), 302, 388, 415, 450, 452, 453.
Saxons, the, 162.
Saxony, 398, 417, 418, 430, 463.
Scandinavia, 166, 512.
Schleswig (shlāz'vĭĸ), 462, 463, 516, 712 and note 2. *See also* Holstein.
Science, Oriental, 58–62; Hellenistic, 109; Renaissance, 246–248; development of, during the eighteenth century, 355–357; modern, 641–644.
Scip'i-o, Pub'li-us, 126, 127.
Scotland, 139, 197, 261, 263, 279, 283, 285.
Scott, Captain R. F., 578.
Scott, Sir Walter, 645.
Sculpture, Palæolithic, 11; Oriental, 57; Renaissance, 244, 246; modern, 648.
Scu'ta-ri, 660.
Sea-power, British, 273, 274, 327, 328, 332, 396, 398, 399, 490, 492.

Sedan (sē-dăn′), 464, 498, 704.
Seleucia (sē-lū′shĭ-ā), 106.
Se-leu′cids, the, 105, note 2, 110.
Seljuk (sĕl-jōōk′) Turks, the, 187, 188, 193.
Semitic languages, 22.
Senate, Roman, 119, 120, 121, 129, 132, 133, 134, 135, 137, 138, 145.
Sennacherib (sĕ-năk′ēr-ĭb), 37, 41, 45.
Sepoy Mutiny, the, 553.
"September massacres," the, 383.
Serbia, 532, 536, 537, 539, 660, 661, 667, 669, 670, 671, 672, 675, 676, 684, 685, 721.
Serfdom, medieval, 206, 207, 219–221; survival of, in the eighteenth century, 350; abolition of, in the nineteenth century, 403, 526, 562, 608.
Sevastopol, siege of, 534.
"Seven Weeks' War." *See* Austro-Prussian War.
Seven Years' War, the, 313, 314, 327, 328, 332, 333, 335, 363, 367, 553, 583.
Sèvres (sâ′vr′), Treaty of, 717.
Shaftesbury, Earl of, 611, 612.
Shakespeare, William, 246, 247.
Shantung (shän′tōōng′), 713, 760.
Sinn Fein (shĭn fān), the, 485, 489.
Shi′nar, 30, 33, 57.
Siam (sī-ăm′), 249, 552, 553, 695.
Siberia, 541, 550, 551.
Sicily, colonized by the Greeks, 84; the Carthaginians in, 84, 122, 124; annexed by Rome, 125; Romanized, 127; the Normans in, 168, 169; acquired by Savoy, 302; joined to the kingdom of Italy, 455.
Sieyès (syă-yĕs′), the Abbé, 371, 372, 390.
Si-le′si-a, Prussian, 313, 314, 712, 754; Austrian, 722.
Six Points, Chartist, 474.
Slavery, Oriental, 43; Greek, 92; Roman, 130, 131, 143, 144, 147, 148; medieval, 206, 207, 219; abolition of, in the nineteenth century, 628.
Slave trade, the, abolition of, 628.
Slavs, the, 521, 530.
Slo-va′ki-a, 722.
Smith, Adam, 355, 581, 604.
Smyrna (smûr′nă), 717, 718.
Sobieski (Polish pron. sō-byĕs′kē), John, 308.
Social Democratic Party, German, 619, 620, 706, 724, 725.
Socialism, 616–620, 698, 699, 724, 725, 729, 730.
Society of Jesus, the, 266, 267.
Soc′ra-tes, 96.
Solferino (sŏl-fē-rē′nō), battle of, 452.
Solomon, 35, 36, 37, 41, 47.
So-ma′li-land, French, 503, 547; Italian, 507, 547.
Somme (sŏm) River, the, battle of, 680, 686.
Sophia, electress of Hanover, 294.
South African War, the, 496, 548, 654.
South Pole, the, discovery of, 578.
Soviets (sō-vyĕts′), Russian, 698, 699, 728.
Spain, Phœnicians in, 47, 48, 124, 125; annexed by Rome, 127; Romanized, 128, 199; conquered by the Visigoths and Moors, 199; unification of, during the Middle Ages, 200; colonial empire of, 254, 255; under Charles V and Philip II, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274 and note 1; in the War of the Spanish Succession, 299, 300, 302; at war with England, 338, 339, 340; during the Napoleonic period, 385, 386, 398, 400, 401; the Bourbon restoration in, 414, 415, 423, 508; modern, 508, 509.
Spanish-American War, the, 508, 572.
Spanish Succession, the, War of, 299, 300.

Sparta, 79, 81, 82, 85, 87, 88, 89, 97, 99, 100, 110.
Spartacans, the, 725 and note 1, 733.
Spencer, Herbert, 645.
Spice Islands, 253, 323.
Spinning, improvements in, 584–586.
Stamp Act, the, 335, 336.
Stanley, Sir Henry M., 546.
States of the Church, the, 213, 279, 415, 417, 430, 437, 447, 453, note 2, 455, 456, 507.
Steamboat, the, 593, 594.
Steam engine, Watt's, 587.
Stein (stīn), Baron vom, 413, 418, 458.
Stephenson, George, 594, 595.
Strasbourg, 161, 299, 444, 465.
Stuart dynasty, the, 283, 284, 291, 293, 294, 295, note 1.
"Submerged nationalities," 415, 516, 582, 731.
Sudan, Anglo-Egyptian, 549.
Suez Canal, 550, 659, 749.
Suffrage, manhood, 434, 435, 444, 474, 478, 508, 511; woman, 478, 511, 632, 633.
Sul'la, Lu'ci-us Cor-ne'li-us, 135, 137.
Su-me'ri-ans, the, 33, 34.
Supreme Council, the, 709.
Supreme Court, the, of the United States, 342, 756.
Su'sa, Persian capital, 39, 103.
Sweden, 166, 261, 265, 276, 277, 279, 298, 306, 307, 396, 416, 417, 512, 633.
Switzerland, 196, 261, 277, 279, 289, note 1, 397, 398, 417, 510, 511, 727.
Syria, 719.

Taille (tä'y'), the, 351.
Talleyrand (tà-lĕ-rän'), 413, 414.
Tannenberg (tän'nĕn-bĕrĸ), battle of, 682.
Tasmania, 343, 566.
Ta'tars, the, 68, 304, 522.
Templars, the, order of, 189.
Temples, Oriental, 56, 57, 61; Greek, 93.
Temporal power of the Papacy, the, 213, 447, 507.
"Tennis Court Oath," the, 373, 378.
Teutonic Knights, the, 311.
Teutonic languages, the, 158, 237, 238.
Thebes (thēbz), in Egypt, 32.
Thebes, in Greece, 79, 81, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101.
The-mis'to-cles, 88, 89.
Ther-mop'y-læ, battle of, 88.
Thes'sa-ly, 76, 80, 89, 99, 533.
Thiers (tyâr), L. A., 434, 498, 499.
Third Estate, the, in eighteenth-century Europe, 349–351.
"Third International," the, 730.
Thirteen Colonies, the, settlement of, 328, 329; revolt of, 334–341.
Thirty Years' War, the, 276, 277, 278, 436, 456.
Thrace (thrās), 85, 86, 98, 101, 533, 717, 718.
Tibet (tĭ-bĕt'), 249, 552, 553, 556, 577, 655.
Tilsit (tĭl'zĭt), Peace of, 396, 397, 399, 400.
Togo, 547, 688, 713.
Toleration, religious, 265, 269, 272, 275, 352, 353, 358, 361, 362, 363, 636, 638, 639.
Toleration Act, the, 294, 353, 638.
Tolstoy (tŏl-stoi'), Count L. N., 646, 745.
Ton-kin', 552.
"Tories," the, 338, 566.
Tory Party, the, 292, 468, 471, 472, 473. *See also* Conservative Party.
Toul (to͞ol), 277, 297, 673.
Toulon (to͞o-lôN'), 385, 388, 389.
Tours (to͞or), battle of, 184, 187.
Tower of London, the, 173.
Townshend Acts, the, 335, 336.
Trade unions, 609, 610.
Tra'jan, Roman emperor, 139.

Transportation, inventions in, 592–597.
Trans-Siberian Railway, the, 551, 653.
Transvaal (trăns-väl′), the, 548.
Tran-syl-va′ni-a, 686, 716.
Trent, Council of, 267, 268.
Trentino (trĕn-tē′nō), the, 456, 688, 715, 721.
Trianon, the, Treaty of, 716, 717.
Trieste (trē-ĕs′tā), 456, 687, 688, 705, 715, 721.
Triple Alliance, the, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 661, 687, 735.
Triple Entente, the, 655, 670, 676, 735.
Troppau (trŏp′ou), 421, 526.
Trotsky, Leo, 699, 729.
Troy, 71, note 1, 75, 102.
Tudor dynasty, the, 262, 282, 283.
Tunis, 503, 504, 547, 651.
Turgot (tür-gō′), 369, 370, 376.
Tur-ke-stan′, 104, 551, 556.
Turko-Italian War, the, 508, 547.
Turkey. *See* Ottoman Empire.
Turks. *See* Ottoman Turks, Seljuk Turks.
Tus′ca-ny, 113, 279, 417, 437, 453.
Twelve Tables, the, laws of, 120, 145.
Two Sicilies, kingdom of the, 168, 169, 279, 415, 418, 423, 437, 455.
Tyrannies, Greek, 81.
Tyre (tīr), 34, 48, 102, 103.
Tze-hsi (tsē-shē′), empress-dowager of China, 559.

U-boat warfare, German, 690–693, 695, 702.
Ukrainia, 304 and note 1, 699, 728.
Ulm (o͞olm), 396, 397.
Ulster, 485, 489.
Union of South Africa, the, 548, 688, 713.
Unitarians, the, 294, 352, 353.
United Kingdom, the, 479, note 1.
United States, the, 341, 342, 423, 508, 541, 564, 565, 567, 570, 573–576, 691–697, 706, 710, 752, 756, 758–760, 761, 762.
Universities, medieval, 234–236.
Utrecht (ū′trĕkt), Union of, 270, 272, 412; Peace of, 300, 302, 331, 416.

Valmy (väl-mē′), battle of, 384.
Vandals, the, 159, 160, 161.
Vassalage, 170, 171.
Vat′i-can, the, palace, 213, 244, 506, 507; Council, 267, note 1.
Vendée (väN-dā′), La, 385.
Ve-ne′ti-a, 416, 417, 452, 453, 456, 462, 463, 688.
Venezuela, 569, 570, 749.
Venice, 231, 241, 243, 255, 279, 389, 397, 437.
Venizelos (vā-nē-zā′lōs), Eleutherios, 533, 686.
Verdun (vĕr-dŭN′), bishopric, 277, 297; city, 673, 674, 677, 678, 680.
Verdun, Treaty of, 164.
Versailles (vĕr-sā′y′), 297, 370, 372, 466, 708, 709.
Versailles, Treaty of (1783), 339, 340; Treaty of (1919), 708–710, 712–715.
Victor Emmanuel II, king of Italy, 437, 450, 451, 453, 455, 505, 534; III, 505.
Victoria, queen of England, 457, note 1, 473, note 1, 480, 496, 517, 553, 654.
Vienna, 308, 309, 388, 396.
Vienna, Congress of, 413–418, 420, 426, 427, 429, 431, 442, 447, 458, 510, 511, 650.
Vikings (vī′kĭngs), the, 166, note 1, 512.
Vil-la-fran′ca, armistice of, 453.
Virginia, 328, 329.
Virgin Islands, 513, 574.
Vis′i-goths, the, 159, 160, 161, 191, 199.
Vittorio Veneto, battle of, 705.
Vla-di-vos-tok′, 551.

Voltaire (vôl-târ′), 360, 362, 363, 369, 745.

Wagner (väg′nĕr), Richard, 648.
Wagram (vä′grăm), battle of, 401.
Wales, 197, 263, 639.
Wallachia (wŏ-lā′kĭ-*a*), 535.
Walloons, the, 426, 509.
Warfare, ancient Oriental, 39, 40; feudal, 174, 175; modern, 661–665, 742–744; attitude of Christianity toward, 744, 745; outlawry of, 747, 757, 758.
War of 1812–1814, the, 567.
Washington, George, 337, 341.
Waterloo, battle of, 404, 405.
Watt, James, 587.
Weaving, improvements in, 584–586.
Weekdays, the, names of, 53 and note 1.
Weihaiwei (wā′hī-wā′), 492, 558, note 1, 760.
Weimar (vī′mär), 725.
Wellington, Duke of, 401, 404, 405, 413, 471, 472, 474.
Wesley, John, 352.
West-pha′li-a, Peace of, 276, 277, 278, 297, 416, 417, 448.
Whig Party, the, 292, 468, 471, 472, 473.
White Race, 17, 20, 21.
Whitney, Eli, 586.
Wilberforce, William, 628.
Wilhelmina, Queen, 511.
Willard, Frances E., 631.
William I, king of Prussia and German emperor, 459, 460, 463, 464, 516, 517, 663, 666; II, 517, 518, 519, 652, 654, 656, 657, 658, 666, 667, 672, 674, 689, 703, 706.
William III, king of England, 293, 294, 299 and note 1, 300, 331, 485; IV, 472, note 1, 473, note 1.
William, Prince of Orange. *See* William III.
William the Conqueror, 168, 197.
William the Silent, 272.
Williams, Roger, 638.
Wilson, Woodrow, 691, 692, 693, 695, 700, 709, 750.
Wireless telegraphy and telephony, 598, 599.
Witchraft, European, 205.
Wittenberg (vit′ĕn-bĕrĸ), 258, 259, 260.
Wolfe, James, 333.
Woman, position of, 49, 76, 116, 175, 176, 305, 632–634.
World Court, the, 756, 757.
World War, the, 669–707, 737–744.
Worms (vōrmz), Diet of, 259, 260.
Wright Brothers, the, 596.
Writing, development of, 23–27; Cretan, 73.
Würtemberg (vür′tĕm-bĕrĸ), 398, 418.
Wycliffe (wĭk′lĭf), John, 258.

X-rays, the, 643.
Xerxes (zûrk′zēz), king of Persia, 87, 88, 89.

Yellow Race, the, 17, 20, 21, 190–194, 766, 767.
"Young Italy," 449, 450.
Young Turks, the, 537, 660, 719.
Ypres (ē′pr′), battles of, 678.
Yser (ē′zr′) River, 678.

Za′ma, battle of, 127.
Zam-be′si River, 545.
Zeppelin (tsĕp-ĕ-lēn′), Count, 596.
Zeus (zūs), 76, 77.
Zollverein (tsŏl′fĕr-īn), the, 458, 461.
Zoroastrianism, 54, 184.
Zwingli (Ger. pron. tsvĭng′lĕ), Huldreich, 261.

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8-8

Triple alliance
Defensive alliance

Trace the events of the [illegible]
1871 - 1914.
most Important question in Chapter
Balkan situation in
1913.

Russia
Prussia

his ideas had
never been
put in practice

wiser